

SECOND EDITION

Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels

GENERAL EDITOR: Joel B. Green

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Jeannine K. Brown & Nicholas Perrin



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EDITED BY

Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown
& Nicholas Perrin

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Preface

Today New Testament students are inundated with a virtual flood of research on Jesus and the Gospels. What does it mean for Jesus to be called God's Son? Why did Jesus have to die? Did Jesus have female followers; if he did, what is their significance? What is a "Gospel"? Was Jesus a Cynic? (What is a Cynic?) How can we make sense of Jesus' parables? Given the need for so much specialized background and knowledge, how do students and pastors even begin to tackle these questions, and others besides?

In recent decades some traditional viewpoints have been transformed, some overturned, others confirmed. New methodologies and approaches have been championed, some becoming commonplace. New studies have helped us to appreciate better the perspectives of the Gospel writers, and they have brought into sharper relief the challenge of Jesus' life and message. Those studies have also grown more numerous and, in many cases, more technical.

How can undergraduate students, seminarians, people in professional ministry, leaders in local churches and other Christian organizations, even academic scholars, stay abreast of the range of contemporary study of Jesus and the Gospels? How can the fruit of vital study of Jesus and the Gospels in recent years help to animate our reading of and interaction with the Gospels?

When it first appeared some twenty years ago, the *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* was concerned to address exactly these kinds of needs. This revision of the *Dictionary* follows the same path, though now with new content and up-to-date bibliographies, as well as a host of new contributors. Some ninety percent of the original material has been replaced, with most previous entries assigned to a fresh list of scholars. A number of new articles have been introduced, and a handful of articles from the first edition have been updated in light of ongoing research.

Like its predecessor, this revision of the *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* provides students with introductory discussions, comprehensive surveys and convenient bibliographies. For pastors and teachers it provides reliable and readable information. For theologians and biblical scholars it provides up-to-date reviews. People interested in Jesus and the Gospels can start here—and from here they will be led back with new insights and questions to the biblical texts themselves. And they may find themselves turning from one article to the next, and on to further studies, as they pursue their questions.

Articles in the *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* treat questions arising from the Gospels themselves, longstanding traditions of interpretation of Jesus and the Gospels, significant background issues, and the range of methodological approaches used in Gospels study

today. These essays concentrate on Jesus and the Gospels, limiting their discussions to the needs of those who study, teach and expound the Gospels. Because of its narrow focus, the *Dictionary* consists of fewer entries than other one-volume dictionaries. This allows for greater depth of coverage and concentration than would normally be available.

When work began in the late 1980s on the first edition of the *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, New Testament scholarship informed by classical Christian faith was on the rise and had begun to make significant contributions to the discourse on Jesus and the Gospels. The landscape has changed since those days. In the intervening years, evangelical study spanning three generations of scholars has contributed to historical inquiry, to explorations of the particular contributions of each of the Gospel writers, and to reflection on the theological and ethical consequences of the fourfold Gospel. If interest in the historical Jesus in the popular media has waned somewhat since the 1990s, it remains no less crucial that critically responsible and theologically evangelical scholarship be placed in the hands of the larger church. In fact, to be evangelical and critical at the same time has been the object of the *Dictionary*.

We pray that the *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* will be found useful to those preparing for and engaged in Christian ministry in all its forms—from the small group to the lecture hall, from the marketplace to the seminary, from the local church to the department of religious studies and beyond.

Joel B. Green

Jeannine K. Brown

Nicholas Perrin

How to Use This Dictionary

Abbreviations

Comprehensive tables of abbreviations for general matters as well as for scholarly, biblical and ancient literature may be found on pages xiii-xxiv.

Authorship of Articles

The authors of articles are indicated by their first initials and last name at the end of each article. A full list of contributors may be found on pages xxvii-xxxi, in alphabetical order of their last name. The contribution of each author is listed following their identification.

Bibliographies

A bibliography will be found at the end of each article. The bibliographies include works cited in the articles and other significant related works. Bibliographical entries are listed in alphabetical order by the author's name, and where an author has more than one work cited, they are listed chronologically by publication date. In articles focused on the Gospels themselves, the bibliographies are divided into the categories "Commentaries" and "Studies."

Cross-References

This *Dictionary* has been extensively cross-referenced in order to aid readers in making the most of material appearing throughout the volume. Four types of cross-referencing will be found:

1. One-line entries appearing in alphabetical order throughout the *Dictionary* direct readers to articles where a topic is discussed, often as a subdivision of an article:

ARAMAIC LANGUAGE. *See* LANGUAGES OF PALESTINE.

2. An asterisk before a word in the body of an article indicates that an article by that title (or closely worded title) appears in the *Dictionary*. For example, "*jubilee" directs the reader to an article entitled JUBILEE. Asterisks typically are found only at the first occurrence of a word in an article. There are few cross-references to articles on the Gospels, since their presence within the *Dictionary* can be assumed.

3. A cross-reference appearing within parentheses in the body of an article directs the reader to an article by that title. For example, (*see* God) directs the reader to an article by that title.

4. Cross-references have been appended to the end of articles, immediately preceding the bibliography, to direct readers to articles significantly related to the subject:

See also ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB; ANTI-SEMITISM; ISRAEL; JUDAISM, COMMON.

Indexes

Since most of the *Dictionary* articles cover broad topics in some depth, the *Subject Index* is intended to assist readers in finding relevant information on narrower topics that might, for instance, appear in a standard Bible dictionary. For example, while there is no article entitled "Peter," the subject index might direct the reader to pages where Peter is discussed in the article on "Disciples and Discipleship."

A *Scripture Index* is provided to assist readers in gaining quick access to the numerous Scripture texts referred to throughout the *Dictionary*.

An *Articles Index* found at the end of the *Dictionary* allows readers to review quickly the breadth of topics covered and select the ones most apt to serve their interests or needs. Those who wish to identify the articles written by specific contributors should consult the list of contributors at the front of the book, where the articles are listed under the name of each contributor.

Transliteration

Greek and Hebrew have been transliterated according to the system set out on page xxv.

Abbreviations

General Abbreviations

//	parallel text(s)	ha	hectare(s)
A.D.	<i>anno Domini</i>	Heb.	Hebrew
Aram.	Aramaic	impv.	imperative
b.	born	kg	kilogram(s)
B.C.	before Christ	km	kilometer(s)
ca.	circa	Lat.	Latin
chap(s).	chapter(s)	m	meter(s)
cm	centimeter(s)	masc.	masculine
col(s).	column(s)	MS(S)	manuscript(s)
d.	died	par.	parallel passage(s)
ed.	edition	pl.	plural
ed(s).	editor(s), edited by	r.	reigned
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example	rec.	recension
esp.	especially	repr.	reprint
ET	English translation	rev.	revised
fem.	feminine	sg.	singular
fig(s).	figure(s)	trans.	translator, translated by
frg(s).	fragment(s)	s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , under the word
Ger.	German	vol(s).	volume(s)
Gk.	Greek		

Ancient Texts, Text Types and Versions

DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls	NT	New Testament
HB	Hebrew Bible	OT	Old Testament
LXX	Septuagint	Theod.	Theodotion
MT	Masoretic Text		

Translations of the Bible

CEB	Common English Bible	NET	New English Translation
CEV	Contemporary English Version	NIV	New International Version
ESV	English Standard Version	NLT	New Living Translation
HCSB	Holman Christian Standard Bible	NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
KJV	King James Version	RSV	Revised Standard Version
NCV	New Century Version	TEV	Today's English Version
NEB	New English Bible	TNIV	Today's New International Version

Books of the Bible

<i>Old Testament</i>	1-2 Kings	Is	Mic	Mk	1-2 Thess
Gen	1-2 Chron	Jer	Nahum	Lk	1-2 Tim
Ex	Ezra	Lam	Hab	Jn	Tit
Lev	Neh	Ezek	Zeph	Acts	Philem
Num	Esther	Dan	Hag	Rom	Heb
Deut	Job	Hos	Zech	1-2 Cor	Jas
Josh	Ps (Pss)	Joel	Mal	Gal	1-2 Pet
Judg	Prov	Amos		Eph	1-2-3 Jn
Ruth	Eccles	Obad	<i>New Testament</i>	Phil	Jude
1-2 Sam	Song	Jon	Mt	Col	Rev

Apocrypha and Septuagint

Bar	Baruch	Pr Azar	Prayer of Azariah
Bel	Bel and the Dragon	Sir	Sirach
Jdt	Judith	Sus	Susanna
1-2 Esd	1-2 Esdras	Tob	Tobit
1-4 Kgdms	1-4 Kingdoms	Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
1-4 Macc	1-4 Maccabees		

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

<i>Apoc. Ab.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>	Liv. Pro.	Lives of the Prophets
<i>Apoc. Mos.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>	Mart. Ascen. Isa.	Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah
<i>Apoc. Zeph.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>	Ps.-Phoc.	Pseudo-Phocylides
<i>Apocr. Ezek.</i>	<i>Apocryphon of Ezekiel</i>	Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
Artap.	Artapanus	Sib. Or.	Sybilline Oracles
<i>Ascen. Isa.</i>	<i>Mart. Ascen. Isa. 6-11</i>	T. 12 Patr.	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
<i>As. Mos.</i>	<i>Assumption of Moses</i>	T. Ash.	Testament of Asher
<i>2 Bar.</i>	<i>2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)</i>	T. Benj.	Testament of Benjamin
<i>3 Bar.</i>	<i>3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)</i>	T. Dan	Testament of Dan
<i>1 En.</i>	<i>1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)</i>	T. Gad	Testament of Gad
<i>2 En.</i>	<i>2 Enoch (Slavonic Apocalypse)</i>	T. Iss.	Testament of Issachar
<i>3 En.</i>	<i>3 Enoch (Hebrew Apocalypse)</i>	T. Jos.	Testament of Joseph
Eup.	Eupolemus	T. Jud.	Testament of Judah
Ezek. Trag.	Ezekiel the Tragedian	T. Levi	Testament of Levi
4 Ezra	4 Ezra	T. Naph.	Testament of Naphtali
Jos. Asen.	Joseph and Aseneth	T. Reu.	Testament of Reuben
Jub.	Jubilees	T. Sim.	Testament of Simeon
<i>L.A.B.</i>	<i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum</i> (Pseudo-Philo)	T. Zeb.	Testament of Zebulon
<i>L.A.E.</i>	Life of Adam and Eve	T. Ab.	Testament of Abraham
Lad. Jac.	Ladder of Jacob	T. Job	Testament of Job
Let. Arist.	Letter of Aristeas	T. Mos.	Testament of Moses
		T. Sol.	Testament of Solomon

Dead Sea Scrolls

CD-A	<i>Damascus Document^a</i>	2Q24 (2QNJ ar)	<i>2QNew Jerusalem ar</i>
CD-B	<i>Damascus Document^b</i>	2Q26 (2QEnGiants ar)	<i>2QBook of Giants ar</i>
CTL (CTLevi ar)	<i>Cairo Geniza Testament of Levi</i>	3Q15	<i>3QCopper Scroll</i>
1QapGen ar	<i>1QGenesis Apocryphon</i>	4Q28 (4QDeut ^a)	<i>4QDeuteronomy^a</i>
1QH ^a	<i>1QHodayot^a</i>	4Q158 (4QRP ^a)	<i>4QReworked Pentateuch^a</i>
1QpHab	<i>1QPesher to Habakkuk</i>	4Q159 (4QOrd ^a)	<i>4QOrdinances^a</i>
1QS	<i>1QRule of the Community</i>	4Q161 (4QpIsa ^a)	<i>4QIsaiah Pesher^a</i>
1Q22 (1QDM)	<i>1QWords of Moses</i>	4Q162 (4QpIsa ^b)	<i>4QIsaiah Pesher^b</i>
1Q23 (1QEnGiants ^a ar)	<i>1QEnoch Giants^a ar</i>	4Q163 (4QpIsa ^c)	<i>4QIsaiah Pesher^c</i>
1Q24 (1QEnGiants ^b ar)	<i>1QEnoch Giants^b ar</i>	4Q164 (4QpIsa ^d)	<i>4QIsaiah Pesher^d</i>
1Q26	<i>1QInstruction</i>	4Q165 (4QpIsa ^e)	<i>4QIsaiah Pesher^e</i>
1Q27 (1QMyst)	<i>1QMysteries</i>	4Q169 (4QpNah)	<i>4QNahum Pesher</i>
1Q28a (1QSa)	<i>1QRule of the Congregation</i>	4Q171 (4QpPs ^a)	<i>4QPsalms Pesher^a</i>
1Q28b (1Qsb)	<i>1QRule of Benedictions</i>	4Q174 (4QFlor)	<i>4QFlorilegium</i>
1Q29	<i>1QLiturgy of the Three Tongues of Fire</i>	4Q175 (4QTest)	<i>4QTestimonia</i>
1Q32 (1QNJ ar)	<i>1QNew Jerusalem ar</i>	4Q176 (4QTanh)	<i>4QTanhumim</i>
1Q33 (1QM)	<i>1QWar Scroll</i>	4Q176 (4QTanh)	<i>4QTanhumim</i>
1Q34 + 1Q34bis (1QLitPr)	<i>1QFestival Prayers</i>	4Q176 (4QTanh)	<i>4QTanhumim</i>
1Q35 (1QH ^b)	<i>1QHodayot^b</i>	4Q184	<i>4QWiles of the Wicked Woman</i>
2Q18 (2QSir)	<i>2QBen Sira</i>	4Q201 (4QEn ^a ar)	<i>4QEnoch^a ar</i>
2Q21 (2QapMoses?)	<i>2QApocryphon of Moses</i>	4Q202 (4QEn ^b ar)	<i>4QEnoch^b ar</i>
		4Q203 (4QEnGiants ^a ar)	<i>4QBook of Giants^a ar</i>
		4Q204 (4QEn ^c ar)	<i>4QEnoch^c ar</i>

4Q205 (4QEn ^d ar)	4QEnoch ^d ar	4Q378 (4QapocrJoshua ^a)	4QApocryphon of Joshua ^a
4Q206 (4QEn ^e ar)	4QEnoch ^e ar	4Q379 (4QapocrJoshua ^b)	4QApocryphon of Joshua ^b
4Q207 (4QEn ^f ar)	4QEnoch ^f ar	4Q380	4QNon-Canonical Psalms A
4Q208 (4QEnastr ^a ar)	4QAstronomical Enoch ^a	4Q381	4QNon-Canonical Psalms B
4Q209 (4QEnastr ^b ar)	4QAstronomical Enoch ^b	4Q387a (4QpsMoses ^b)	4QPseudo-Moses ^b
4Q210 (4QEnastr ^c ar)	4QAstronomical Enoch ^c	4Q388a (4QpsMoses ^c)	4QPseudo-Moses ^c
4Q211 (4QEnastr ^d ar)	4QAstronomical Enoch ^d	4Q389 (4QpsMoses ^d)	4QPseudo-Moses ^d
4Q212 (4QEn ^g ar)	4QEnoch ^g ar	4Q390 (4QpsMoses ^e)	4QPseudo-Moses ^e
4Q213a (4QLevi ^b ar)	4QAramaic Levi ^b	4Q394 (4QMMT ^a)	4QHalakhic Letter ^a
4Q225 (4QpsJub ^a)	4QPseudo-Jubilees ^a	4Q395 (4QMMT ^b)	4QHalakhic Letter ^b
4Q242 (4QPrNab ar)	4QPrayer of Nabonidus ar	4Q396 (4QMMT ^c)	4QHalakhic Letter ^c
4Q246	4QAramaic Apocalypse	4Q397 (4QMMT ^d)	4QHalakhic Letter ^d
4Q252 (4QcommGen A)	4QCommentary on Genesis A	4Q398 (4QMMT ^e)	4QHalakhic Letter ^e
4Q253 (4QcommGen B)	4QCommentary on Genesis B	4Q399 (4QMMT ^f)	4QHalakhic Letter ^f
4Q254 (4QcommGen C)	4QCommentary on Genesis C	4Q400 (4QShirShabb ^a)	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice ^a
4Q254a (4QcommGen D)	4QCommentary on Genesis D	4Q401 (4QShirShabb ^b)	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice ^b
4Q255 (4QpapS ^a)	4QRule of the Community ^a	4Q402 (4QShirShabb ^c)	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice ^c
4Q256 (4QS ^b)	4QRule of the Community ^b	4Q403 (4QShirShabb ^d)	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice ^d
4Q257 (4QpapS ^c)	4QRule of the Community ^c	4Q404 (4QShirShabb ^e)	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice ^e
4Q258 (4QS ^d)	4QRule of the Community ^d	4Q405 (4QShirShabb ^f)	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice ^f
4Q259 (4QS ^e) + 4Q319 (4QOtot)	4QRule of the Community ^e + 4QOtot	4Q406 (4QShirShabb ^g)	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice ^g
4Q260 (4QS ^f)	4QRule of the Community ^f	4Q407 (4QShirShabb ^h)	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice ^h
4Q261 (4QS ^g)	4QRule of the Community ^g	4Q408	4QMorning and Evening Prayer
4Q262 (4QS ^h)	4QRule of the Community ^h	4Q415	4QInstruction ^a
4Q263 (4QS ⁱ)	4QRule of the Community ⁱ	4Q416	4QInstruction ^b
4Q264 (4QS ^j)	4QRule of the Community ^j	4Q417	4QInstruction ^c
4Q264a (4QHalakhah B)	4QHalakhah B	4Q418	4QInstruction ^d
4Q266 (4QD ^a)	4QDamascus Document ^a	4Q418a	4QInstruction ^e
4Q267 (4QD ^b)	4QDamascus Document ^b	4Q418c	4QInstruction ^f
4Q268 (4QD ^c)	4QDamascus Document ^c	4Q423	4QInstruction ^g
4Q269 (4QD ^d)	4QDamascus Document ^d	4Q421	4QWays of Righteousness ^b
4Q270 (4QD ^e)	4QDamascus Document ^e	4Q427 (4QH ^a)	4QHodayot ^a
4Q271 (4QD ^f)	4QDamascus Document ^f	4Q428 (4QH ^b)	4QHodayot ^b
4Q272 (4QD ^g)	4QDamascus Document ^g	4Q429 (4QH ^c)	4QHodayot ^c
4Q278 (4QTohorot C ?)	4QPurification Rules C	4Q430 (4QH ^d)	4QHodayot ^d
4Q280	4QCurses	4Q431 (4QH ^e)	4QHodayot ^e
4Q285 (4QSM)	4QSefer ha-Milhamah	4Q432 (4QH ^f)	4QHodayot ^f
4Q286 (4QBer ^a)	4QBlessings ^a	4Q434 (4QBarki Napshi ^a)	4QBless, Oh my Soul ^a
4Q287 (4QBer ^b)	4QBlessings ^b	4Q435 (4QBarki Napshi ^b)	4QBless, Oh my Soul ^b
4Q288 (4QBer ^c)	4QBlessings ^c	4Q436 (4QBarki Napshi ^c)	4QBless, Oh my Soul ^c
4Q289 (4QBer ^d)	4QBlessings ^d	4Q437 (4QBarki Napshi ^d)	4QBless, Oh my Soul ^d
4Q299 (4QMyst ^a)	1QMysteries ^a	4Q438 (4QBarki Napshi ^e)	4QBless, Oh my Soul ^e
4Q300 (4QMyst ^b)	1QMysteries ^b	4Q444	4QIncantation
4Q301 (4QMyst ^c ?)	1QMysteries ^c (?)	4Q457b	4QEschatological Hymn
4Q318 (4QBr ar)	4QBrontologion	4Q461	4QNarrative B
4Q320 (4QCalendrical Doc A)	4QCalendrical Document A	4Q464	4QExposition on the Patriarchs
4Q321 (4QCalendrical Doc B ^a)	4QCalendrical Document B ^a	4Q491c	4QSelf-Glorification Hymn ^b
4Q364 (4QRP ^b)	4QReworked Pentateuch ^b	4Q503 (4QpapPrQuot)	4QDaily Prayers ^a
4Q365 (4QRP ^c)	4QReworked Pentateuch ^c	4Q504 (4QDibHam ^a)	4QWords of the Luminaries ^a
4Q365a (4QTemple?)	4QReworked Pentateuch ^c	4Q505 (4QpapDibHam ^b)	4QWords of the Luminaries ^b ?
4Q366 (4QRP ^d)	4QReworked Pentateuch ^d	4Q506 (4QDibHam ^c)	4QWords of the Luminaries ^c
4Q367 (4QRP ^e)	4QReworked Pentateuch ^e		
4Q369 (4QPEenosh?)	4QPrayer of Enosh (?)		
4Q370	4QExhortation Based on the Flood		
4Q372 (4QapocrJoseph ^b)	4QApocryphon of Joseph ^b		
4Q375 (4QapocrMoses ^a)	4QApocryphon of Moses ^a		
4Q376 (4QapocrMoses ^b ?)	4QApocryphon of Moses ^b ?		
4Q377 (4QapocrPent B)	4QApocryphon Pentateuch B		

4Q507 (4QPrFêtes ^{a?})	4QFestival Prayers ^a (?)	4Q541 (4QapocrLevi ^{b?} ar)	4QApocryphon of Levi ^b (?) ar
4Q508 (4QPrFêtes ^{b?})	4QFestival Prayers ^b (?)	4Q554 (4QNJ ^a ar)	2QNew Jerusalem ^a ar
4Q509 + 4Q505 (4QPrpapFêtes ^c)	4QFestival Prayers ^c	4Q554a (4QNJ ^b ar)	2QNew Jerusalem ^b ar
4Q511 (4QShir ^b)	4QSongs of the Sage ^b	4Q555 (4QNJ ^c ar)	2QNew Jerusalem ^c ar
4Q512 (4QpapRitPur B)	4QRitual of Purification B	4Q558	4QVision ^b ar
4Q521	4QMessianic Apocalypse	4Q560	4QExorcism ar
4Q522 (4QapocrJosué ^{c?})	4QProphecy of Joshua	5Q11 (5QS)	5QRule of the Community
4Q525 (4QBéat)	4QBeatitudes	5Q15 (5QNJ ar)	5QNew Jerusalem ar
4Q530 (4QEnGiants ^b ar)	4QBook of Giants ^b ar	11Q5 (11QPs ^a)	11QPsalms ^a
4Q531 (4QEnGiants ^c ar)	4QBook of Giants ^c ar	11Q10 (11QtgJob)	11QTargum of Job
4Q532 (4QEnGiants ^d ar)	4QBook of Giants ^d ar	11Q11 (11QapocrPs)	11QApocryphal Psalms
4Q533	4QGiants or Pseudo- Enoch ar	11Q13 (11QMelch)	11QMelchizedek
4Q539 (4QapocrJoseph B ar)	4QApocryphon of Joseph B ar	11Q14 (11QSM)	11QSefer ha-Milhamah
		11Q18 (5QNJ ar)	11QNew Jerusalem ar
		11Q19 (11QT ^a)	11QTemple ^a

Wadi Murabbaʿat

Mur 20	papMarriage Contract ar
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Naḥal Ḥever

5/6Hev 10	papMarriage Contract ar [P.Yadin 10] (BA bdl. 7c)
5/6Hev 26	papSummons and Reply gr [P.Yadin 26] (BA bdl. 9)
5/6Hev 34	papPetition gr [P.Yadin 34] (BA bdl. 12)
5/6Hev 52	papLetter gr [P.Yadin 52] (BK bdl. 2)

Naḥal Ḥever/Seiyl

XḤev/Se 69	papCancelled Marriage Contract gr
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Targumic Texts

Frg. Tg.	Fragmentary Targum	Tg. Neof.	Targum Neofiti
Tg. Esth. I, II	First or Second Targum of Esther	Tg. Onq.	Targum Onqelos
Tg. Isa.	Targum Isaiah	Tg. Ps.-J.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Tg. Jon.	Targum Jonathan	Tg. Yer. I	Targum Yeruśalmi I
Tg. Neb.	Targum of the Prophets	Tg. Yer. II	Targum Yeruśalmi II

Tractates in the Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmud

<i>m.</i>	Mishnah	<i>ʿEd.</i>	<i>ʿEduyyot</i>
<i>t.</i>	Tosefta	<i>ʿErub.</i>	<i>ʿErubin</i>
<i>b.</i>	Babylonian Talmud	<i>Giṭ.</i>	<i>Giṭṭin</i>
<i>y.</i>	Jerusalem Talmud	<i>Ḥag.</i>	<i>Ḥagigah</i>
<i>ʿAbod. Zar.</i>	<i>ʿAbodah Zarah</i>	<i>Ḥul.</i>	<i>Ḥullin</i>
<i>ʾAbot</i>	<i>ʾAbot</i>	<i>Kel.</i>	<i>Kelim</i>
<i>ʿArak.</i>	<i>ʿArakin</i>	<i>Ketub.</i>	<i>Ketubbot</i>
<i>B. Bat.</i>	<i>Baba Batra</i>	<i>Kil.</i>	<i>Kilʿayim</i>
<i>B. Mešiʿa</i>	<i>Baba Mešiʿa</i>	<i>Maʿas. Š.</i>	<i>Maʿaśer Šeni</i>
<i>B. Qam.</i>	<i>Baba Qamma</i>	<i>Meg.</i>	<i>Megillah</i>
<i>Bek.</i>	<i>Bekorot</i>	<i>Meʿil.</i>	<i>Meʿilah</i>
<i>Ber.</i>	<i>Berakot</i>	<i>Menah.</i>	<i>Menahot</i>
<i>Bik.</i>	<i>Bikkurim</i>	<i>Mid.</i>	<i>Middot</i>
<i>Demai</i>	<i>Demai</i>	<i>Ned.</i>	<i>Nedarim</i>

<i>Nid.</i>	<i>Niddah</i>	<i>Šeqal.</i>	<i>Šeqalim</i>
<i>’Ohol.</i>	<i>’Oholot</i>	<i>Sotah</i>	<i>Sotah</i>
<i>’Or.</i>	<i>’Orlah</i>	<i>Sukkah</i>	<i>Sukkah</i>
<i>Parah</i>	<i>Parah</i>	<i>Ta’an.</i>	<i>Ta’anit</i>
<i>Pe’ah</i>	<i>Pe’ah</i>	<i>Tamid</i>	<i>Tamid</i>
<i>Pesaḥ.</i>	<i>Pesaḥim</i>	<i>Ṭehar.</i>	<i>Ṭeharot</i>
<i>Qidd.</i>	<i>Qiddušin</i>	<i>Ter.</i>	<i>Terumot</i>
<i>Roš Haš.</i>	<i>Roš Haššanah</i>	<i>Ṭ. Yom</i>	<i>Ṭebul Yom</i>
<i>Šabb.</i>	<i>Šabbat</i>	<i>Yad.</i>	<i>Yadayim</i>
<i>Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i>	<i>Yebam.</i>	<i>Yebamot</i>
<i>Šeb.</i>	<i>Šebi’it</i>	<i>Yoma</i>	<i>Yoma (= Kippurim)</i>
<i>Šebu.</i>	<i>Šebu’ot</i>		

Other Rabbinic Works

<i>’Abot R. Nat.</i>	<i>’Abot de Rabbi Nathan</i>	<i>Pirqe R. El.</i>	<i>Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer</i>
<i>Bab.</i>	<i>Babylonian</i>	<i>Rab.</i>	(biblical book +) <i>Rabbah</i>
<i>Mek.</i>	<i>Mekilta</i>	<i>S. Eli. Rab.</i>	<i>Seder Eliyahu Rabbah</i>
<i>Midr.</i>	<i>Midrash (+ biblical book)</i>	<i>Sem.</i>	<i>Semaḥot</i>
<i>Pesiq. Rab.</i>	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>	<i>Sipra</i>	<i>Sipra</i>
<i>Pesiq. Rab Kah.</i>	<i>Pesiqta de Rab Kahana</i>	<i>Sipre</i>	<i>Sipre</i>
<i>Pirqe ’Abot</i>	<i>Pirqe ’Abot</i>	<i>Tanḥ.</i>	<i>Tanḥuma</i>

Apostolic Fathers

<i>1-2 Clem.</i>	<i>1-2 Clement</i>	<i>Ign. Phld.</i>	<i>Ignatius, To the Philadelphians</i>
<i>Barn.</i>	<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>	<i>Ign. Rom.</i>	<i>Ignatius, To the Romans</i>
<i>Did.</i>	<i>Didache</i>	<i>Ign. Smyrn.</i>	<i>Ignatius, To the Smyrnaeans</i>
<i>Herm.</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>	<i>Pol. Phil.</i>	<i>Polycarp, To the Philippians</i>
<i>Ign. Eph.</i>	<i>Ignatius, To the Ephesians</i>		

Nag Hammadi Codices

<i>1 Apoc. Jas.</i>	<i>V,3 (First) Apocalypse of James</i>
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New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

<i>Acts John</i>	<i>Acts of John</i>	<i>Gos. Nic.</i>	<i>Gospel of Nicodemus</i>
<i>Acts Pet.</i>	<i>Acts of Peter</i>	<i>Gos. Pet.</i>	<i>Gospel of Peter</i>
<i>Acts Thom.</i>	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>	<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
<i>Ap. Jas.</i>	<i>Apocryphon of James</i>	<i>Inf. Gos. Thom.</i>	<i>Infancy Gospel of Thomas</i>

Papyri

<i>P.Cair.</i>	<i>Papyri in the Cairo Museum</i>	<i>P.Lond.</i>	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i>
<i>P.Colon.</i>	<i>Köln Papyrus</i>	<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyrus</i>
<i>P.Dura</i>	<i>Dura-Europos Papyrus</i>	<i>P.Mur.</i>	<i>Murabba’at Papyrus</i>
<i>P.Egerton</i>	<i>Egerton Papyrus</i>	<i>P.Ryl.</i>	<i>Papyrus in the John Rylands Library</i>
<i>P.Fouad</i>	<i>Fouad Papyrus</i>		

Greek and Latin Works

Aelian (Claudius)		Clement of Alexandria	
Var. hist.	<i>Varia historia</i> (Various History)	Protr.	<i>Protrepticus</i> (Exhortation to the Greeks)
Aeschylus		Quis div.	<i>Quis dives salvetur</i> (Salvation of the Rich)
Eum.	<i>Eumenides</i>	Strom.	<i>Stromata</i> (Miscellanies)
Appian		Curtius Rufus	
Hist. rom.	<i>Historia romana</i> (Roman History)	Hist. Alex.	<i>Historiae Alexandri magni</i> (History of Alexander the Great)
Aristophanes		Cyprian	
Plut.	<i>Plutus</i> (The Rich Man)	Ep.	<i>Epistulae</i> (Letters)
Ran.	<i>Ranae</i> (Frogs)	Demosthenes	
Aristotle		Lacr.	<i>Contra Lacritum</i> (Against Lacritus)
Ath. pol.	<i>Athenaion politeia</i> (Constitution of Athens)	Mid.	<i>In Midiam</i> (Against Meidias)
Cael.	<i>De caelo</i> (Heavens)	Dio Cassius	
Eth. nic.	<i>Ethica nichomachea</i> (Nichomachean Ethics)	Hist.	<i>Historia romana</i> (Roman History)
Pol.	<i>Politica</i> (Politics)	Dio Chrysostom	
Rhet.	<i>Rhetorica</i> (Rhetoric)	Hom.	<i>De Homero</i> (Or. 53) (Homer)
Arnobius		Regn.	<i>De regno</i> (Or. 56) (Kingship)
Adv. gent.	<i>Adversus gentes</i> (Against the Heathens)	Diodorus Siculus	
Athanasius		Bib. hist.	<i>Bibliotheca historica</i> (Library of History)
Inc.	<i>De incarnatione</i> (On the Incarnation)	Diogenes Laertius	
Athenaeus		Vit.	<i>Vitae philosophorum</i> (Lives of Eminent Philosophers)
Deipn.	<i>Deipnosophistae</i> (Banquet of the Learned)	Dionysius of Halicarnassus	
Augustine		Ant. rom.	<i>Antiquitates romanae</i> (Roman Antiquities)
Cons.	<i>De consensu evangelistarum</i> (Harmony of the Gospels)	Epictetus	
Doctr. chr.	<i>De doctrina christiana</i> (On Christian Instruction)	Ench.	<i>Enchiridion</i>
Quaest. ev.	<i>Quaestionum evangeliorum</i> (Questions on the Gospels)	Epiphanius	
Serm.	<i>Sermones</i> (Sermons)	Pan.	<i>Panarion</i> (Adversus haereses) (Refutation of All Heresies)
Serm. Dom.	<i>De sermone Domini in monte</i> (Sermon on the Mount)	Euripides	
Tract. Ev. Jo.	<i>In Evangelium Johannis tractatus</i> (Treatise on Gospel of John)	Alc.	<i>Alcestis</i>
Aulus Cornelius Celsus		Eusebius	
Med.	<i>De medicina</i> (On Medicine)	Dem. ev.	<i>Demonstratio evangelica</i> (Demonstration of the Gospel)
Cassius Dio		Hier.	<i>Contra Hieroclem</i> (Against Herocles)
Hist.	<i>Historia romana</i> (Roman History)	Hist. eccl.	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> (Ecclesiastical History)
Catullus		Praep. ev.	<i>Praeparatio evangelica</i> (Preparation for the Gospel)
Carm.	<i>Carmina</i> (Poems)	Galen	
Chariton		Hipp. aph.	<i>In Hippocratis aphorismos</i> (On Hippocrates' Aphorisms)
Chaer.	<i>De Chaerea et Callirhoe</i> (Chaereas and Callirhoe)	Herodotus	
Cicero		Hist.	<i>Historiae</i> (Histories)
Agr.	<i>De lege agraria</i> (On the Agrarian Law)	Hippolytus	
Amic.	<i>De amicitia</i> (On Friendship)	Haer.	<i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i> (Refutation of All Heresies)
Att.	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i> (Letters to Atticus)	Homer	
Dom.	<i>De domo sua</i> (On His House)	Od.	<i>Odyssea</i> (Odyssey)
Fat.	<i>De fato</i> (On Fate)	Horace	
Flac.	<i>Pro Flacco</i> (In Defense of Flaccus)	Sat.	<i>Satirae</i> (Satires)
Har. resp.	<i>De harispicum responsis</i> (On the Responses of the Haruspices)	Iamblichus	
Nat. d.	<i>De natura deorum</i> (On the Nature of the Gods)	Vit. Pyth.	<i>De vita pythagorica</i> (On the Pythagorean Way of Life)
Orat.	<i>De oratore</i> (On the Orator)	Irenaeus	
Prov. cons.	<i>De provinciiis consularibus</i> (On the Consular Provinces)	Haer.	<i>Adversus haereses</i> (Against Heresies)
Verr.	<i>In Verrem</i> (Against Gaius Verres)	Isocrates	
		Panath.	<i>Panathenaeus</i> (Orat. 12)

<i>Paneg.</i>	<i>Panegyricus (Orat. 4)</i>		<i>Is Unchangeable)</i>
Jerome		<i>Flacc.</i>	<i>In Flaccum (Against Flaccus)</i>
<i>Vir. ill.</i>	<i>De viris illustribus (On Illustrious Men)</i>	<i>Fug.</i>	<i>De fuga et inventione (On Flight and Finding)</i>
John Chrysostom		<i>Gig.</i>	<i>De gigantibus (On Giants)</i>
<i>Hom. Jo.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Joannem (Homily on John)</i>	<i>Her.</i>	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit (Who Is the Heir?)</i>
<i>Hom. Matt.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Matthaeum (Homily on Matthew)</i>	<i>Hypoth.</i>	<i>Hypothetica (Hypothetica)</i>
Josephus		<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae (Allegorical Interpretation)</i>
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	<i>Against Apion (Contra Apionem)</i>	<i>Legat.</i>	<i>Legatio ad Gaium (On the Embassy to Gaius)</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Jewish Antiquities (Antiquitates judaicae)</i>	<i>Migr.</i>	<i>De migratione Abrahami (On the Migration of Abraham)</i>
<i>J. W.</i>	<i>Jewish War (Bellum judaicum)</i>	<i>Mos.</i>	<i>De vita Mosis (On the Life of Moses)</i>
<i>Life</i>	<i>The Life (Vita)</i>	<i>Mut.</i>	<i>De mutatione nominum (On the Change of Names)</i>
Julius Africanus		<i>Opif.</i>	<i>De opificio mundi (On the Creation of the World)</i>
<i>Frag.</i>	<i>Fragmenta (Fragments)</i>	<i>Plant.</i>	<i>De plantatione (On Planting)</i>
Justin		<i>Post.</i>	<i>De posteritate Caini (On the Posterity of Cain)</i>
<i>1 Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia i (First Apology)</i>	<i>Praem.</i>	<i>De praemiis et poenis (On Rewards and Punishments)</i>
<i>2 Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia ii (Second Apology)</i>	<i>Prob.</i>	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit (That Every Good Person Is Free)</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone (Dialogue with Trypo)</i>	<i>QE</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum (Questions and Answers on Exodus)</i>
Justinian		<i>QG</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin (Questions and Answers on Genesis)</i>
<i>Nov.</i>	<i>Novellae (Novels)</i>	<i>Sacr.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini (On the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel)</i>
Livy		<i>Somn.</i>	<i>De somniis (On Dreams)</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>The History of Rome (Ab urbe condita libri)</i>	<i>Spec.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus (On the Special Laws)</i>
Lucian		<i>Virt.</i>	<i>De virtutibus (On the Virtues)</i>
<i>Philops.</i>	<i>Philopseudes (The Love of Lies)</i>	Philostratus	
<i>Musc. laud.</i>	<i>Muscae laudatio (The Fly)</i>	<i>Vit. Apoll.</i>	<i>Vita Apollonii (Life of Apollonius)</i>
Marcus Aurelius		Pindar	
<i>Comm.</i>	<i>Commentariorum quos ipse sibi scripsit (Meditations)</i>	<i>Isthm.</i>	<i>Isthmionikai (Isthmian Odes)</i>
Martial		<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythionikai (Pythian Odes)</i>
<i>Epig.</i>	<i>Epigrammata (Epigrams)</i>	Plato	
Menander		<i>Crat.</i>	<i>Cratylus</i>
<i>Dysk.</i>	<i>Dyskolos (The Misanthrope)</i>	<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leges (Laws)</i>
Origen		<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>
<i>Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsum (Against Celsus)</i>	<i>Prot.</i>	<i>Protagoras</i>
<i>Comm. Jo.</i>	<i>Commentarii in evangelium Joannis (Commentary on Gospel of John)</i>	<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Respublica (Republic)</i>
<i>Comm. Matt.</i>	<i>Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei (Commentary on Matthew's Gospel)</i>	<i>Soph.</i>	<i>Sophista (Sophist)</i>
<i>Frag.</i>	<i>Fragmenta (Fragments)</i>	<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>De oratione (On Prayer)</i>	Plautus	
Papias		<i>Trin.</i>	<i>Trinummus (Three Pieces of Money)</i>
<i>Frag.</i>	<i>Fragmenta (Fragments)</i>	Pliny the Elder	
Pausanius		<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Naturalis historia (Natural History)</i>
<i>Descr.</i>	<i>Graeciae descriptio (Description of Greece)</i>	Pliny the Younger	
Petronius		<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae (Letters)</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satyricon</i>	Plutarch	
Philo		<i>Adul. amic.</i>	<i>Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur (How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend)</i>
<i>Abr.</i>	<i>De Abrahamo (On the Life of Abraham)</i>	<i>Adv. Col.</i>	<i>Adversus Colotem (Against Colotes)</i>
<i>Cher.</i>	<i>De cherubim (On the Cherubim)</i>	<i>Aem.</i>	<i>Aemilius Paullus</i>
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>De confusione linguarum (On the Confusion of Tongues)</i>	<i>Ages.</i>	<i>Agesilaus (Life of Agesilaus)</i>
<i>Congr.</i>	<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia (On the Preliminary Studies)</i>		
<i>Contempl.</i>	<i>De vita contemplativa (On the Contemplative Life)</i>		
<i>Decal.</i>	<i>De decalogo (On the Decalogue)</i>		
<i>Det.</i>	<i>Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat (That the Worse Attacks the Better)</i>		
<i>Deus</i>	<i>Quod Deus sit immutabilis (That God</i>		

<i>Cam.</i>	<i>Camillus (Life of Camillus)</i>	Strabo	
<i>Cat. Maj.</i>	<i>Cato Major (Cato the Elder)</i>	<i>Geogr.</i>	<i>Geographica (Geography)</i>
<i>Galb.</i>	<i>Galba (Life of Galba)</i>	Suetonius	
<i>Lyc.</i>	<i>Lycurgus (Life of Lycurgus)</i>	<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Divus Augustus (Augustus)</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia (Morals)</i>	<i>Cal.</i>	<i>Gaius Caligula (Caligula)</i>
<i>Per.</i>	<i>Pericles (Life of Pericles)</i>	<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Divus Claudius (Claudius)</i>
<i>Quaest. conv.</i>	<i>Quaestionum convivialum libri IX</i> (<i>Table Talk</i>)	<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Domitianus (Domitian)</i>
<i>Suav. viv.</i>	<i>Non posse suaviter vivi secundum</i> <i>Epicurum (It is Impossible to Live</i> <i>Pleasantly in the Manner of Epicurus)</i>	<i>Gramm.</i>	<i>De grammaticis (On Grammarians)</i>
<i>Superst.</i>	<i>De superstition (On Superstition)</i>	<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespasianus (Vespasian)</i>
Polybius		Tacitus	
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae (Histories)</i>	<i>Agr.</i>	<i>Agricola</i>
Quintilian		<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales (Annals)</i>
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria (Institutes of Oratory)</i>	<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae (Histories)</i>
Rufinus		Tertullian	
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Eusebii Historia ecclesiastica a Rufino</i> <i>translate et continuata (Eusebius'</i> <i>Ecclesiastical History Translated by</i> <i>Rufinus and Continued)</i>	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologeticus (Apology)</i>
Seneca		<i>Bapt.</i>	<i>De baptismo (Baptism)</i>
<i>Ben.</i>	<i>De beneficiis (On Benefits)</i>	<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Adversus Marcionem (Against Marcion)</i>
<i>Const. sap.</i>	<i>De constantia sapientis (On the</i> <i>Constancy of the Wise Man)</i>	Thucydides	
<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Ad Marciam de consolatione</i> (<i>To Marcia on Consolation</i>)	<i>Pel.</i>	<i>The Peloponnesian War</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae morales (Moral Epistles)</i>	Valerius Maximus	
<i>Vit. beat.</i>	<i>De vita beata (On a Happy Life)</i>	<i>Fact. dict.</i>	<i>Factorum et dictorum memorabilium</i> <i>libri IX (Memorable Doings and Sayings)</i>
		Virgil	
		<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae (Eclogues, or Bucolics)</i>
		Xenophon	
		<i>Ages.</i>	<i>Agesilaus</i>
		<i>Anab.</i>	<i>Anabasis</i>
		<i>Hell.</i>	<i>Hellenica</i>
		<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia</i>

Periodicals, Reference Works and Serials

AARAS	American Academy of Religion Academy Series	ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
AASF	Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae	ATLABS	ATLA Bibliography Series
AB	Anchor Bible	AThRSup	Anglican Theological Review: Supplement Series
ABG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte	ATR	<i>Australasian Theological Review</i>
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library	AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , ed. D. N. Freedman (6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992)	AUSTR	American University Studies: Theology and Religion
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture	AYB	Anchor Yale Bible
AE	<i>Année épigraphique</i>	BABELAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Académie Belge pour l'Etude des Langues Anciennes et Orientales</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums	BAFS	The Book of Acts in Its First-Century Setting
AGRL	Aspects of Greek and Roman Life	BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity	BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
AJT	<i>Asia Journal of Theology</i>	BBC	Blackwell Bible Commentaries
AnBib	Analecta biblica	BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
AnGreg	Analecta gregoriana	BDAG	W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (3rd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972-)	BEB	Biblioteca de Estudios Bíblicos
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries	BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
ARJ	Annual of Rabbinic Judaism	BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis		
AsTJ	<i>Asbury Theological Journal</i>		

BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie	CMRDM	<i>Corpus monumentorum religionis dei Menis</i> , ed. E. Lane (4 vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971-1978)
BfCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie		
BG	Biblische Gestalten	CNT	Companions to the New Testament
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese	COL	Christian Origins Library
BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> (15 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1895-1983)	ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie	ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>	COQG	Christian Origins and the Question of God
BibEnc	Biblical Encounters	CPJ	<i>Corpus papyrorum judaicarum</i> , ed. V. Tcherikover (3 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, for Magnes, 1957-1964)
BibInt	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>		
BibPost	The Bible and Postcolonialism	CPNIVC	College Press NIV Commentary
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar	CPSSup	Cambridge Philological Society: Supplementary Volumes
BibW	<i>Biblical World</i>		
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series	CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies		
BMI	Bible and Its Modern Interpreters	CSCD	Cambridge Studies in Christian Doctrine
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries	CSHJ	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
BR	Biblical Research	CSS	Cistercian Studies Series
BRS	Biblical Resource Series	CurBS	Currents in Research: Biblical Studies
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i>	CurTM	Currents in Theology and Mission
BSHJ	Baltimore Studies in the History of Judaism	DJG	<i>Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels</i> , ed. J. B. Green and S. McKnight (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992)
BSL	Biblical Studies Library		
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>	DK	Dialog der Kirchen
BTBCB	Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible	DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
		EBC	Expositor's Bible Commentary
BTNT	Biblical Theology of the New Testament	ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies	EcRev	<i>Ecumenical Review</i>
BW	The Bible in Its World	EDNT	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider (3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990-1993)
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament		
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft	EH	Europäische Hochschulschriften
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft	Enc	<i>Encounter</i>
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique	ESW	Ecumenical Studies in Worship
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology	ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
		ETSMS	Evangelical Theological Society Monograph Series
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>	ExAud	<i>Ex Auditu</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series	ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
		FB	Forschung zur Bibel
CBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>	FCNTECW	Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings
CC	Continental Commentaries		
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary	FemTh	<i>Feminist Theology</i>
CGTSC	Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges	FF	Foundations and Facets
		FFF	<i>Foundations and Facets Forum</i>
ChrCent	<i>Christian Century</i>	FH	<i>Fides et Historia</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i>	FRC	The Family, Religion, and Culture
CII	<i>Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum</i>	FTMT	Fortress Texts in Modern Theology
CIJ	<i>Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum</i>	GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>	GHAW	Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World
CIRC	Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization	GIBM	<i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> , ed. C. T. Newton (4 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1874-1916)
CIS	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i>		
CJA	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity	GNS	Good News Studies
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>	GOTR	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
CLS	Classical Literature and Society		

GP	Gospel Perspectives	JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
Greg	<i>Gregorianum</i>		
GTJ	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>	JFSR	<i>Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion</i>
HALOT	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner and J. J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , trans. and ed. under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson (4 vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994-1999)	JGRCJ	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i>
		JHC	<i>Journal of Higher Criticism</i>
		JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
		JITC	<i>Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center</i>
HBT	Horizons in Biblical Theology	JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society	JPSTC	<i>JPS Torah Commentary</i>
Herm	Hermeneia	JPT	<i>Journal of Pentecostal Theology</i>
HeyJ	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>	JPTSup	<i>Journal of Pentecostal Theology: Supplement Series</i>
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament	JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>	JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs	JSHJ	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series	JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament		<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplements</i>
HTKNTSup	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament: Supplementbände	JSJSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>	JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies	JSNTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>		<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series</i>
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College	JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series</i>
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie	JSOTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series</i>
HvTSt	<i>Hervormde theologiese studies</i>	JSPSup	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
IBMR	<i>International Bulletin of Missionary Research</i>	JSS	<i>Journal of Theological Interpretation</i>
IBRB	Institute for Biblical Research Bibliography	JTI	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
IBT	Interpreting Biblical Texts	JTS	<i>Kerygma und Dogma</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary	KD	<i>Kirche und Israel</i>
IDB	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> , ed. G. A. Buttrick (4 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1962)	KI	<i>Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>	KKNT	<i>Key Themes in Ancient History</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones graecae: Editio minor</i> , ed. F. H. de Gaertingen and J. Kirchner (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1924-)	KTAH	<i>Library of Biblical Studies</i>
		LBS	<i>Library of Biblical Theology</i>
		LBT	<i>LECTIO divina</i>
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie</i> , ed. L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde (Paris, 1929-)	LD	<i>Library of Early Christianity</i>
IKZ	<i>Internationale katholische Zeitschrift (Communio)</i>	LEC	<i>Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , ed. H. Dessau (Berlin, 1892-1916)	LHBOTS	<i>Luke the Interpreter of Israel</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>	LII	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> , ed. H. C. Ackerman and J.-R. Gisler (8 vols.; Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1981-1997)
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology	LIMC	<i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains</i> , ed. J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida (2nd ed.; 2 vols.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1989)
ISACR	Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion	LN	<i>Library of New Testament Studies</i>
ISBE	<i>International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</i> , ed. G. W. Bromiley (4 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979-1988)	LNTS	<i>Lutheran Quarterly</i>
ITQ	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>	LQ	<i>Louvain Studies</i>
IVPNTC	IVP New Testament Commentaries	LS	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, A <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> (9th ed., with rev. supplement; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996)
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>	LSJ	<i>Library of Second Temple Studies</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>		
JBT	<i>Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie</i>		
JC	<i>Judaica et christiana</i>		
JECH	<i>Journal of Early Christian History</i>	LSTS	

LTE	Library of Theological Ethics		<i>graecarum</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger (2 vols.; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903-1905)
LTT	Library of Theological Translations		Oxford Theological Monographs
MBI	Methods in Biblical Interpretation	OTM	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , ed. J. H. Charlesworth (2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 1985)
MBib	Le monde de la Bible	OTP	<i>Old Testament Studies</i>
MLBS	Mercer Library of Biblical Studies		Oudtestamentische Studiën
MNTS	McMaster New Testament Studies	OTS	Probleme der Ägyptologie
NAC	New American Commentary	OtSt	Paternoster Biblical Monographs
NACSBT	NAC Studies in Bible and Theology	PA	Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs
NCamBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary	PBM	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
NDBT	<i>New Dictionary of Biblical Theology</i> , ed. T. D. Alexander and B. S. Rosner (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000)	PBTM	<i>Papyri graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , ed. K. Preisendanz (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1928-1931)
		PFES	Pillar New Testament Commentary
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology		<i>Presbyterion</i>
Neot	Neotestamentica	PGM	Princeton Readings in Religion
NGS	New Gospel Studies		<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies		<i>Princeton Seminary Bulletin</i>
NIB	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i> , ed. L. E. Keck (12 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon, 2003)	PNTC	Paternoster Theological Monographs
		<i>Presb</i>	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary	PRR	Quaestiones disputatae
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament	<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
		<i>PSB</i>	<i>Revista catalana de teología</i>
NIDB	<i>The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> , ed. K. D. Sakenfeld (5 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon, 2009)	PTM	Religion and Society
		PTMS	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
NIDNTT	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i> , ed. C. Brown (4 vols.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975-1985)	QD	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
		<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
NIDOTTE	<i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> , ed. W. A. VanGemeren (5 vols.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997)	<i>RCT</i>	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , ed. K. Galling (3rd ed.; 7 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1957-1965)
		RelSoc	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary	<i>ResQ</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
		<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Revista de interpretación bíblica latino-americana</i>
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>	<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Rivista biblica italiana</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements	RGG	Reading the New Testament
NRTh	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>	RGRW	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology	RHPR	<i>Reformed Theological Review</i>
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen	RIBLA	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch		Studien zur aussereuropäischen Christentums-geschichte
NTL	New Testament Library	<i>RivB</i>	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
NTM	New Testament Monographs	RNT	Scripta antiquitatis posterioris ad ethicam religionemque pertinentia (= Schriften der späteren Antike zu ethischen und religiösen Fragen)
NTMes	New Testament Message	RSR	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus	RTR	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>	RVV	<i>Southern Baptist Journal of Theology</i>
NTSCE	New Testament Studies in Contextual Exegesis	SAC	Studies in Biblical Literature
NTSI	The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel	SANT	Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica
		SAPERE	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
NTT	New Testament Theology		Society of Biblical Literature Early Christianity and Its Literature
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies		
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents	SBB	
		SBEC	
NVBS	New Voices in Biblical Studies	<i>SBJT</i>	
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis	SBL	
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology	SBLAB	
OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs		
OCT	Oxford Centre Textbooks	SBLDS	
OECGT	Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts		
OGIS	<i>Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae: Supplementum sylloges inscriptionum</i>	SBLECL	

SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature	StPB	Studia post-biblica
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series	Str-B	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> (6 vols.; Munich: Beck, 1922-1961)
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study	SubBi	Subsidia biblica
SBLSDL	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature	SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies	SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
SBLSP	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>	SwJT	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series	TAD	<i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i> , ed. and trans. B. Porten and A. Yardeni (4 vols.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, for Hebrew University, 1986-1999)
SBLTCS	Society of Biblical Literature Text-Critical Series	TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations	TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
SBLWGRW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings of the Greco-Roman World	TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien	TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology	TBT	<i>The Bible Today</i>
ScrMin	Scripta minora	TC	<i>TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i>	TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, trans. G. W. Bromiley (10 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1976)
SemSt	Semeia Studies	TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> , ed. G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, trans. J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley and D. E. Green (15 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974-2004)
SFACS	South Florida Academic Commentary Series		
SFCJ	University of South Florida International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism		
SFSMD	Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata		
SHBC	Smith & Helwys Bible Commentary		
SHJ	Studying the Historical Jesus		
SHS	Scripture and Hermeneutics Series	TGT	Tesi gregoriana teologia
SJ	Studia judaica	THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
SJC	Studies in Judaism and Christianity		
SJCA	Studies in Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity	THNTC	Two Horizons New Testament Commentary
SJSI	Studia judaeoslavica	ThTo	<i>Theology Today</i>
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>	TI	Theological Inquiries
SJTMS	Scottish Journal of Theology Monograph Supplements	TJ	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
SNTI	Studies in New Testament Interpretation	TJT	<i>Toronto Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series	TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
SNTU	Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt	TPINTC	Trinity Press International New Testament Commentaries
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World	TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
SP	Sacra Pagina	TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
SPhilo	<i>Studia philonica</i>	TSJTSA	Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America
SPHS	Scholars Press Homage Series	TTBC	Teach the Text Bible Commentary
SPNT	Studies on Personality in the New Testament	TTZ	<i>Trierer theologische Zeitschrift</i>
SPS	Studies in Peace and Scripture	TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
SR	<i>Studies in Religion</i>	TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
SSG	Studies in the Synoptic Gospels	TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
ST	<i>Studia theologica</i>	UBT	Understanding Biblical Themes
StAC	Studies in Antiquity and Christianity	UCNES	University of California Near Eastern Studies
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah	UNDLS	University of Notre Dame Liturgical Studies
StJud	Studies in Judaism	UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
StPatr	Studia patristica	VCSup	Supplements to Vigiliae christianae
		VE	<i>Vox evangelica</i>

VF	Verkündigung und Forschung	WW	Word and World
VT	Vetus Testamentum	YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum	ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary		
WestBC	Westminster Bible Companion	ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament		
WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal	ZS	Zacchaeus Studies
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament	ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

Transliteration of Hebrew and Greek

HEBREW

Consonants		Short Vowels	Long Vowels
ס = ם	ל = l	ֶ = a	אָ = â
ב = b	מ = m	ֵ = e	ִי = ê
ג = g	נ = n	ִ = i	ִי = î
ד = d	ס = s	ֹ = o	ִי = ô
ה = h	צ = c	ֻ = u	ִי = û
ו = w	פ = p		ֹ = ā
ז = z	צ = ş		ִי = ē
ח = ḥ	ק = q	ֹ = ă	ִי = ō
ט = ṭ	ר = r	ִי = ě	
י = y	שׁ = ś	ִי = ě (if vocal)	
כ = k	שׂ = š	ִי = ö	
	ת = t		

GREEK

A = A	θ = th	Π = P	ψ = ps
α = a	Ι = I	π = p	Ω = Ō
B = B	ι = i	Ρ = R	ω = ō
β = b	Κ = K	ρ = r	ῥ = Rh
Γ = G	κ = k	Σ = S	ῥ = rh
γ = g	Λ = L	σ/ς = s	ῥ = h
Δ = D	λ = l	Τ = T	γξ = nx
δ = d	Μ = M	τ = t	γγ = ng
Ε = E	μ = m	Υ = Y	αυ = au
ε = e	Ν = N	υ = y	ευ = eu
Ζ = Z	ν = n	Φ = Ph	ου = ou
ζ = z	Ξ = X	φ = ph	υι = yi
Η = Ē	ξ = x	Χ = Ch	
η = ē	Ο = O	χ = ch	
Θ = Th	ο = o	Ψ = Ps	

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A

ABIDING

“Abiding” is the Johannine way of speaking of believers’ need to live their lives in close communion with Christ. Over half of the 118 NT occurrences of the word *menō* (“to abide” or “to remain”) are found in the Johannine corpus (40x in John’s Gospel and 27x in the Johannine Epistles, compared with three references in Matthew, two in Mark and seven in Luke). Believers’ need to “abide” in Christ, in turn, is presented as part of John’s trinitarian mission theology, according to which Jesus’ followers are taken up into the love, unity and mission of Father, Son and Spirit and charged to continue Jesus’ mission until he returns.

1. Old Testament Roots
2. “Abiding” in John’s Gospel
3. Affinities with Other New Testament Teaching and the Question of “Johannine Mysticism”

1. Old Testament Roots.

John’s teaching, for its part, builds on the OT teaching that God “remains forever” (Ps 9:7), as do his authority, counsel and word (Ps 33:11; 102:12; Is 40:8). What is more, the Davidic offspring and his authority will endure (Ps 89:36), and just as the new heavens and the new earth will remain, the offspring and name of the faithful will last as well (Is 66:22). Building on this foundation, John teaches that Jesus, the *Son and the *Christ, remains forever (Jn 8:35; 12:34), and that he will enable his followers to bear fruit that remains as long as they remain in him (Jn 15:16).

More broadly, John’s “abiding” theology is part of the biblical trajectory of new-covenant theology, which promises a “new heart” and the presence of God’s *Spirit in the new-covenant community, cleansing believers both individually and corporately and enabling them to obey God’s *commandments (e.g., Jer 31:31-34; Ezek 11:19-20; 36:25-27) (see

New Birth). Although this expectation will find its ultimate consummation in the eternal state (Rev 21:3; cf. Lev 26:11-12), John makes clear that it is already a reality in the community of Spirit-indwelt believers in Jesus the Messiah.

2. “Abiding” in John’s Gospel.

Particularly in the first part of his Gospel John casts Jesus’ relationship with his followers as a typical first-century Palestinian rabbi-disciple relationship. Jesus is frequently and habitually addressed by his disciples and others as “rabbi” (Jn 1:38, 49; 3:2; 4:31; 6:25; 11:8; 20:16), which indicates that Jesus’ contemporaries perceived him first and foremost as a Jewish religious *teacher. Accordingly, Jesus is shown to relate to his followers in keeping with the pattern observed by first-century A.D. Jewish rabbis: teaching by example, verbal instruction and didactic actions (Jn 2:13-22; 13:1-17), and providing for and protecting those under his charge. The disciples’ relationship with Jesus involved living with him (Jn 1:39; 3:22) and following him wherever he went. They made inquiries regarding the significance of Jesus’ actions and engaged in extended dialogue with him, performed acts of service (Jn 4:8; 6:5, 10, 12), and buried their deceased teacher.

In keeping with this characterization of Jesus’ relationship with his disciples, Jesus in John’s Gospel, and here particularly in his *farewell discourse, urges his followers to remain (*menō*) faithful to him after his departure. Initially, “remaining with Jesus” had simply meant for Jesus’ first followers to spend the evening with Jesus (Jn 1:38-39). Yet already in John 6:56 the term occurs with a more comprehensive connotation. In John 8:31 “remaining in Jesus” involves continual holding to his teaching. The majority of theologically significant instances of *menō* are found in John 14–15, with ten references in John 15:4-10 alone. The disciples must abide in Jesus, in particular in his love, by obeying his command-

ments (Jn 15:9-10). The vine metaphor in John 15 illustrates the close-knit relationship that Jesus desires with his disciples (cf. Jn 10). The absence of the otherwise ubiquitous word *pisteuō* ("to believe") in John 15 suggests that "to remain" is the metaphorical equivalent of "to believe" in John's Gospel (see Faith).

3. Affinities with Other New Testament Teaching and the Question of "Johannine Mysticism."

John's teaching on believers' needing to remain in Christ finds little precedent in the Synoptic Gospels. The only thing said with regard to discipleship there is that Jesus' followers are called to be "with Jesus" during his earthly ministry (Mk 3:14), and that they must continue to follow him until he returns (e.g., Mk 8:34; 13:13). John's "abiding" theology fleshes out how believers will be able to sustain spiritual communion with Christ subsequent to his *ascension. In its original setting—the farewell discourse, which is unique to John's Gospel—Jesus is shown to prepare his followers for the period following his exaltation subsequent to the events surrounding the *crucifixion (e.g., Jn 14:12, 28).

By speaking of believers' need to remain in Christ, John is not espousing a form of Christian mysticism. To the contrary, a stark contrast obtains between the kind of mutual indwelling spoken of in John's Gospel and the pagan notion of a person's absorption into the divine as part of entering into some form of mystical spiritual communion. John's theology of "abiding" does not involve an immersion into a trancelike state or other forms of ecstasy. Instead, John speaks of remaining in Jesus' teaching and of abiding in his love by remaining united with Jesus in and through the "other helping presence" (*paraklētos*), the *Holy Spirit, once Jesus has been exalted with God (Jn 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7).

See also FAITH; HOLY SPIRIT.

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A. J. Köstenberger

ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB

Jews and Christians regarded Abraham as the first Jew, and therefore it was incumbent on Jewish and Christian parties and sects to show how their particular communities, practices and beliefs were rooted in the patriarchal witness. The Gospels thus appropriate and interpret Abraham, Isaac and Jacob both as a collective triad and as individuals. The patriarchal triad appears in eschatological contexts. As the figure of Abraham is paradigmatic and thus constitutive for construals of religious identity, Abraham is presented as the father of Jewish Christian tradition. Allusions to Isaac identify him as a type of Christ. The figure of Jacob finds little mention as an individual, save for references to *Israel as a nation.

1. The Patriarchs in the Old Testament and Jewish Tradition
2. Matthew
3. Mark
4. Luke
5. John

1. The Patriarchs in the Old Testament and Jewish Tradition.

Whereas the OT portrays the divine covenants made with Adam and Eve and then Noah and his family as universal, the promises made to Abraham in Genesis 12-25 concern the establishment of a covenant with a particular people through a particular line (though that covenant will have universal import [see Gen 12:3; 17:4-6, 16; 18:18; 22:18]). Beginning with Abraham, the line runs through his son Isaac and Isaac's son Jacob, who receives the name "Israel," whose sons become the twelve tribes. In the OT the patriarchal triad functions to bind the God of Israel and his covenant people together, as either party calls on the other to remember their covenant commitments in times of distress (e.g., Ex 2:24) and in times of sin and rebellion (e.g., 2 Kings 13:23). Later tradition regards Abraham as the first Jew, who either never committed idolatry (L.A.B. 4:16-17) or

who turned from it as the first proselyte to faith in the one true creator God of Israel (*Jub.* 11:16-17; Philo, *Virt.* 219; *Her.* 93-95; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.154-156; *Apoc. Ab.* 7-8; *Gen Rab.* 38:13). Abraham keeps the law's festivals and ordinance of circumcision before Moses (*Jub.* 15:20-34; Philo, *Abr.* 3-6, 275-76; *Mig.* 129-30; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.214; *m. Ned.* 3:11, *t. Ned.* 2:5; *t. Ber.* 6:12) as the one with whom God originally established the covenant (*Jub.* 14:20; 15:1-20; 22:1, 10-24; *Pss. Sol.* 9:9; 18:3; 4Q225 1, 4). Abraham is also an eschatological figure in some texts (*Sib. Or.* 2:245), while the legendary seven Maccabean brothers enduring martyrdom under Antiochus IV encourage themselves with the thought that the three great patriarchs "will welcome us" upon the deaths that they suffer for the sake of the law (4 Macc 13:13-17).

2. Matthew.

Matthew's Gospel evinces concern for true Abrahamic descent, establishes an Isaac typology and presents the patriarchal triad in eschatological contexts. R. Moberly contends that the Matthean Jesus is presented as the new Abraham, emulating the patriarch's obedience.

2.1. Abraham in Matthew. Abraham is mentioned in the *genealogy (Mt 1:1-17) and in *John the Baptist's words to the *Pharisees and *Sadducees (Mt 3:7-10). The Matthean genealogy begins with Abraham (Mt 1:2), suggesting to readers that the Gospel of Matthew is a particularly Jewish story. Salvation history begins with Abraham and culminates in Jesus, Abraham's ultimate heir and descendant (Mt 1:17). Through its references to the *Gentiles (e.g., Rahab in Mt 1:5; "the wife of Uriah" in Mt 1:6) the genealogy also provides hints of Gentile inclusion that come to fuller fruition later in Matthew (cf. Is 9:1-2 in Mt 4:12-16; Is 42:1-4 in Mt 12:17-21), finally realized by Jesus after the *resurrection (Mt 28:16-20), thus fulfilling the universal aspects of the divine promise to Abraham.

In Christian understanding incorporation into Abraham is crucial but is achieved through incorporation into Christ. Thus, in the Matthean story John's warning that Abrahamic descent is insufficient (Mt 3:7-10) is not merely concerned with the necessity of repentance and good works in general but particularly with Jesus Christ, the coming one, "who will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with the fire" of the eschatological judgment (Mt 3:11-12).

2.2. Isaac in Matthew. Although Matthew's Gospel presents Isaac through the mechanism of allusion alone, his figure is crucial for Matthean *Christology (Huizenga). Both the Jesus of Matthew and

the Isaac of Jewish tradition are promised children, irregularly conceived, on whom depend the divine promises; beloved sons who go obediently to their sacrificial deaths at the hands of their respective fathers at the season of Passover, at the location of the *temple, for salvific purposes (for Jewish interpretations of Isaac, see 2 Chron 3:1; *Jub.* 17:15-18:19; Jdt 8:24-27; 4Q225 2 II, 4-10; Philo, *Mut.* 131; *Det.* 124; *Somn.* 1.173; *Leg.* 3.219; *Abr.* 167-198; *Sacr.* 110; *L.A.B.* 18:5, 32:1-4; 40:1-5; 4 Macc 7:13-14; 13:8-12; 16:18-20; 18:10-11; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.222-36; *Tg. Neof.* Gen 22:10; *Gen Rab.* 56:8; see also 1 Clem. 31:1; Barn. 7:3).

2.2.1. The Figure of Isaac in Matthew 1. Matthew 1 alludes to Isaac three times. First, "Son of Abraham" (Mt 1:1) may evoke Isaac if the first verse is a title for the entire Gospel; two names are mentioned while the genealogy is tripartite, and hearing echoes of Isaac here presents a sacrificial typology complementing the messianic typology established by "Son of David." Second, R. Rosenberg contends that the gematria of the genealogy (Mt 1:2-17) points to Isaac, as it presents forty-two generations (three divisions of fourteen [Mt 1:17]), and as *Jubilees* 13:16; 17:15; 19:1 suggest that the binding of Isaac occurred at the outset of the forty-second *Jubilee after creation. Third, as both L. Huizenga and R. Erickson observe, the angel's birth announcement to Joseph (Mt 1:20-21) alludes to LXX Genesis 17:19 (see Birth of Jesus). In the former text the angel of the Lord says to Joseph, "Do not fear to take Mary as your wife [*Marian tēn gynaiika sou*]. . . . She will bear a son, and you will call his name Jesus [*texetai de huion kai kaleseis to onoma autou Iēsoun*]," while in the latter text God says to Abraham, "Sarah your wife will bear you a son, and you will call his name Isaac" (*Sarra hē gynē sou texetai soi huion kai kaleseis to onoma autou Isaak*). God becomes a type of the angel, Abraham a type of Joseph, Sarah a type of *Mary, and Isaac a type of Jesus. Rhetorically, the allusion buttresses the possibility of the virginal conception: if God opened the womb of elderly, barren Sarah, God also is able to open the womb of young, healthy Mary.

2.2.2. Hearing Heavenly Voices. The heavenly voices at the *baptism (Mt 3:17) and *transfiguration (Mt 17:5) allude to Genesis 22:2, 12, 16. The former texts call Jesus "my beloved son" (*ho huios mou ho agapētos*), while the latter texts employs the same Greek with reference to Isaac. The Isaac typology established by the allusion in the scene of the Matthean baptism informs both the crowd and Jesus himself of his sacrificial vocation, whereas the typology in the scene of the transfiguration reminds

Peter of Jesus' sacrificial vocation in the face of overwhelming *glory.

2.2.3. *Gethsemane and the Arrest of Jesus* (Mt 26:36-56). The Matthean passion narrative emphasizes Jesus' obedience, part and parcel of which is an Isaac typology found in the *Gethsemane and arrest sequence. In Matthew 26:36-56 Jesus tells the disciples with him, "Sit here [*kathisate autou*] while I go over there and pray" (Mt 26:36), while in LXX Genesis 22:5 Abraham tells his servants to "sit here" (*kathisate autou*) while he and Isaac worship. More decisively, in the Matthean sequence a crowd "with swords and clubs" (*meta machairôn kai xylôn* [Mt 26:47, 55]) comes and lays hands on Jesus (*epebalon tas cheiras epi ton Iēsoun* [Mt 26:50]), after which one of the Twelve stretches forth his hand to take his sword (*ekteinas tēn cheira . . . tēn machairan* [Mt 26:51]), precipitating Jesus' warning about the fate befalling those who take the sword (*hoi labontes machairan* [Mt 26:52]). In Genesis 22 Abraham wields a "knife" (*machairan* [LXX Gen 22: 6, 10]) and "wood" (*xyla* [LXX Gen 22:3, 6, 7, 9]) as sacrificial implements, and he stretches forth his hand (*exeteinen Abraam tēn cheira* [LXX Gen 22:10]) to take his sword (*labein tēn machairan* [LXX Gen 22:10]) to slay Isaac, but he is stopped by an angel who tells him not to lay hands on his son (*mē epibalēs tēn cheira sou epi to paidarion* [LXX Gen 22:12]). As Abraham the father wielded knife and wood to bring about the sacrifice of his beloved son, God the Father wielded the crowd with its swords and clubs to bring about the sacrifice of his beloved Son.

2.3. *The Patriarchal Triad in Matthew: Resurrection*. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are mentioned collectively only twice in Matthew, first in the story of the healing of the centurion's servant (Mt 8:5-13) and then in the controversy with the *Sadducees about the *resurrection (Mt 22:23-33). Both instances concern the eschaton. In the former, the faith of the centurion elicits Jesus' words about many coming "from east and west and reclining at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven" (Mt 22:11), while "the sons of the kingdom" are excluded; here the reader encounters the themes of Gentile inclusion and reversal first adumbrated in the genealogy (Mt 1:2-17) and the story of the pagan magi worshipping Jesus while Herod and "all Jerusalem . . . troubled" along with him reject Jesus (Mt 2). In the latter, Jesus draws on the fact that in Exodus 3:6 God speaks to Moses in the present tense about his relationship with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob well after their deaths (cf. Ex 3:15) in order to suggest to the Sadducees that these three abide still and thus

that the resurrection is a reality. Here, Jesus' logic implies that "resurrection" is equivalent to eternal life immediately after death, as God spoke those words well before the eschaton; or Jesus may understand those words in a promissory sense, anticipating a resurrection at the end of time.

3. Mark.

The patriarchs play little role in Mark, finding explicit mention only in Mark 12:26 within the controversy with the Sadducees about the resurrection (Mk 12:18-27), which differs little from the Matthean account. Their general absence may be explained by Mark's Gentile orientation (cf. Mk 7:3) and compression of other events in the Synoptic tradition. Nevertheless, Mark's Gospel does present an Isaac typology similar to that which Matthew's Gospel presents, as M. Rindge has shown: "You are my beloved son" (*ho huios mou ho agapētos*) in Mark 1:11 alludes to Isaac the beloved son in Genesis 22:2, as does the phrase's use in the Markan transfiguration (Mk 9:7) as well as the use of *huion agapēton* in Mark 12:6 in the parable of the wicked tenants (Mk 12:1-12). In the Markan Gethsemane scene the reader encounters allusions to Genesis 22 ("swords and clubs" in Mk 14:43, 48, alluding to the "knife" and "wood" of Gen 22:3, 6, 7, 9, 10). Moreover, Jesus' express wish to be spared the cup because "all things are possible" (Mk 14:36) reflects Philo's presentation of Isaac's question in Genesis 22:7 as a request to be spared sacrifice, to which Abraham responds, "All things are possible with God" (*Abr.* 175). The Isaac typology in Mark serves a theology of lament, the presentation of a picture of a *God estranged from his Son at the moment of his sacrificial death (Mk 15:34).

4. Luke.

In Luke's Gospel the figure of Abraham is fully to the fore, while any presentation of an Isaac typology is obscure, and Jacob remains relegated to the patriarchal triad. The emphasis on Abraham is fitting for a Gospel that emphasizes, more than all other NT documents, continuity among Judaism, Jesus and the church (see Dahl).

4.1. *Abrahamic Descent*. Three Lukan passages concern Abrahamic descent. Mary and Zechariah's respective words in Luke 1:55 and Luke 1:73 emphasize the fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant with the births of Jesus and John. John's warning regarding Abrahamic descent is directed to "the multitudes coming to be baptized" (Lk 3:7), in line with the more positive Lukan estimation of Israel. The genealogy mentions Abraham (Lk 3:34) but does not em-

phasize him, in accord with the Lukan emphasis on the universality of the Christian message.

4.2. *The Patriarchs and Eschatology in Luke.* The patriarchal triad is employed in an eschatological context in two Lukan passages: Jesus' warning about entering by the narrow door (Lk 13:22-30) and the controversy with the Sadducees over the resurrection (Lk 20:27-40). Unique to Luke is the parable of "Lazarus and the rich man" (Lk 16:19-31), in which the deceased Lazarus is received into "Abraham's bosom" (Lk 16:22; cf. Lk 16:23, the abode of the faithful departed; "bosom" suggests an eschatological feast, as guests of honor recline on the hosts' breasts while dining [cf. Jn 13:23]). Abraham converses with the deceased rich man, now tormented in Hades; Abraham's final words (Lk 16:31) suggest continuity between Moses, the prophets and the risen Jesus.

4.3. *Reconciliation in the Community of Abraham Through Jesus.* Unique to Luke's Gospel are the story of "a daughter of Abraham" healed on the Sabbath (Lk 13:10-17) and the story of Zacchaeus, "a son of Abraham" (Lk 19:1-10). In both stories Jesus reintegrates a "daughter/son of Abraham" fully into the community of God's people from which they have been marginalized, she through infirmity, he on account of his reputation as a "sinner" (Lk 19:7). Taking these stories together with the story of Lazarus in Luke 16:19-31, we find that for Luke, "children" of Abraham include those who are defined by others as outside the boundaries of God's people, yet are the very people to whom God extends his fidelity and brings salvation. In the case of Zacchaeus it is crucial to observe that his status as "son of Abraham" is demonstrated through behaviors that conform to the "fruits worthy of repentance" sketched earlier in the Gospel by John the Baptist (Lk 3:7-14): he gives to the needy and he collects no more than he ought (Lk 19:8).

5. John.

John's Gospel employs the figures of all three patriarchs as individuals but does not mention the patriarchal triad.

5.1. *Isaac.* In Jewish tradition the binding of Isaac takes place at Passover, and Isaac is compared to the Passover lamb (see 1 above). Therefore, John the Baptist's calling Jesus "the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world" (Jn 1:29, 36) coupled with the possibility that Johannine chronology has Jesus die at the time of the slaughter of the Passover lambs (cf. Jn 18:38; 19:14) suggests an Isaac *typology (see Lamb of God). Since John's Gospel takes pains to suggest Jesus' superiority over other figures (note the comparisons of Jesus with Moses in Jn 1:17, John

the Baptist in Jn 5:36, Abraham in Jn 8:53-58), the typology may imply Jesus' superiority over Isaac; it is Jesus' decisive sacrifice that takes away the sins of the world.

5.2. *Jacob.* John 1:51 alludes to Jacob's dream at Bethel (Gen 28:12), and J. Neyrey suggests that the allusion makes the disciples parallel to Jacob, who saw Jesus in his vision as the disciples see Jesus, the manifestation of God (Neyrey 1982). In Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman in John 4:1-30, then, her question concerning whether Jesus is greater than Jacob (Jn 4:12) resounds with a certain irony. Jesus is indeed greater than Jacob: supplanting the supplanter (see Neyrey 1979), it is his divine identity that enables him to provide those who believe in him with waters flowing with the divine life (*zōē* [Jn 4:14; cf. Jn 1:4]) that he possesses. Here too the reader sees the repeated Johannine motif of Jesus' interlocutors concerning themselves with earthly things (e.g., Nicodemus referring to physical birth in Jn 3:4; "the Jews" concerned with the earthly temple in Jn 2:20; the crowd seeking perishable food in Jn 6:26-27), while Jesus points them to heavenly things.

5.3. *Abraham.* In John 8:31-59 Jesus claims not only that physical descent from Abraham is insufficient (as John the Baptist does in Mt 3:8; Lk 3:8), but also that as a manifestation of God, he is superior to Abraham. The passage suggests that belief in Jesus is contingent: Jesus admonishes them to "continue in [his] word" so that the truth will make them free (Jn 8:31-32). Yet they double down twice on Abrahamic descent (Jn 8:33, 39) before finally asserting divine patrimony in the face of Jesus' denial of the former (Jn 8:41), upon which Jesus informs them of their diabolical patrimony (Jn 8:44). While Jesus affirms continuity with Abraham, who rejoiced and was glad to see Jesus' day (Jn 8:56), the point of the passage is not that Jesus is the true heir of Abraham, but rather that as God manifest (Jn 8:58: *egō eimi* [the name of God from Ex 3:14]), Jesus is superior to Abraham.

See also ELIJAH AND ELISHA; GENEALOGY; ISRAEL; MOSES; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS.

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L. A. Huizenga

ADULTERY. See **DIVORCE.**

AFRICAN AMERICAN CRITICISM

The African American church and African American Christians have a long history of appropriating the sacred Scriptures as God's word despite their use by white Christians to support ideologies sanctioning slavery, disenfranchisement and racism. Biblical depictions of God and Jesus as liberator, "heavy load bearer" and "way maker" who exalt the oppressed struck a resounding chord with African Americans. This liberator God and Jesus side with the oppressed, affirming their humanity and offering strength for today and hope for a better tomorrow. At the same time, African Americans have historically rejected oppressive Scriptures and biblical interpretations (e.g., "Slaves, obey your masters as unto God") and critically (re)interpreted Scriptures within the context of the existential realities of slavery and racism. Before the first biblical scholars earned doctoral degrees, slave songs or spirituals, prayers and slave narratives testify to a long interpretive history of resistance, affirmation and hope. African Americans appropriated Scriptures used against them to transform their own lives (Callahan 2006). They prioritized their own experiences, artifacts and traditions as legitimate sources and resources for theological construction and biblical interpretation. People

such as Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglas and nineteenth-century black preaching women such as Zilpha Elaw and Jarena Lee interpreted the Bible in ways that legitimized their full humanity as God-ordained and God-gifted.

1. Foundational Work
2. Further Developments
3. Moving Forward

1. Foundational Work.

Early African American biblical criticism (ca. 1970–1990) focused on reaffirming the humanity of black people living under slavery and racism undergirded by the ideology that claimed that God created black peoples as inferior beings designed for slavery. Many African Americans insisted that God and Jesus sided with the enslaved and oppressed, as J. Cone would later systematically articulate in *God of the Oppressed* (Cone 1975; see also Cone 1969; 1970). This early interpretive legacy of resistance and creativity, the existential reality of racism and disenfranchisement, and the emergence of black theology challenged African American biblical scholars to move beyond traditional biblical scholarship that focused on what the text meant in order to ask what the text means today (Hoyt). Early African American biblical scholars attempted to demonstrate the positive presence and contribution of dark-skinned peoples in the Bible, such as Simon of Cyrene, who helped Jesus carry his cross (Mt 27:32; Mk 15:21; Lk 23:26). C. Felder's *Troubling Biblical Waters* (Felder 1989; see also Snowden 1970; 1983; Copher 1993) meticulously explored and affirmed the significant contribution and presence of blacks in the Bible, such as the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10:1-13; Mt 12:42; Lk 11:31). Felder demonstrated that the Queen of Sheba hailed from Africa, not from South Arabia, and emphasized that Egypt, where Joseph fled with Mary and the baby Jesus, was always in Africa, thus rejecting the "de-Africanization" of Egypt. African Americans seeking racial affirmation received *Troubling Biblical Waters* and the *Original African Heritage Study Bible* (1993) with open hearts and minds. Both texts attempted to recover the authority of the Bible within those segments of the black community that had rejected it as a white people's book, particularly, for example, incarcerated black men and women.

Stony the Road We Trod (Felder 1991), another seminal text, resulted from a five-year collaboration among African American biblical scholars. This volume of essays, edited by Felder, argued for a plurality of interpretive approaches as demonstrated in the Scriptures themselves and addressed the rift between

mainstream biblical interpretation and marginalized voices created by a long tradition of Eurocentricism in biblical interpretation. For example, W. Myers argues against exalting one cultural worldview above another; against locking the interpretive task in the past; for the acceptance of legitimate methodologies rather than one valid methodology; and for including materials that have impacted African American perspectives: spirituals, call narratives, slave narratives, testimonials. R. Weems asserts the significance of both context and the reader's pretext for reading the Bible. Weems argues that black women have a history of resistance to the Bible or portions of it, particularly those texts that implored slaves to obey their masters. She cites Howard Thurman's grandmother, a former slave, who permitted young Thurman to read the Gospels to her but not the Pauline Epistles, except 1 Corinthians 13. Accordingly, African American biblical criticism is concerned primarily with how the text speaks in liberating ways to the African American experience, rather than focusing myopically on what lies behind the text. Some African American biblical scholars interpret the Scriptures and critique interpretations of the Scriptures with a hermeneutics of suspicion—that is, reading while consciously focusing on oppressive language, characterizations and plot. Also operative are a hermeneutics of survival—that is, reading with an awareness of how God enables the survival of the oppressed and not necessarily their liberation, as in the case of Hagar (Williams); and a hermeneutics of wholeness—that is, reading with a concern for the health of the entire community (St. Clair). With the publication of *Stony the Road We Trod*, African American biblical criticism emerged as an academic discipline focusing on the concerns and struggles of black scholars, attempting to link black scholarship and the black church and to maintain continuity between the historical past and the present.

While African American biblical scholars reject the claim that the historical-critical method yields disinterested, objective, value-neutral and decontextualized biblical readings, many employ historical criticism together with an African American interpretive framework that prioritizes African American experience, culture and artifacts. B. Blount argues that the reader's interpersonal context impacts his or her reading of the Bible, and this interpersonal dynamic is as important and legitimate as the sociolinguistic and ideational contexts of biblical interpretation (Blount 1993). Potential meanings, not just a single meaning, can be drawn from the text. O. Hendricks argues that exegesis is about setting

the oppressed free, making new readings and truths from old things, asking questions unapologetically, and challenging interpretations void of representation (Hendricks 1994).

V. Wimbush, in an essay in *Stony the Road We Trod* (Felder 1991), explored how slaves and free blacks read the Bible. The Bible was a language world that African Americans, throughout history, could identify with, be strengthened by, and employ for self-affirmation. Wimbush later resumed this theme, arguing for biblical interpretation that begins with the present and the sacred text's impact on or in the present, rather than a mythical past retrievable only by specialists employing exegetical skills (Wimbush 2003). Wimbush challenges all biblical scholars to read "darkly" because African American experience as an interpretive lens offers an exemplary reading because of the trauma, marginality, pain and exile experienced by African Americans (Wimbush 2003; 2011).

True to Our Native Land (Blount 2007) constitutes the first African American commentary of the NT written by a core of black biblical scholars and with the African American church in view. The essays draw on and demonstrate historical, social, cultural, religious and political realities unique to African American experience. African American experience is foregrounded as an interpretive lens for reading the Bible, offering a challenge to the unacknowledged contextual and ideological readings of Eurocentric biblical interpretation. Here it is asserted that "race *still* matters" (Blount 2007, 2). Our contexts, the space that we inhabit and from which we develop, influence our interpretations. The volume represents a call and response: it is a response to a call from the African American context to address particular themes. Contributors to *True to Our Native Land* weave sociohistorical and literary insights together with African Americans concerns and voices, including slaves, artists, poets, historians, philosophers, theologians, musicians, composers and activists. For example, E. Powery interjects Zora Neale Hurston's imaginative recreation of the dialogue between *Herod and Herodias, which ends with Herod confessing his undying love and loyalty of Herodias and his position regarding the prophet John. M. Brown, in a subsection entitled "The Great Commission," inserts a counternarrative from womanist scholar D. Williams: "Suppose evangelism was understood as community building, rather than just 'saving souls'? . . . The goal of this community building is, of course, to establish a positive quality of life—economic, spiritual, educational—for black women, men, and children" (Blount 2007, 117). S. Crowder

allows Sojourner Truth's "Ain't I a Woman?" speech to demonstrate how women should be emboldened by Luke's portrayal of Mary.

2. Further Developments.

African American biblical scholarship is concerned with broader ancient rhetorical and historical contexts that speak to African Americans concerns. For example, G. Byron explores the rhetorical function of images of "blacks/blackness," "Egyptians/Egypt" and "Ethiopians/Ethiopia" in early Christian literature. These images, Byron argues, were rhetorically constructed as idealized and pejorative symbols that came to signify extreme forms of difference within early Christianity—how early Christians constructed a world based on assumptions about extreme difference. M. Smith surveys first-century Roman *slavery and asserts that NT authors uncritically inscribe slavery in their writings (M. Smith 1999; 2007). This is particularly true of the *parables in which *God and Jesus are likened to cruel and exacting slave masters. Ancient slavery is the socio-historical and political context for interpreting Scriptures in which the master/slave relationship is asserted as a metaphor, as prescriptive, or as descriptive for relationships between God, Jesus and humans. M. Brown argues that biblical texts, including some parables (e.g., the landowner and the wicked tenants [Mt 21:33-46; Mk 12:1-12; Lk 20:9-19]) should be critiqued for their nonliberative stance toward the marginalized, even when such texts characterize Jesus or God as an oppressive landlord or master. As C. Martin has argued, African Americans have rejected literal readings of the NT that sanction slavery as divine or natural; they have chosen to proclaim the biblical witness about a powerful and just God who demonstrates in Jesus Christ a concern for the liberation of all humankind.

The slave songs and narratives demonstrate a Christocentrism that characterizes Jesus as a liberator (M. Smith forthcoming). Salvation history in the spirituals is not, as H. Conzelmann has argued, a linear progression. In the slave songs Jesus transcends the boundary between NT and OT; he is the liberator present with Moses at the Reed Sea (M. Smith forthcoming). Much of African American biblical interpretation is christocentric, asking about the meaning of Jesus for black people today: how do Jesus' life, ministry, suffering and glorification speak to complex issues such as victimization and suffering, as well as liberation? T. Smith argues that just as Jesus offered transformation to victims and victimizers through the process of victimiza-

tion, people such as Zora Neale Hurston and Martin Luther King Jr. functioned like conjurors ordering biblical symbols and signs in hopes of transforming or curing the African American reality of victimization. King's nonviolent strategy, according to T. Smith, is paradigmatic of this transformative process. Jesus' life as a boundary breaker, equalizer and liberator embodies ethical reflection (Blount 2001). Womanist scholar J. Terrell privileges the hope and liberation that derive from Jesus' cross over sacrifice and suffering, eschewing the glorification of suffering in the context of oppression. R. St. Clair asserts that the cross and Jesus' pain were an inevitable consequence of his ministry but were not God's predetermined will. St. Clair argues for deconstructing interpretations of Jesus that assist in black women's oppression specifically (and all oppression). She asserts that our response to Jesus' call to discipleship inevitably results in pain.

African American biblical scholars struggle to bridge biblical interpretations with appropriate contemporary African American ethical and theological (theoethical) responses. Blount argues that Simon of Cyrene is an image of *discipleship as one who carried Jesus' burden that the disciples rejected; that Simon was transformed from outsider to insider as part of Luke's inclusive strategy (Blount 1993). Blount reads the Gospels through the lens of antebellum slavery in order to construct a NT ethics (Blount 2001). John's Gospel, according to Blount, testifies about a group struggling with oppression and unable to count on help from the outside world. Blount likens the world constructed in John's text to the world of African Americans. As in John's Gospel, African Americans should turn to each other and construct for themselves a viable community of countercultural resistance and sustenance from mutual love. A. Callahan asserts that the author of John's Gospel shuns slavery language to characterize discipleship, and John's Jesus rejects slavery as a metaphor (Callahan 2007). S. Crowder reads Luke's Gospel "as a document of African American faith," arguing that its theology is analogous with African American "God-talk," emanating from and witnessing about suffering and oppression (Crowder, 158). Luke's Gospel, Crowder argues, like African American faith, is concerned with spiritual enhancement and with political, economic and social development. E. Powery explores the meaning of neighbor love and its limitations through the interpretive lens of Harriett Jacobs's articulations about love of neighbor in her slave narrative (Powery 2008). Jacobs's slave mistress taught her that one of the precepts of

God's word was to love one's neighbor as one's self. Harriett reasoned that her mistress did not see her slave as her neighbor, which was evidenced in the way she treated her. The teachings of Jesus, Paul and James teachings about "love of neighbor" transcended ethnic boundaries, but they did not cross gender and socioeconomic boundaries. M. Smith argues that a soteriological hermeneutical circle is at work in Luke (Smith forthcoming 2). Individuals whom Jesus heals emerge from the crowds, and consequently the crowds are positively affected, as evidenced by their rejoicing. M. Smith reads the relationship between individuals whom Jesus healed and the crowds from which they emerge through a womanist framework (Smith forthcoming 2). African American women, particularly, have historically promoted racial uplift; individuals who emerge from the black masses have an ethical responsibility to give back or uplift the masses from which they emerge (Smith forthcoming 2).

3. Moving Forward.

Felder wrote, "African American biblical scholarship is steadily becoming a fully grown tree near the dense forest of Eurocentric biblical exegesis and interpretation" (Felder 1991, 1). This remains an appropriate metaphor to describe African American biblical criticism. African American biblical scholars continue to privilege African American experience, traditions and artifacts as legitimate hermeneutical lenses and sources for theoethical reflection. They continue the tradition begun by people such as Howard Thurman's grandmother of critiquing the canon, the biblical text itself, and the nature of its authority. African American biblical criticism will continue to struggle with the Bible as divine testimony, as an authoritative source, and as a dynamic word through which God continues to speak a relevant, prophetic and living word; to explore how African Americans read texts and contexts; to challenge mainstream biblical scholars to read "darkly" through the lens of black people's experiences; to exercise the gift of questioning the biblical text and of critical self-reflection; and to strive for critical and liberative engagement with black churches, the larger African American community and the global reality.

See also FEMINIST AND WOMANIST CRITICISMS; GOSPELS: HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION; LATINO/LATINA CRITICISM; POSTCOLONIAL CRITICISM; SLAVE, SERVANT; SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC CRITICISMS; THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPELS.

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AMEN

"Amen" is a transliteration of the Hebrew word *ʾāmēn* and carries with it a range of meanings, including "dependable," "certain," "true." The LXX interpreters often substituted the term with the Greek word *genoito* ("so be it") and occasionally with *alēthōs* ("truly"). Similarly, many English translations substitute "verily" or "truly" rather than adopting the transliteration. In the Gospels "amen" appears one hundred times (31x in Matthew, 13x in Mark, 6x in Luke, 25x [always doubled] in John).

1. Background in Judaism and the Old Testament
2. Jesus' Use in the Gospels
3. Narrative Impact in the Gospels

1. Background in Judaism and the Old Testament.

In the OT "amen" functions as a response of confir-

mation to what has been said by another. This can involve prophecy, curses and blessings (Num 5:22; Deut 27:15-26; Jer 11:5). It usually is a public affirmation, and often it occurs in a liturgical setting. This is demonstrated by the presence of "amen" in Psalm 41:13; 72:19; 89:52; 106:48, each of which marks the doxological climax of its respective book of psalms within the Psalter. In these instances an emphasis is placed on the participation of the audience in affirming what has previously been said.

2. Jesus' Use in the Gospels.

Jesus' use of "amen" is unique in the Gospels, where the word appears only on his lips and refers to his own sayings/teachings exclusively. Additionally, the term introduces his words rather than ends them. For Mark, the term is used in a variety of scenarios, such as in statements sparked by a challenge to Jesus (Mk 3:28; 8:12), lessons for the disciples (Mk 9:1, 41; 10:15), examples of faith and failure (Mk 10:29; 12:43; 14:9), and prophetic words that appear more frequently during his Jerusalem ministry, particularly on the night of his betrayal (Mk 13:30; 14:18, 25, 30). In Matthew's Gospel it is found in teachings directed to the crowds (Mt 5:18, 26), teachings for the disciples in particular (Mt 10:15, 23; 16:28), shocking countercultural statements (Mt 8:10; 18:3), object lessons and *parables (Mt 18:13; 21:21; 24:47), and predictions and *prophetic words (Mt 23:36; 24:2; 26:21, 34). Luke includes only two uses not already found in the other Synoptic Gospels in some way: in Jesus' exclamation that no prophet is accepted in his hometown (Lk 4:24) and in his reply to the criminal's request for remembrance when Jesus comes into his *kingdom (Lk 23:43). In John's Gospel "amen" always appears in doublets, often in the midst of important teachings of Jesus, where the term is used twice or three times within a singular topic (Jn 5:19, 24, 25; 6:26, 32, 47, 53). Other instances of the term occur in sayings that respond to challenge (Jn 8:34, 51, 58), in individual teaching moments (Nathanael [Jn 1:51], Nicodemus [Jn 3:3, 5, 11], Peter [Jn 21:18]) and in several predictions and promises of the *farewell discourses (Jn 13:21, 38; 14:12; 16:20, 23).

3. Narrative Impact in the Gospels.

A survey of occurrences of "amen" in each Gospel fails to result in a clear and singular function for the term. Some speculation might be made as to why Luke rarely uses the term (perhaps this reflects his concern to write a Gospel that makes sense to his target audience, which is predominantly Gentile), or

why Matthew includes it so frequently (his target audience is Jewish). Conversely, given Mark's emphasis on Jesus' authority early in his Gospel, it is interesting to note that he does not include the term to bolster Jesus' authoritative image at a point when one might otherwise expect it. As for John's Gospel, the presence of the "amen" statements reflects his dramatic style, coming in doublets and often at crucial points in the narrative (e.g., when Jesus is challenged [Jn 8] or when he leaves parting words for his followers [Jn 13–16]).

What does "amen" signify in the Gospels? Suggestions by scholars include that the word (1) indicates Jesus' divinity, (2) highlights the *authority of Jesus' teachings, (3) portrays Jesus as one who has the authority of a messenger of God (prophetic emphasis), (4) reflects a liturgical background (particularly in John's Gospel), (5) strengthens the force of Jesus' words, (6) indicates the faithful transmission of tradition (authenticates the words of Jesus as historically accurate), (7) conveys a sense of solemnity to Jesus' words.

Although we may never know with certainty what kinds of meanings this term might have had for Jesus, the Gospel writers or their audiences, at the very least it can be said that the "amen" statements call attention to Jesus' words, highlighting the emphatic nature of his teaching and assertions about God's work in the world through his life, death and resurrection.

See also AUTHORITY AND POWER; TEACHER.

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ANCESTORS. See ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB; GENEALOGY.

ANGELS

There is a lively interest in angels in late Second Temple Judaism that extends and broadens the themes already present in the OT. There are both explicit references to angels and other places where

contemporary Jewish angelology or OT angel passages are reflected. After some years of neglect, angels have been the subject of much scholarly discussion in the last twenty years, with a focus on two key issues: the angels' nature in relation to both *God and humanity, and the significance of angel traditions for the origins and shape of early *Christology.

1. Terminology in the Old Testament and in Jewish Antiquity
2. The Nature of Angels in Jewish Antiquity
3. The Synoptic Gospels
4. The Gospel of John
5. Angels and Christology

1. Terminology in the Old Testament and in Jewish Antiquity.

Though parallels with motifs surrounding various divine beings in Greco-Roman literature can be identified, the language in the Gospels is essentially biblical and Jewish. The English "angel" translates the Greek word *angelos* in the NT and the word *mal'āk* in the OT. Both the Hebrew and the Greek words refer, essentially, to one who is sent with a message. In the OT the *mal'āk* and in the LXX the *angelos* is usually a heavenly being sent by God (e.g., Gen 16:7; Judg 2:1) but may also be a human being sent by another human being (e.g., Gen 32:3) or a human being who is sent by and represents God (e.g., LXX Is 9:5 [ET 9:6]; Mal 2:7; cf. Zech 12:8; LXX Ex 23:20–22). Some texts are ambiguous (Is 63:9; Mal 3:1–3).

While the usual translation for *mal'āk* is *angelos*, the LXX reflects a tendency to use *angelos* as an umbrella term for a variety of spiritual beings when it uses *angelos* to translate other Hebrew expressions, such as *ēlōhīm* (e.g., LXX Ps 8:6 [ET 8:5]; 96:7 [ET 97:7]; 137:1 [ET 138:1]) and *bēnē 'ēlōhīm/bar 'ēlāhīn* (e.g., Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Dan 3:92 [ET 3:25]). It is not clear what interpretive significance should be given to this homogenizing translation pattern, since the late Second Temple period also reveals a widening out of the terminology that could be employed for spiritual beings, especially in Hebrew and Aramaic texts (reflected especially in the DSS). For example, we regularly read of "watchers" (already in Dan 4:13, 23; see also, e.g., 1 En. 1:2, 5; 6:2), "authorities," "glorious ones," angelic "spirits" and other terms. So, it is just possible that Jesus himself used a variety of terms all of which were conveyed in the Gospels with the one Greek word *angelos*.

2. The Nature of Angels in Jewish Antiquity.

2.1. Angels in the Bible. In the OT angels primar-

ily appear as messengers of divine revelation and as interpreters of visionary experiences (e.g., Ezek 40–48; Zech 1–6). The living creatures of God's throne (Ezek 1), the cherubim (e.g., Ex 25:19; 2 Sam 22:11) and winged seraphim (Is 6:2–7) are not, strictly speaking, “angels,” since they do not function as messengers. However, the messenger role of angels is complemented by a wider set of responsibilities and themes. Yahweh is surrounded by a “host” of angels (Deut 33:2; 1 Kings 22:19–22)—his military force—and those who serve him in worship (Ps 103:20; 148:2). They protect (Ps 34:7; 91:11) or rescue (1 Kings 19:5; Dan 3:28; 6:22) the righteous and threaten (Ps 35:5–6) or exercise judgment on God's enemies (Gen 19; Num 22:33; 1 Chron 21; Ps 35:5–6; 78:49; Is 37:36). They have human form (Gen 18–19) and often are not immediately recognized as super-human beings.

In pentateuchal texts there is one specific principal angel (see 2.2 below), and it can be unclear whether the angel is a distinct being or simply Yahweh in human form (Gen 16:7–11; 18–19). In those texts, and indeed throughout the biblical material, angelology expresses belief in God's presence (his immanence) while maintaining his transcendence and the belief that he cannot safely be seen by human beings (e.g., Judg 6:22–23; 13:22).

2.2. Postbiblical Developments in Jewish Angelology. Angels appear in all forms of Jewish literature, and there was a tendency to add references to angels in the retelling of biblical stories. Angels appear predominantly in visionary (or “apocalyptic”) texts, and authors writing for a Greco-Roman audience tend to avoid the standard language about angels (without denying their existence). *Josephus, for example, speaks of a *neanias* or *neaniskos* (“young man” [Ant. 5.213, 277] and a *phantasma* (“phantom” [Ant. 1.325, 333]). Philo translates a biblical “angel” into a “divine word” (*theion logos* [e.g., Fug. 5; Cher. 3]).

But beyond a shared and universal belief in angels, disagreement abounded. Sadducees, who must have taken references to angels in the Hebrew Bible at face value, did not believe that after death (and resurrection) the righteous were transformed into angel-like beings (Mk 12:18–27; Acts 23:6–9). Some texts speak of four archangels (1 En. 9–10; 40), while others speak of seven (1 En. 20–36; 81:5; 87:2–4; Tob 12:15; T. Levi 8:2). According to Josephus, the Qumran community believed that angelic matters constituted secret, esoteric revelation (J.W. 2.142). There was no one defined Jewish angelology as such, and we should resist the temptation to impose organization, consistency and systemization on “quite unsys-

tematic literature” (Mach 2000, 25). Indeed, the Gospels appear to have their own, distinctive perspective on the angelic realm, its place in God's purposes in general and in relation to Jesus in particular.

Beyond the limited range of roles and characteristics found in the OT, in the Jewish material we encounter a vigorous expansion of angelic functions and themes. Sometimes there is an extension of ideas that are present, undeveloped in the OT. At other times new ideas appear without obvious biblical precedent.

With an expansion of the number and names for angels there come also specific roles or offices (cf. already Josh 5:14). Where the OT speaks of one principal angel, there now appears an executive team of named angels (Michael, Gabriel [see already Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; 8:16; 9:21], Raphael, Uriel, Sariel and others). Some angels have particular responsibilities in the sphere of creation: overseeing the workings of the sun, moon, planets, rain, snow, hail, fire, earthquakes, winds, lightning (*Jub.* 2:2; 1 En. 60:16–21; 2 En. 14:3; 19:4–5).

In the realm of history the “host” of angels has a special responsibility empowering and fighting with the righteous against their enemies. The evidence of Maccabean literature (2 Macc 3:24–26; 10:29–30; 11:5–12; 15:22–23; 3 Macc 6:16–29; 4 Macc 4:10), the Qumran War Scroll (esp. 1QM XII, 7–17; XVII, 5–8), Josephus (J.W. 6.298–300) and other texts (e.g., 1 En. 90:14; T. Levi 5:3; T. Jud. 3:10; L.A.B 27:10–11; 61:7–9) suggests that revolutionary movements were particularly interested in angels and their powers.

New themes in postbiblical angel material illustrate the more than primarily functional, message-bearing role of the angels. In various ways, angel texts articulate aspirations for a lifestyle that transcends ordinary or “fallen” human life. The righteous look to share life with the angels and to emulate them. There is intense interest in, for example, their permanent state of worship, around God's throne and in the sanctuary (1 En. 14; the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* of Qumran; 2 En. 22:2). Angels do not need food, or at least not ordinary earthly food (see *Jos. Asen.* 16:14; L.A.E. 4:2; cf. Ps 78:25), they do not sleep (they are “watchers” or “wakeful ones” [Dan 4:13, 23; 1 En. 1:2, 5; 39:12–13]), and they have no need of sexual intercourse and conjugal relations (1 En. 6–15). By fasting, avoiding sexual intercourse, and taking up heavenly patterns of worship, the righteous could take on an angelic lifestyle or identity (see Fletcher-Louis 1996). Not only do the angels inspire distinctive religious practices, but they also validate Israel's specific obligations under Torah. In

one text angels, like Israelites, keep Torah: they are circumcised and they rest on the Sabbath (*Jub.* 2:17-21; 15:25-27).

On the other hand, some texts envisage a rivalry between angels and human beings, or the superiority of the latter over the former (a theme that is expanded in the literature from the rabbinic period [cf. *L.A.B.* 32:1-2; 3 *En.* 1:4; 4:6-10; 5:10—6:3]). And there develops the notion that nations (*Dan* 12:1; *L.A.B.* 15:5) and individuals (*L.A.B.* 59:4) have guardian angels. In one tradition there is even the belief that God required that the angels worship Adam, before his fall, in his capacity as God's image, as his representative idol (*šelem*) (*L.A.E.* 12—16; cf. 4Q381 1, 10-11; Philo, *Opif.* 83).

2.3. Matters of Scholarly Debate. Some matters regarding angels that are relevant to Gospel interpretation are debated today.

2.3.1. Did Jews Believe That Humans Could Be Angelic? The Latin Vulgate used two words (*nuntius* for human messenger, and *angelus* for supernatural being) where Greek and Hebrew had just one. English translations carry on that distinction, and interpreters of the NT traditionally have assumed that there is a clear difference between “human messengers” (see, e.g., *angelos* in *Mt* 11:10; *Mk* 1:2; *Lk* 7:24, 27; 9:52) and “angels.” Some recent scholarship suggests that this linguistic separation obscures the fact that oftentimes Jews could describe human beings using “angel” language because they believed these human beings were, in fact, now heavenly humans. C. Fletcher-Louis and C. Gieschen have explored traditions where human beings have an “angelomorphic” identity—that is, “*wherever there are signs that an individual or community possesses specifically angelic characteristics or status, though for whom their identity cannot be reduced to that of an angel*” (Fletcher-Louis 1996, 14-15).

Many Jews clearly cherished the prospect of a communion with angels, especially in common worship, and this seems to have fostered also a belief in transformation to an angelic identity for the human worshipers (in this life). At Qumran, for example, the priest is called to be “as an Angel of the Presence in the abode of holiness” (1Q28b IV, 25). A range of past heroes, aspiring mystics, individuals and communities claim, in various ways, an angelomorphic identity. In particular, the (high) priesthood stands out as the office most frequently described in angelic hues (see already *Mal* 2:7; cf. Hecataeus of Abdera in Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 40.3.5; *T. Mos.* 10:2; 1Q28b IV, 24-28; 4Q511 35, 4).

For some, this identity was viewed as a recovery

of the identity that Adam had before his fall (e.g., 1 *En.* 69:11; *L.A.E.* 4:2), and that further motivated forms of asceticism, such as fasting, to emulate the life of the angels (see 2.2 above). This “angelomorphic” theme has implications for our understanding of the portrayal of both Jesus and his followers in some Gospel texts (see 3.1. below). However, some studies have minimized the extent of these ideas in early Christianity's formative context (e.g., Sullivan).

2.3.2. Do Angels Bear God's Presence or Just Do His Bidding? The nature of the angels has been much debated. Are they simply messengers, God's agents, or do they have an identity that is more than functional because, on occasion, they can carry something of God's presence?

In favor of the first view is the fact that the words *malāk* and *angelos* basically describe one who conveys a message, and *angelos* is used to translate other Hebrew words where *theoi* (“gods”) might have been a more literal translation of the underlying Hebrew. Biblical angelology, in other words, expresses a firm rejection of polytheism: Jewish tradition accepts the existence of a divine council, albeit God's throne room is populated by angels, not by other gods. And those angels are “created beings,” which surely means that they are not divine.

On the other hand, many Jews could still use divine language for “angels.” First, the Hebrew words *ēlīm* and *ēlōhīm* (“gods”) are used for angels in Qumran literature (compare the archangel who is “a god” in *Jos. Asen.* 17:9), Josephus refers to a “divine angel” (*theios angelos* [e.g. *Ant.* 1:219, 332]), other texts use the expression “divine *logos*” for an angel (e.g., *Ezek. Trag.* 99; Philo, *Fug.* 5; *Cher.* 3; *Deus* 182). Second, while the words *malāk* and *angelos* are essentially an expression of function, that function can include a bearing of God's presence (not just a conveying of his messages). In the ancient world the ambassador can be the one whom he represents (see *m. Ber.* 5:5). Third, language and imagery for the glory of God in biblical theophanies (the fire, light and precious stones/metals in *Ezek* 1) are transferred to angels (see *Dan* 10:5-6; 2 *Macc* 3:25-26; *Jos. Asen.* 14:9; 2 *En.* 1:3-5; *Apoc. Ab.* 11:1-3; *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:11-15). Typically, the human being reacts in fear and trembling in the presence of the angel (*Dan* 10:7-9; 2 *En.* 1:3-8; *Apoc. Ab.* 11:2-6), and, understandably, makes the mistake of thinking that the angel should be worshiped (*Jos. Asen.* 15:11-12; *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:11-15; cf. *Rev* 19:10; 22:8-9). It is by no means certain that Jews in antiquity would assume that a created being could not possess something of God's own character or nature (cf. *Wisdom* in *Sir* 24). Indeed, in *Luke* 2:9 there

seems to be a clear connection between an angelophany and the presence of the Lord.

On the other hand, texts explicitly prohibit worship of angels (*Apoc. Zeph.* 6:11-15; *Asc. Isa.* 7:21), in line with the biblical prohibition against the worship of other gods. In the wider Greco-Roman world divine beings receive song, sacrifice and diverse expressions of devotion. Jewish angels are not recognizably “divine” by those standards.

2.4. The Angel of the Lord and a Principal Angel in Jewish Tradition. The OT, especially the Pentateuch, describes a singular, principal “angel of Yahweh,” who is indistinguishable from Yahweh himself (see *Gen* 16:11, 13; 22:1-18; *Num* 22:22-35). In one important passage this angel is said to carry God’s name (*Ex* 23:20-21). While some postbiblical texts envisage a team of four or seven archangels, in other traditions there is particular interest in this principal angel; the relevant biblical texts are reread in creative ways, and the angel of the Lord is given new characteristics and responsibilities (see Rowland 1982; Barker).

On the one hand, more than in any other case, there developed here the belief in an angelic being who carried God’s presence and who, like the OT “angel of Yahweh,” was indistinguishable from God himself. For example, in one tradition he is called “Iaoel” (*Apoc. Ab.* 10:3, 8; cf. *L.A.B.* 26:12; 3 *En.* 48D:1) which can be the name both of the angel and of God himself (compare *Apoc. Ab.* 10:3, 8 with 17:13 and see *Apoc. Mos.* 29:4; 33:5; *Lad. Jac.* 2:18). In turn, the name “Iaoel” derives from the description of an angel who bears God’s name (in the form “Yaho” or “lao”) in *Exodus* 23:20-22. Other texts identify the angel of the Lord with the Word (*logos*) (*Ezek. Trag.* 99) or with Wisdom (e.g., *Ex* 14:19 in *Sir* 24:4).

On the other hand, there are texts where biblical “angel of Yahweh” traditions are associated with a particular human being. A. van der Kooij has argued that already in the Old Greek (LXX) the angel who carries God’s name in the Hebrew of *Exodus* 23:20-22 is identified with the high priest who has the name “on him” (on his turban).

2.5. The Gospels’ Angelology in Jewish Context. All the references to angels in the Gospels reflect either biblical ideas about angels or well-attested post-biblical developments. Their characterization is conventional: they have human form (*Mk* 16:5; *Lk* 24:4), are robed in white garments (*Mt* 28:3; *Mk* 16:5; *Jn* 20:12), radiate light (*Mt* 28:3; *Lk* 24:4), praise God (*Lk* 2:13-14), bring messages to God’s people, and cause fear and trembling in those who encounter them (*Mt* 28:1-8; *Mk* 16:5-8; *Lk* 1:11-12; 2:9-10; 24:5).

Frequently, their appearance reflects contemporary Jewish traditions. For example, the Son of Man’s coming with angels (*Mk* 8:38 = *Lk* 9:26; *Mt* 16:27; 25:31) reflects the belief that the angels around God’s throne in *Daniel* 7:9 would accompany the “one like a son of man” when he received power and authority (*Dan* 7:14). Their appearance with the Son of Man perhaps assumes their role as end-time judge and executioner (see 1 *En.* 62:11).

On the other hand, there is much in contemporary Jewish tradition that is not picked up in the Gospels. For example, the rich terminology for heavenly beings (*ēlīm*, watchers, holy ones, glorious ones, cherubim, seraphim, *ōpannīm*, living creatures, spirits) is missing. There is no exploration of the place of different orders of angels in a multilayered cosmos. There is just one named angel (Gabriel in *Lk* 1:19, 26). Angels do not act as intercessors (contrast *Zech* 1:12-17; 1 *En.* 15:2; 99:3; 3 *Bar.* 11—16), nor do they commission anyone (cf. *Ex* 3:2; *Judg* 6:11-24; 1 *En.* 81:5-10; *T. Levi* 5:3; 8). Jesus is aware of angels of protection, but he chooses not to appeal to them (*Mt* 4:5-7; 26:53; *Lk* 4:9-12; cf. *Gen* 48:16; *Ex* 14:19-20; 23:20; *Ps* 34:7; 91:11; *Dan* 3:25, 28; 1 *En.* 100:5; *L.A.B.* 38:3; 59:4; 3 *Macc* 6:18-19). Angels appear with instructions (in the birth narrative and resurrection story), but there is little to compare with their familiar role as the interpreter of mysteries (as in *Dan* 7—12; *Zech* 1—6; 1 *En.* 17—36; *Jos. Asen.* 14—16; *Jub.* 1:27-29; 10:10-14; *Apoc. Ab.* 10—18; 4 *Ezra* 3—14).

Several Gospel texts reflect classic “angel of the Lord” passages (compare Gabriel’s announcement of the birth of Jesus in *Lk* 1:26-38 with *Gen* 16:11, on the birth of Ishmael; *Judg* 13:3-5, on the birth of Samson). However, these passages do not seem interested in the postbiblical speculation on the angel of the Lord. The Gospels speak of an angel of the Lord (*Mt* 1:20, 24; *Lk* 2:9-12) and reflect the belief that there were in fact a number of principal angels who represented the Lord (e.g., Gabriel in *Lk* 1:19, 26).

The absence of these Jewish angelological themes in the Gospels is best explained as an expression of their Christology (see 5 below). It is also consistent with the peculiar ways angels and other angelological traditions do appear in the Gospels.

3. The Synoptic Gospels.

With an appreciation for the breadth and creativity of Jewish angel traditions, we find that besides the explicit angel references, the Gospels draw implicitly on diverse angel traditions.

3.1. Angel Texts Shared Across the Synoptics. Angels set the scene of eschatological fulfillment in

all three of the Synoptic Gospels. In Matthew and Luke angels announce God's intentions through the *birth of Jesus (and *John the Baptist), much as the angel of the Yahweh had done at the births of Ishmael (Gen 16:11-12), Isaac (Gen 18:9-15) and Samson (Judg 13:3-5). Luke's opening angelophanies stress God's purposes in and for true *temple and Torah piety: Zechariah's meeting with Gabriel in the sanctuary is natural because it is God's house, the headquarters of his angelic executive (cf. Is 6; Zech 3; Josephus, *J. W.* 6:299-300; *Liv. Pro.* 23:2; *1 En.* 14:8-25).

In his own way, as C. Rowland points out (in Rowland and Murray-Jones 2009, 113-16), Mark also has an angel prepare the way for the Lord Jesus: John the Baptist is an *angelos* (Mk 1:2; cf. the priest angel in LXX Ex 23:20-22) and eats special food, honey—the ambrosia reserved for the angels (cf. *Jos. Asen.* 16:14; Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 2.25 on Jn 1:6).

In the wilderness Satan invites Jesus to put his trust in the angelic protection promised in Psalm 91:11-12 (Mt 4:5-7; Lk 4:9-12) and to force a dramatic divine demonstration of his special status as God's son. Jesus rejects the offer in Luke and Matthew (see further below). However, Matthew and Mark still have angels serve him (Mt 4:11; Mk 1:13). Jesus' faithfulness under duress means that he succeeded where Adam capitulated to the serpent. So, Matthew's and Mark's scene with the ministering angels perhaps evokes the tradition that the angels rendered worshipful service to Adam at his creation (see 2.2 above).

Jesus' authoritative reply to the testing legal case posed by the Sadducees shows that he and his followers adopted the emerging majority view that after the resurrection the righteous would live a new kind of existence: an angelomorphic existence free from conjugal commitments and sexual activity (Mt 22:30; Mk 12:25; Lk 20:34-36; cf., e.g., Dan 12:3; *4 Ezra* 7:97; *2 Bar.* 51:10). It is not that angels were believed to be incapable of sexual intercourse (cf. Gen 6:1-4; *1 En.* 6-15), but rather that sexual intercourse is both unnecessary and improper for the heavenly life that the righteous will experience after resurrection.

Mark 13:27 (// Mt 24:31, but not Lk 21) predicts that the *Son of Man will send out his angels to gather the elect from the four winds when he comes in *glory. In a thoroughgoing A.D. 70, temple-destruction reading of Mark 13, N. T. Wright has argued that these angels are the apostles sent out on Christian mission (Wright 1996, 362-63). This is plausible, especially in view of those texts that describe Christian leaders behaving like angels (Acts 6:15; 8:26-40; cf. Gal 4:14) and also the use of *angelos* for the apostles in Luke 9:52 (cf. Lk 10:1 with Ex 23:20; Mal 3:1).

Across the Synoptic tradition there is evidence of an interest in angels in Gethsemane. In some manuscripts of Luke 22:43-44 Jesus is strengthened by an angel as he sweats like drops of blood; in Matthew 26:53 Jesus claims that he can call on the help of twelve legions of angels; and in Mark 14:51-52 the "young man" (*neaniskos*) fleeing naked may be an angel. The first two, and perhaps the third, of these texts reflect the tradition of angelic help offered to righteous heroes in battle (see above).

The angels reappear on stage in the *resurrection narratives, echoing their role in the infancy narratives. The resurrection (and death itself) is an *apocalyptic moment: the Easter garden tomb is a "thin" place and time. Mark and Luke refrain from explicit identification of the (young) men who greet the women at the tomb as the angels (Mk 16:5; Lk 24:4-7), though their description is stereotypical of heavenly beings (see Josephus's "young men" as angels in 2.2 above). The absence of explicit identification may also serve to create suspense, echoing the way the heroes of old often are greeted by angels unawares (Judg 6; Tobit).

3.2. The Gospel of Matthew. Matthew has a particular interest in the protective, guarding role of angels (see Mt 4:5-7; 26:51-53). The angels in his infancy narrative effectively protect Jesus (Mt 2:13, 19-21), and Jesus speaks of the "little ones" having angels who represent and protect them as they have direct access to God in heaven (Mt 18:10). Here there may be belief in an individual's guardian angel, though in Matthew 18:10 it may be that the righteous have a kind of angelic double or heavenly angelic self (cf. 2 Cor 12:2; Eph 2:6; Phil 3:20).

In Matthew 13:39, 41, 49 there are angels of end-time judgment (see 2.1 above), and Matthew 25:41 notes that the devil has angels (cf. *1 En.* 6—18; *2 En.* 29:4-5). D. C. Allison has made a strong case that the star that guided the magi was in fact an angel (cf. Ex 14:19; 23:20).

3.3. The Gospel of Luke. In the context of the first two chapters of Luke, which are steeped in the hopes for Israel's redemption, the "multitude of a heavenly army [*stratia*]" (Lk 2:13) consists of warrior angels whose praise signals God's power to defeat his enemies and bring "peace" (Lk 2:14). There is another scene of angelic *joy and *worship in Luke's "lost and found" chapter (Lk 15:10). There, at the announcement to the shepherds and at the triumphal entry, Luke probably assumes that the angels' worship is reflected or imitated by the righteous: the shepherds "praise and glorify God" (Lk 2:20) just like the angels (Lk 2:13-14), and lyrics of the angelic

song (Lk 2:14) are reprised by the crowds at the *triumphal entry (Lk 19:38) (see Fletcher-Louis 1996, 72-78).

An interest in the angelic life as a model for the ideal human life is also present in Luke's version of Jesus' debate with the *Sadducees about the resurrection life. In several ways, his version is different from that in Mark (and Matthew), including that in Luke 20:34-36 Jesus describes the righteous, the "sons of God," as those who already express an angelic existence by not marrying (see Fletcher-Louis 1996, 78-86).

After his resurrection Jesus appears to his disciples, and they think that he is a spirit, which for Luke is much the same as an angel (cf. Acts 23:8-9). To prove that he is no spirit, Jesus eats some grilled fish (Lk 24:36-43). This story probably reflects the contemporary Jewish belief that angels do not eat (see Tob 12:19; *Apoc. Ab.* 13:4; *T. Ab.* 4:9-10; Philo, *Ab.* 118; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.197) (see Fletcher-Louis 1996, 63-70), at least not ordinary earthly food (cf. Ps 78:5; *Jos. Asen.* 16:15-16).

4. The Gospel of John.

There are comparatively few references to angels in John. The image of angels ascending and descending on the Son of Man in John 1:51 probably relies on Jewish interpretive traditions around the meaning of Genesis 28:12, where angels ascend and descend on a ladder (or "on Jacob") as the patriarch sleeps at Bethel (see Rowland 1984). This background suggests that the angels go up to heaven, where they see the same face on the throne of God as they see in the Son of Man. Here, and in other ways (see 5 below), angelology serves John's distinctive high Christology.

5. Angels and Christology.

There has been lively debate in recent decades about ways in which angel traditions contributed to NT Christology (see Fletcher-Louis 1996; Gieschen; Hannah; Sullivan; Garrett). Clearly, Jesus is not an angel in the Synoptics (contrast *Gos. Thom.* 13), but angels contribute in various ways to his identity.

Some believe that in Daniel 7:13 the "one like a son of man" is an angel. In Luke 9:26 Jesus speaks of the Son of Man having the glory of the angels (contrast Mt 16:27; Mk 8:38), but he also has the Father's and his own glory. As the Son of Man, Jesus suffers unto death in a way that would not be expected of an angel, and in some sayings angels are clearly distinguished from the Son of Man in a way that reflects the belief that he is exalted over them (Mk 8:38; 13:26-27; Mt 13:41; 25:31; Jn 1:51; cf. Lk 12:8). Similarly,

the presence of a large company of angels, outside the temple, at Jesus' birth in Luke 2 signals the presence of one who is superior to the angels.

The *transfiguration (Mt 17:1-13; Mk 9:2-13; Lk 9:28-36) can be understood on analogy to texts that describe a this-life transformation, including those in which a righteous individual is given an angelomorphic identity (e.g., 2 *En.* 22:8-10) (Fletcher-Louis 2001).

While Luke's postresurrection stories claim that Jesus is no disembodied angel (Lk 24:36-43), the Emmaus story also echoes the way the angel of Yahweh behaves in Genesis 18-19, Judges 6; 13 (and Tob 5-12) (see Fletcher-Louis 1996, 62-63). It is also possible that in the Synoptic tradition in general and, especially, in John the pattern of an angel coming from heaven to earth has contributed to sayings in which Jesus describes how he (or the Son of Man) "has come" (to earth) (on John's Christology, see Gathercole, 113-47; Ashton; Fossum; Gieschen, 270-93).

The relative absence of angelic activity during Jesus' ministry in comparison to the infancy and resurrection stories, and Jesus' rejection of angelic help at the temptation, are best explained as an implicit christological motif: while Jesus is on earth, angels are not needed, for one greater is here. It is a mistake to see a need for angels during this time (Jn 12:29).

See also APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING; DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; DREAMS AND VISIONS.

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C. Fletcher-Louis

ANOINTING

In the Gospels anointing is associated with *healing (Mk 6:13; Lk 10:34), the celebration of meals (Mt 6:17-18), hospitality (Lk 7:46) and the *burial of Jesus (Mk 16:1; Lk 24:1; Jn 19:39-40). All four Gospels include an account of the anointing of Jesus by a woman (Mt 26:6-13; Mk 14:3-9; Lk 7:36-50; Jn 12:1-8). In the OT the anointing of the head was associated with the consecration of kings (1 Sam 9:15-10:1; 16:12-13; 1 Kings 1:38-40) and of priests and prophets (Ex 28:41; 1 Kings 19:16); the term **“messiah”* (*christos*) has the literal meaning “anointed one.” The verb *chriō* (“anoint”) occurs in the Gospels only once, in

the account of the anointing of Jesus by the *Spirit (Lk 4:18; cf. LXX Isa 61:1; see also Acts 10:38), and the Gospels employ the verb *aleiphō* (“anoint”) [Mt 6:17; Mk 6:13; 16:1; Lk 7:38, 46; Jn 11:2; 12:3]). The OT background, however, raises the question of whether the evangelists intend to depict the woman’s action as the anointing of Jesus as the Messiah.

1. Anointing of Jesus in Mark (Mk 14:3-9)
2. Anointing of Jesus in Matthew (Mt 26:6-13)
3. Anointing of Jesus in Luke (Lk 7:36-50)
4. Anointing of Jesus in John (Jn 12:1-8)
5. Conclusion

1. Anointing of Jesus in Mark (Mk 14:3-9).

In Mark’s Gospel an anonymous woman interrupts a meal, breaks open a jar of perfume, and pours the perfume over Jesus’ head in the house of Simon the leper. Mark has employed his characteristic literary technique of intercalation to place the account of the anointing of Jesus between the plot of the chief *priests and *scribes to arrest Jesus (Mk 14:1-2) and the betrayal of Jesus by Judas (Mk 14:10-11) (Barton). The location of this episode at the beginning of the *passion narrative and the woman’s act of anointing Jesus’ head in the middle of the meal suggest that her action is to be interpreted as the anointing of Jesus as the Messiah. The woman remains silent throughout the account, and Jesus is the one who interprets the anointing as the preparation of his body for burial. The woman is portrayed as a prophetic figure, since her act of anointing Jesus’ head alludes to his kingship, which is revealed at his death.

Some of those present object that the perfume could have been sold for more than three hundred denarii and the money given to the poor (Mk 14:5) (see Rich and Poor). Jesus defends the woman by arguing that she has performed a “good deed” because she has anointed his body for burial. In rabbinic tradition “good deeds” take precedence over almsgiving because they require immediate action (Daube). Jesus does not ignore the needs of the poor, since he cites the commandment that requires the care of the poor (Deut 15:11). The woman’s critics describe the gift as a “waste” (*apōleia* [Mk 14:4]), but this term recalls Jesus’ teaching on *discipleship in which the cognate verb *apollymi* (“lose”) is used to demonstrate that only those willing to lose their lives will save life (Mk 8:35). The loss of the perfume paradoxically reflects the extravagant gift of Jesus’ life to bring life to others (Miller).

2. Anointing of Jesus in Matthew (Mt 26:6-13).

Matthew follows Mark’s Gospel closely in his por-

trayal of an anonymous woman who anoints Jesus' head in the house of Simon the leper. Matthew's account focuses on the significance of the anointing of Jesus as a teaching episode for the disciples. In Mark's Gospel the woman's critics are unnamed, but Matthew identifies the disciples as the ones who question the waste of perfume. Jesus responds to the disciples directly, implying that they have a responsibility to care of the poor. The woman has performed a "good deed" for Jesus, who is identified with the poor. Her action looks forward to the teaching of Jesus in which those who care for the hungry, the thirsty, the stranger, the naked, the sick and the prisoner care for Jesus (Mt 25:31-46) (Wainwright).

3. Anointing of Jesus in Luke (Lk 7:36-50).

In Luke's Gospel an anonymous woman who is described as a sinner in the city anoints Jesus' feet in the house of Simon, a Pharisee. Luke has connected his account of the anointing of Jesus to a parable of Jesus about forgiveness. The woman weeps over Jesus' feet and loosens her hair to dry them before anointing them with oil. Luke downplays the prophetic role of the woman by presenting her in the conventional role of a penitent *sinner. Jesus, however, reverses the status of the woman and his host by comparing the service of the woman favorably to the hospitality offered to him by Simon (Seim).

4. Anointing of Jesus in John (Jn 12:1-8).

In John's Gospel Mary of Bethany anoints the feet of Jesus at a dinner in Bethany, and Judas is the disciple who objects to the cost of the perfume. Mary anoints Jesus as a sign of her gratitude toward Jesus for the raising of her brother, *Lazarus. Her act of anointing Jesus' feet and drying them with her hair foreshadows Jesus' act of washing and drying his disciples' feet at the *Last Supper (Jn 13:1-20). Jesus carries out a symbolic action expressing the *salvation that he brings to humankind, and Mary's act of anointing Jesus' feet points to his identity as the suffering Messiah. Mary carries out a prophetic action that prepares Jesus for his death (Conway). The scent of the perfume spreads through the house, and the Greek term *osmē* ("scent") recalls the scent of the sacrifices pleasing to God (Jn 12:3; cf. LXX Gen 8:21; Ex 29:18; Lev 2:2), thus alluding to the sacrificial nature of Jesus' death.

5. Conclusion.

In Mark, Matthew and John a woman anoints Jesus as the Messiah, and Jesus connects the act of anointing with his death, since he is revealed as the Messiah through his willingness to give his life for oth-

ers. Luke, however, downplays the prophetic role of the woman and associates the anointing with repentance and forgiveness. The similarities and differences between the narratives suggest that two stories may have been combined. In one tradition a repentant woman weeps at Jesus' feet in Galilee, and in the second a woman anoints Jesus' head in Bethany (Legault). In Mark, Matthew and John the anointing of Jesus is associated with his imminent death. Jesus does not disregard the needs of the poor, since he is about to give his life to bring abundant life to all people.

See also BAPTISM; MESSIAH.

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ANTI-JUDAISM. See ANTI-SEMITISM.

ANTIPAS. See HERODIAN DYNASTY.

ANTI-SEMITISM

The despicable horror of anti-Semitism is the antithesis of the Christian teaching of love. The Shoah (the Holocaust), perpetrated in a nominally Christian country, was a contradiction of the very heart of Christianity. So-called Christian anti-Semitism is an oxymoron. It is therefore a tragic irony that anti-Semitism has been encouraged by the unfortunate and improper use of NT texts, especially, but not only, from the Gospels. A quick, popular conclusion seems plausible: the NT is broadly responsible for anti-Semitism. Although this argument is frequently heard from both Jews and non-Jews, it is simplistic and unjustifiable. The issue is complex and requires careful definitions and distinctions.

1. Anti-Semitism and Anti-Judaism
2. Mark and Matthew
3. Luke
4. John
5. Anti-Semitism, Anti-Judaism and the Death of Jesus

1. Anti-Semitism and Anti-Judaism.

It is of great importance to distinguish anti-Semitism from anti-Judaism. The former is a broadly based racial/cultural hatred and hostility toward Jews as a people that may include, but is not limited to, the religion of the Jews. Anti-Judaism, on the other hand, is specifically disagreement with the religious views and practices of Judaism as a religion, or, more accurately, with some of these views and practices. Accepting this distinction, we may conclude that the negativity that we encounter in the NT is not anti-Semitism, but rather an expression of anti-Judaism. And since it is certain that almost all the NT writers were Jews, it makes no sense to speak of racial/cultural hatred of the Jews on their part, for that would be a form of self-hatred.

It is anti-Judaism that we encounter in the NT. Even this conclusion is highly problematic, however. Jesus was a Jew, the Twelve were Jews, and earliest Christianity consisted exclusively of Jews. These Jews never would have regarded their faith as an anti-Judaism. Indeed, Christianity itself can be construed as a form of Judaism. Jewish believers in Jesus did not stop being Jews. They did not regard themselves as having converted to a new religion. Instead, they regarded their new faith as the fulfillment of their Judaism. It was the true Judaism.

At the same time, however, we must not downplay the newness implicit in their new faith in Jesus. There were aspects of their new convictions that were hardly compatible with their previous views, especially in such areas as Christology and soteriology, with obvious implications for the law and the temple. Very quickly these views began to make it impossible to regard these believers in Jesus as a sect within *Judaism—that is, as another manifestation of the diversity of Second Temple Judaism. To the extent that these views differed from those of the emerging, formative Judaism, one may indeed see indications of a necessary anti-Judaism. It is important to note, however, that anti-Judaism is not equivalent to being anti-Jewish. This must be kept in mind in the use of the word *anti-Judaism* in what follows. The early Jewish believers in Jesus, including the evangelists, cannot be considered anti-Jewish.

At first, disagreements between the Jews who believed in Jesus and those who did not constituted an intramural argument: Jews arguing with Jews. This certainly was the case within the NT itself, where criticism of Judaism can no more be labeled as anti-Semitism than can the prophets' denunciations of Israel. It was not long, however, before these Jewish believers in Jesus were ostracized from *synagogues. Although the subject is much disputed, very probably the so-called parting of the ways began well before the end of the first century and increasingly became an undeniable reality with the passing of time (for a review of the discussion, see Hagner). During the same period, the church had taken in large numbers of *Gentile believers, and Jewish believers in Jesus became a distinct minority. Here for the first time we have the real potential for anti-Semitism.

2. Mark and Matthew.

Mark's narrative presents aspects of anti-Judaism that are picked up and heightened by Matthew. Neither in Mark nor Matthew is the term *hoi Ioudaioi* ("the Jews") significant in this regard. Far more important are the references to the *Pharisees, who are most representative of Judaism.

The Pharisees dispute with Jesus in order to "test" him (Mk 8:11; 10:2) and to "entrap" him (Mk 12:13 // Mt 22:15). Already in Mark 3:6 the Pharisees join the *Herodians in plotting the death of Jesus (so too Mt 12:14, but without mention of the Herodians), although surprisingly the Pharisees are not mentioned in the arrest, *trial and *passion narratives.

The Gospel of Matthew picks up most of Mark's polemic against the Jews. This is all the more interesting because Matthew, unlike Mark, is written to Jewish rather than Gentile Christians. The negative portrayal of the Pharisees is intensified in Matthew, especially in the well-known chapter Matthew 23. Jesus, according to Matthew, repeatedly calls them *"hypocrites," but also "child(ren) of hell," "blind guides," "blind fools," "serpents" and "brood of vipers" (cf. Mt 3:7, where the Pharisees are linked with the *Sadducees). Although the Pharisees are portrayed negatively in Mark, this particular language is not used of them in that Gospel, except for the single reference to "hypocrites" in Mark 7:6 (expressly alluding to Is 29:13). Matthew notes that the Pharisees attributed Jesus' ability to exorcize *demons to "the prince of demons" (Mt 9:34; 12:24; cf. Mk 3:22).

Apart from the negative mention of these groups, Markan anti-Judaism can also be seen in the dispute over the *law. The Pharisees were dis-

tressed by Jesus' stance toward the law. Mark notes the freedom of Jesus vis-à-vis the *Sabbath (Mk 2:23—3:6 // Mt 12:1-14) and dietary law (Mk 7:1-23 // Mt 15:1-20, where Mark adds the comment "Thus he declared all foods clean" [Mk 7:19], a comment not picked up by Matthew, however) and his disallowance of *divorce, thereby contradicting *Moses (Mk 10:2-9 // Mt 19:3-9). So too, Jesus is critical of the *temple: he cleanses it (Mk 11:15-18 // Mt 21:12-13), he prophesies its destruction (Mk 13:1-2 // Mt 24:1-3), and at his crucifixion the temple curtain is torn apart (Mk 15:38 // Mt 27:51), implying the end of the cultus as the means of atonement.

Mark also contains the parable of the wicked tenants (Mk 12:1-12 // Mt 21:33-46). The tenants, representing the Jews, or at least the Jewish authorities, kill the son of the vineyard owner, with the result that the vineyard is taken away from them and given to others. With this motif of the transference of the kingdom we may compare Matthew 8:10-11, where it is stated that many (Gentiles, like the centurion) from east and west will sit at table with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, while "the sons of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness."

It is important to note that the negative view of the Jews in all four Gospels is a result of the Jewish rejection of Jesus, and this motif finds its focus primarily in the Jewish authorities. In Mark 11:18 the chief *priests and *scribes seek a way to destroy him. Jesus predicts his sufferings and death at the hands of "the elders, the chief priests, and the scribes" (Mk 8:31 // Mt 16:21) or of "the chief priests and the scribes" (Mk 10:33 // Mt 20:18); it is they who will "deliver him to the Gentiles." It is specifically the chief priests, scribes and *elders (Mk 14:43, 53; 15:1, 3, 11, 31), the members of the *Sanhedrin (Mk 14:55) and the high priest (Mk 14:60-63) who are implicated in the death of Jesus. Toward the end of the narrative the Pharisees appear together with the chief priests only in Matthew 27:62.

Throughout Mark and Matthew, however, the Pharisees are also linked with Jewish authorities: the Herodians (Mk 3:6; 12:13; cf. Mk 8:15; Mt 22:15-16) and the scribes (Mk 7:1, 5). In Matthew it is the "scribes" who are most often linked with the Pharisees (e.g., Mt 12:38; 15:1; 23:2), most notably in the seven woes against the Pharisees in Matthew 23. In Matthew 3:7 the Pharisees are mentioned together with the Sadducees, as also in Matthew 16:1, 6, 11-12; 22:34. They are linked with the chief priests in Matthew 21:45.

It is the blame for the death of Jesus that constitutes the most virulent anti-Judaic theme in the

Gospels. Without question, one of the most grievous statements is that of Matthew 27:25, where "all the people [*laos*]" cry out, "His blood be on us and on our children." It cannot be denied that this statement, unfortunately, has been used to promote anti-Semitism. It should be noted, however, that the statement is formulaic, and the reference to "our children" does not make them guilty of the death of Jesus, let alone children or Jews of later generations. It must strongly be emphasized that it is wrong to generalize these words by applying them to all Jews of every place and every time.

3. Luke.

The opening two chapters of Luke speak eloquently of how the *birth of Jesus is the initial fulfillment of the hope of *Israel (Lk 1:13-17, 30-33, 46-55, 67-79; 2:10-11, 25-38). At the opening of his Galilean ministry, however, Jesus is rejected in his hometown of Nazareth (Lk 4:28-29). As also in Mark and Matthew, the Pharisees are the main antagonists of Jesus. In Luke 5:21 the Pharisees accuse Jesus of *blasphemy because he forgives the sins of the paralytic whom he had healed. A passage unique to Luke notes that "the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected the purpose of God for themselves" (Lk 7:30). In Luke 16:14-15 the Pharisees are described as "lovers of money," and Jesus says to them, "You are those who justify yourselves in the sight of others, but God knows your hearts; for what is prized by human beings is an abomination in the sight of God." Luke 18:9-14 contains the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector, addressed "to some who trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others." The concluding verse focuses on the self-exaltation of the Pharisee. In another Lukan parable the compassion of a *Samaritan is contrasted with the indifference of a priest and a Levite (Lk 10:29-37).

In Luke too the Pharisees are upset by Jesus' failure to observe the Sabbath to their satisfaction (Lk 6:1-11; cf. Lk 14:1-6). In Luke 6:7 the scribes and the Pharisees "watched him, to see whether he would heal on the sabbath, so that they might find an accusation against him." They were "filled with fury and discussed with one another what they might do to Jesus" (Lk 6:11). The ruler of the synagogue was "indignant because Jesus had healed on the sabbath" (Lk 13:14). Luke 15:2 reports that "the Pharisees and the scribes murmured, saying, 'This man receives sinners and eats with them.'"

The only reference in Luke that associates the Pharisees explicitly with hypocrisy is in Luke 12:1, where Jesus says to his disciples, "Beware of the

leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy." Immediately after Luke's parallel to Matthew 23, containing woes against the Pharisees and lawyers (see Lk 11:37-52; cf. Lk 20:45-47), Luke writes, "As he went away from there, the scribes and the Pharisees began to press him hard, and to provoke him to speak of many things, lying in wait for him, to catch at something he might say" (Lk 11:53).

At a few points Luke uses the word "lawyers" (*nomikoi*, synonym for "scribes") where Matthew refers to the scribes and Pharisees. Thus, in Luke 11:46 it is "lawyers" who load people down with burdens hard to bear (cf. Mt 23:4). So too in the following woe oracle: "Woe to you lawyers! For you have taken away the key of knowledge; you did not enter yourselves, and you hindered those who were entering" (Lk 11:52 // Mt 23:13). In Luke 20:46-47 (// Mt 23:5-7) Jesus warns his disciples concerning "the scribes, who like to go about in long robes, and love salutations in the marketplaces and the best seats in the synagogues and the places of honor at feasts, who devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayers. They will receive the greater condemnation" (cf. similar material concerning the Pharisees in Lk 11:43).

At the same time, and rather paradoxically, the picture of the Pharisees and scribes in Luke is not consistently negative. Several times Pharisees invite Jesus to dinner (Lk 7:36; 11:37; 14:1). In one instance scribes are described as appreciating the teaching of Jesus: "Some of the scribes answered, 'Teacher, you have spoken well.' For they no longer dared to ask him any question" (Lk 20:39). And strikingly, some Pharisees warn Jesus concerning a threat to his life: "Get away from here, for Herod wants to kill you" (Lk 13:31).

As in Mark and Matthew, those responsible for the death of Jesus are the Jewish authorities. In the first passion *prediction Luke follows Mark closely: "The Son of Man must be rejected by the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised" (Lk 9:22). Again, when Jesus was teaching in the temple, "the chief priests, the scribes and the leaders of the people sought to destroy him" (Lk 19:47). The chief priests and the scribes with the elders question the source of Jesus' authority (Lk 20:2). In Luke 20:19-20 it is the scribes and the chief priests who "tried to lay hands on him . . . for they perceived that he had told this parable [of the wicked tenants] against them. So they watched him, and sent spies, who pretended to be sincere, that they might take hold of what he said, so as to deliver him up to the authority and jurisdiction of the governor"

(cf. Lk 22:2). It is "the chief priests and captains of the temple and elders" who initially take Jesus captive in the garden (Lk 22:52). And finally, "the assembly of the elders of the people, both chief priests and scribes," "brought Jesus before Pilate" (Lk 22:66-23:1). The chief priest and scribes vehemently accuse Jesus before Herod (Lk 23:10).

Although in fact it was the Romans who crucified Jesus, since they did so at the bidding of the Jewish authorities, it is possible to connect the latter with the crucifixion. This happens in Luke 24:19-20, where the Emmaus disciples say, "Our chief priests and rulers delivered him up to be condemned to death, and crucified him." The connection becomes particularly strong in Luke's second volume, where the people of Israel in general are repeatedly held accountable for the death of Jesus: Acts 2:22-23, 36; 3:13-15; 4:8-10 ("rulers of the people and elders"); Acts 5:30 (the council and high priest); Acts 7:51-52; 10:39; 13:27-28 ("those who live in Jerusalem and their rulers"). In Acts Paul speaks three times of a turning from the Jews to the Gentiles (Acts 13:46; 18:6; 28:28).

4. John.

In the whole of the NT it is perhaps in John that we come closest to anti-Semitism. Here the polemic often focuses more generally on "the Jews." It is possible to translate *hoi Ioudaioi*, which appears frequently in John, as "the Judeans," as some translations occasionally do, but this hardly alleviates the problem. As in the Synoptic Gospels, very early in the narrative the Pharisees become anxious about Jesus. Thus, although in John 1:19 "the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem" to interrogate Jesus, in John 1:24 it is said that "they had been sent by the Pharisees." What disturbs the Pharisees is not only Jesus' attitude toward the Sabbath (Jn 7:23; 9:16), but also, far more, what are regarded as his personal claims: "This was why the Jews persecuted Jesus, because he did this on the sabbath. . . . This was why the Jews sought all the more to kill him, because he not only broke the sabbath but also called God his own Father, making himself equal with God" (Jn 5:16-18). "The Jews then murmured at him, because he said, 'I am the bread which came down from heaven'" (Jn 6:41).

The personal claims of Jesus result in the Jews taking up stones to stone him. In John 8:58-59, when Jesus says, "Before Abraham was, I am," "they took up stones to throw at him." The same thing happens when Jesus says, "I and the Father are one" (Jn 10:30). They regarded this as blasphemy: "You, being a man, make yourself God" (Jn 10:33). Already in John 4:1

the Pharisees are the cause of Jesus leaving Judea for Galilee. The hostility increases as the narrative proceeds. The Jews seek to kill Jesus (Jn 7:1, 19, 25; 8:37). "The chief priests and Pharisees sent officers to arrest him" (Jn 7:32; cf. Jn 7:30, 45; 10:39).

It is in a dialogue between the Jews and Jesus that undoubtedly the most vitriolic words are spoken against the Jews: "You are of your father the devil, and your will is to do your father's desires" (Jn 8:44). The reaction of the Jews is to ask, "Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?" (Jn 8:48 [cf. Jn 8:52]). The evangelist speaks of a division over Jesus among the Jews, some saying, "He has a demon, and he is mad," others asking, "Can a demon open the eyes of the blind?" (Jn 10:20-21).

In the account of Jesus' arrest Judas brings with him to the garden "a band of soldiers and some officers from the chief priests and the Pharisees" (Jn 18:3 [cf. Jn 18:12, referring to "the officers of the Jews"]). When Jesus is eventually brought before him, Pilate remarks, "Your own nation and the chief priests have handed you over to me" (Jn 18:35). The Jews say to Pilate, "We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he has made himself the Son of God" (Jn 19:7). When Pilate wanted to release Jesus, "the Jews cried out, 'If you release this man, you are not Caesar's friend. Everyone who makes himself a king sets himself against Caesar'" (Jn 19:12) (*see* Pontius Pilate).

It is important to note that the portrayal of the Pharisees and the Jewish authorities is not consistently negative in John. Nicodemus, "a ruler of the Jews," is set forth as a famously good Pharisee who acknowledges that Jesus is "a teacher come from God" (Jn 3:1-2; *see also* Jn 7:50-51; 19:39). In John 12:42 the evangelist notes rather surprisingly that "many even of the authorities believed in him, but for fear of the Pharisees they did not confess it, lest they should be put out of the synagogue" (cf. Jn 9:22).

As in the Synoptic Gospels, the strong anti-Judaism of John is the result of the rejection of Jesus by the Jews and their responsibility for the death of Jesus. The prologue of John makes the point at the beginning: "He came to his own home, and his own people received him not" (Jn 1:11). And in John 5:43 Jesus says, "I have come in my Father's name and you do not receive me." In rejecting Jesus, the Jews were in effect turning away from God: "He who rejects me rejects him who sent me" (Jn 10:16).

Above all, what prevents the easy conclusion that the Gospel of John is anti-Semitic is a statement made by Jesus during his dialogue with a Samaritan woman: "You [Samaritans] worship what you do not

know; we [Jews] worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews" (Jn 4:22).

5. Anti-Semitism, Anti-Judaism and the Death of Jesus.

In conclusion, several points are worth stressing.

(1) It is widely claimed that the Gospels contain anti-Semitic texts. More accurately put, however, these texts are anti-Judaic rather than anti-Semitic. It cannot be denied that these texts have the potential to be taken in an anti-Semitic way. But that is fundamentally to misunderstand and misuse these texts. (2) The negative view of the Jews in the Gospels is not universal. There is no condemnation of Jews simply because they are Jews, because of their Jewish identity, as tends to be the case in anti-Semitism. Not even in John does the reference to "the Jews" indicate all Jews. It is only some Jews, in particular the Pharisees and Jewish authorities, the elders, members of the Sanhedrin, together with the chief priests and the high priest, that are spoken of negatively—that is, those who were directly involved in Jesus' arrest, trial and deliverance to Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator. (3) Contrary to the claims of some (e.g., Carter), there is no way, short of ignoring the texts altogether, of making the Romans primarily responsible for the death of Jesus. The Romans crucified Jesus at the instigation of the Jewish authorities. (4) Although there have been calls to reject outright the anti-Judaism of the NT, this would be to revise the Christian faith out of existence. It is undeniable that anti-Judaism has fueled anti-Semitism. But that fact, and even the evil of the Holocaust, must not be allowed to nullify Christian theology. Anti-Judaism is intrinsic to the claims of Christianity. Just because of this, it is of the greatest importance to take measures against the misuse of the NT texts. The anti-Semitic potential of these texts must be opposed, not by altering them, but rather by understanding them correctly. In light of the history of anti-Semitism, it is now incumbent upon all Christians constantly to emphasize what these anti-Judaic texts do *not* mean. (5) A fixed point in Scripture is the special importance of the Jews in God's eyes. Jesus was a Jew; the *apostles were Jews. These facts alone should rule out anti-Semitism. When a Samaritan village would not receive Jesus, James and John asked Jesus, "Lord, do you want us to bid fire come down from heaven and consume them?" (Lk 9:54). The response of Jesus was a rebuke, to which some early manuscripts added "And he said, 'You do not know what manner of spirit you are of; for the Son of Man came not to destroy lives but to save

them.” Hatred and vindictiveness have no place in those who would follow Jesus. (6) The role of the Jews in killing Jesus, wrongly called “deicide,” is only an immediate or instrumental one. The ultimate cause of the death of Jesus is the sin of the human race, Jews and Gentiles together. All are guilty. From the cross the crucified Jesus says, “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do” (Lk 23:34), and this no doubt applies to the Jewish authorities, not only to the Romans.

See also BLASPHEMY; ELDER; ETHICS OF JESUS; GENTILES; ISRAEL; JERUSALEM; JUDAISM, COMMON; LAW; PEOPLE, CROWD; PHARISEES; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; SABBATH; SADDUCEES; SANHEDRIN; SCRIBES; SYNAGOGUE; TEMPLE; TRIAL OF JESUS.

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APHORISM. See CHREIA/APHORISM.

APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY. See APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING.

APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING

In contemporary English usage the word *apocalyptic* often carries a negative connotation. It is commonly used to describe people of a radical millenarian outlook, who are obsessed with speculation about the end of the world, which they tend to consider both calculable and imminent. Used in this negative fashion, it is a term that many Christians would be reluctant to associate with Jesus of Nazareth.

Nevertheless, in modern scholarly parlance the term has a more nuanced usage, and it has become a fixed part of the study of not only the Gospels but also the historical Jesus, his Jewish context, his expectations about the future and the way in which he used language to describe that future. Unfortunately, even contemporary scholarly discussion is plagued by a good bit of ambiguity when it comes to the exact meaning of the word *apocalyptic*. The term is derived from the Greek word *apokalypsis*, which means “revelation,” or “unveiling” (cf. Gal 1:12; Rev 1:1). However, in modern scholarship the root word *apocalypse* is used in at least three different ways, which are important to distinguish in any discussion of the apocalyptic teaching of Jesus and the Gospels (Aune).

First, the term *apocalypse* is commonly used to refer to a genre of literature in existence at the time of Jesus, characterized by written works from the

Second Temple period and beyond. Second, the terms *apocalyptic* and *apocalypticism* often are used to describe a social and religious worldview shared by many of Jesus' Jewish contemporaries and often, though not exclusively, present in written apocalypses (e.g., Koch; Russell). Third, the term *apocalyptic eschatology* refers to those features of apocalypses and the apocalyptic worldview that focus on the cataclysmic end of the cosmos.

This article maintains these distinctions and examines each of these aspects of apocalyptic and their bearing on Jesus.

1. Jesus and the Apocalyptic Genre
2. Jesus and the Apocalyptic Worldview
3. Jesus and Apocalyptic Eschatology
4. Jesus, the Olivet Discourse and Apocalyptic Language
5. Apocalyptic Teaching in the Four Gospels
6. The Apocalyptic Death and Resurrection of Jesus

1. Jesus and the Apocalyptic Genre.

According to one influential definition, the literary genre of apocalyptic may be described as "a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world" (Collins, 4-5). Although this definition has not gone without criticism, it remains perhaps "the most complete and systematic attempt to define the genre at the pragmatic level" that we possess (Aune, 42). There are numerous examples of ancient Jewish apocalypses outside the Bible that conform to this genre and are relevant to Jesus research. The most important of these for the study of Jesus and the Gospels are *1 Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, *Testament of Moses* and *Apocalypse of Abraham*. They are significant both because they were in circulation in the centuries surrounding the time of Jesus (ca. second century B.C. through the second century A.D.), and because they contain numerous thematic and linguistic parallels with the teachings of Jesus in the Gospels.

On the one hand, the apocalyptic genre as such may not appear to be directly relevant to Jesus research. For one thing, the teachings of Jesus during his public ministry are not preserved in the genre of an apocalypse. Instead, they are found in the four Gospels of the New Testament, whose literary genre is closest to the ancient Greco-Roman biography, or *bios* (Burridge) (see Gospel: Genre). Moreover, de-

spite certain thematic parallels among the extra-biblical apocalypses from the Second Temple period, there is no evidence that Jesus read, knew or quoted any of these ancient Jewish texts. For example, unlike the Epistle of Jude, which quotes *1 Enoch* directly (Jude 9), we find no such quotations in any of the four Gospels.

On the other hand, there is one apocalypse that is of central importance for the study of Jesus: the book of Daniel. Daniel is the only book of Jewish Scripture that is regularly classified by modern scholars as fitting the genre of apocalypse (Collins). Significantly, it is also the one extant Jewish apocalypse that Jesus alludes to or quotes directly in the four Gospels. The influence of this particular apocalypse on Jesus in the Gospels can be seen in at least four ways.

First, there is the evidence that Jesus drew directly on the Danielic "son of man" (see Son of Man). It is widely agreed by scholars that Jesus' most characteristic way of referring to himself was by means of the mysterious expression "the son of man" (*ho huios tou anthrōpou*). Admittedly, many of the Son of Man sayings in the Gospel have no parallel with Daniel beyond the expression "son of man" itself (e.g., Mt 8:20; Lk 9:58), but other Son of Man sayings clearly are based on the Danielic apocalypse. For example, the various sayings about the "com[ing]" of "the Son of Man" (Mt 10:23; Mk 8:38; Lk 18:8) harken back to the "coming" of the "one like a son of man" in Daniel 7:14. By far the most momentous example of this is Jesus' declaration before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin that they would see "the Son of Man" seated at the right hand of God and/or coming on the clouds of heaven (Mt 26:64; Mk 14:62; Lk 22:69), an image unmistakably derived from the "one like a son of man" who "comes" with "the clouds of heaven" to take his seat beside the Ancient of Days in Daniel 7:13-14.

Second, and equally important, is Jesus' emphasis on the coming of the "kingdom of God." As one scholar puts it, "The centrality of the kingdom of God (*basileia tou theou*) in Jesus' preaching is one of the least disputable, or disputed, facts about Jesus" (Dunn, 383). Yet there is only one book of Hebrew Scripture that explicitly focuses on the coming of the "kingdom" of "God": the apocalypse of Daniel. In contrast to the writings of other biblical prophets, which speak not of a future "kingdom" but rather of the ingathering of the exiles (see Exile and Restoration), the coming of a new "temple, a second exodus or a new creation (e.g., Is 9; 11; 40; 54; 64-66; Jer 3; 16; 30; Ezek 36-37; 40-48), the opening vision in

the book of Daniel climaxes with the “God of heaven” establishing his future “kingdom” (Dan 2:44-45). Later on in the book, this same everlasting “kingdom” is given by God to the “one like a son of man” after being exalted to his throne (Dan 7:14-16). Indeed, even in the Gospel of John, the one occasion on which Jesus speaks about “the kingdom of God” (in his exchange with Nicodemus [Jn 3:1-15]), we also find a teaching about “the Son of Man” ascending into “heaven” (Jn 3:13), just as the “one like a son of man” in Daniel 7:13-15. In light of such evidence, it seems that Jesus’ most characteristic teaching on the kingdom of God is derived directly from the apocalypse of Daniel. In other words, when Jesus speaks of the coming of the kingdom, he is speaking of the Danielic kingdom of God (Evans).

Third, some scholars have also suggested that Jesus’ *predictions of the suffering and death of “the Son of Man” (Mk 8:31; 9:30-31; 10:33-34 par.) are also influenced by Daniel. Although one is hard pressed to find explicit evidence in Jewish Scripture for a suffering and dying messiah, a case can be made that Jesus’ description of the suffering Son of Man is based on a combination of two figures in the book of Daniel: (1) the “one like a son of man” who comes during the eschatological tribulation (Dan 7:13-14, 24-25); (2) the Danielic “messiah” (*mašīah*) who dies during the eschatological tribulation later in the book (Dan 9:24-25) (Pitre). In support of this messianic interpretation of the Danielic son of man, it is critical to note that in the book of Daniel itself the one like a son of man is contrasted with the four “beasts,” which are explicitly identified as both “four kings” (Dan 7:17) and as four “kingdoms” (Dan 7:23-24). If the beasts in Daniel explicitly represent both kings and their kingdoms, there is no reason to deny that the Danielic son of man functions in the same way. The one like a son of man is a king (individual dimension) who embodies his people (collective dimension) (Bird). This would explain why the most ancient Jewish interpretations of Daniel 7 that we possess unanimously identify the Danielic son of man as the Messiah (1 En. 47; 62; 4 Ezra 13).

Fourth, Jesus’ oracle about the appearance of the “abomination of desolation” (Mt 24:15; Mk 13:14; cf. Lk 21:20), arguably one of the most characteristically apocalyptic sayings ascribed to him, is taken straight from the book of Daniel (see Dan 9:24-26). This imagery will receive closer attention later in the examination of the Olivet discourse (see 4 below).

In sum, to the extent that the book of Daniel fits the genre of an apocalypse, its influence on Jesus’ characteristic teachings about the Son of Man and

the kingdom of God manifest the central significance of at least one text from this literary genre for the study of Jesus.

2. Jesus and the Apocalyptic Worldview.

In addition to being influenced by the written apocalypse of Daniel, there is also abundant evidence in the Gospels that Jesus shared in a more general way the religious worldview known as “apocalyptic” or “apocalypticism.”

Before an examination of this evidence is undertaken, however, two caveats are necessary. For one thing, it is not the case that any single feature listed below, when taken in isolation, justifies identifying Jesus as sharing an apocalyptic worldview. For example, a belief in the existence of *angels and *demons is by no means restricted to Jewish apocalypticism. Rather, it is the combination of various ideas that merit ascribing an apocalyptic worldview to Jesus in the Gospels. Moreover, the authenticity or inauthenticity of virtually all the material in the four Gospels continues to be debated. Hence, the following catalogue is given without prejudice to the question of authenticity of any particular piece of evidence, but rather simply to showcase those words and deeds attributed by the Gospels to Jesus that, when taken together, constitute or cohere quite well with what we know of early Jewish apocalypticism.

First, as the Greek word *apokalypsis* (“revelation”) suggests, the apocalyptic worldview is often marked by a prominent interest in otherworldly revelation (Rowland). By means of such revelation, a *prophet or visionary often is given access to or tours of invisible realities such as heaven or hell, angelic and demonic activities, and the future of humanity (e.g., Dan 2; 7; 9; 11-12; 1 En. 1-36; 4 Ezra 3-14; 2 Bar. 1-3; 53-74). Along similar lines, in the Gospels visionary experiences (see Dreams and Visions) are attributed to Jesus in events such as his *baptism by John in the Jordan River (Mt 3:13-17; Mk 1:10-11; Lk 3:21-22; cf. Jn 1:32-34), Jesus’ *transfiguration on the mountaintop (Mt 17:1-8; Mk 9:2-8; Lk 9:28-36) and the voice of the Father speaking from heaven at Passover time (Jn 12:27-30). With regard to his teachings, Jesus speaks of “mysteries of the kingdom” (Mt 13:11-12; Mk 4:10-12; Lk 8:10) and of revelations that are “hidden” from the wise but revealed to infants (Mt 11:25-27; Lk 10:21-22). On one occasion Jesus even refers to the fact that he “saw” Satan “fall from heaven like lightning” (Lk 10:18), apparently a reference to the Jewish tradition of the “fall” of the wicked angels (cf. Jude 6). In the Gospel of John, Jesus “bears witness to what he has seen and heard”

(Jn 3:31), and as one who has descended from heaven (Jn 3:13), he declares what he has “seen and heard” from the heavenly Father (Jn 8:28, 38). With this said, however, it is worth noting that the accounts of Jesus’ revelations and visions in the Gospels are relatively veiled when compared with the often elaborate descriptions of similar visions found in Jewish apocalyptic literature.

Second, the apocalyptic worldview is often marked by a pronounced belief in the existence and activity of otherworldly beings, especially angels and demons. Throughout the early Jewish apocalypses such beings play a prominent role in the workings of human history, both personal and political (e.g., Dan 7–10; 1 *En.* 1–5; 7–8; 17–36; 56; 90–100; *Apoc. Ab.* 10–18; 4 *Ezra* 3–14; 2 *Bar.* 6–7). Along similar lines, in the Gospels Jesus not only assumes the existence of angels and demons; he also gives them an especially prominent place in both his words and actions. For example, the holy angels act as guardians over God’s “little ones” (Mt 18:10); they rejoice when a sinner repents (Lk 15:10); they carry the soul of the dead Lazarus to Abraham’s bosom (Lk 16:22); they gather God’s elect from the four corners of the world (Mt 24:31; Mk 13:27); they separate the righteous from the wicked in the final judgment (Mt 13:36–42); they assist in punishing the wicked (Mt 13:41–42, 49–50); and they are directly associated with the glory of the heavenly Son of man (Mt 25:31; Jn 1:51). In response to one of his disciples using physical force, Jesus declares that he could call down “more than twelve legions of angels” (i.e., over seventy-two thousand) to assist him (Mt 26:53).

Significantly, Jesus’ emphasis on demons is in some ways even more pronounced than his teachings on angelic beings. Indeed, in the Synoptic Gospels a remarkably large swath of Jesus’ public ministry is given teaching about “Satan” (Lk 10:18), “the evil one” (Mt 5:37) and “Beelzebul, the prince of demons” (Mt 12:24–29; Mk 3:22–27; Lk 11:15–22). In all these passages the existence and power of demonic beings is assumed (Mk 9:38–41; Lk 9:49–50). In keeping with this, many of Jesus’ actions are focused on the overthrow and casting out of these evil spirits (e.g., Mk 1:23–28 // Lk 4:33–37; Mt 8:28–34 // Mk 5:1–17 // Lk 8:26–37; Mt 17:14–18 // Mk 9:14–27 // Lk 9:37–43). And although the Gospel of John has no account of an exorcism, Jesus refers to the devil as “the ruler of this world” (Jn 13:30) and even describes his impending passion and death as a kind of exorcism in which “the prince of this world” shall be “cast out” (Jn 12:30–32). Clearly, in the four Gospels Jesus shares the early Jewish apocalyptic belief

that angels and demons are real and active in the lives of human beings.

Third, early Jewish apocalypticism is also known for its prominent interest in otherworldly realms, such as heaven, hell (or Hades), Gehenna, Abraham’s bosom and paradise. Once again, one standard feature of early Jewish apocalypses that reflect an apocalyptic worldview is spiritual “tours” of these various spiritual realms (e.g., 1 *En.* 14–16; 17–36; *Apoc. Ab.* 15–17; *T. Lev.* 2–5; 2 *En.* 1–9) (Himmelfarb). Although in the Gospels Jesus nowhere speaks of such tours, his teachings not only assume the existence of these realms but also give them an extremely prominent if not central role. For example, there are more references to Gehenna as a place of spiritual punishment in the Gospels than in the rest of the New Testament combined (e.g., Mt 5:27–30; Mk 9:43–48; Mt 10:26–33; Lk 12:2–7; cf. Mt 18:8–9). In most of these cases Gehenna is described as a place of everlasting punishment. In at least one case, however, Jesus appears to describe Gehenna as a realm of temporary punishment by fire, likening it to a spiritual “prison” from which one will eventually be set free (Mt 5:21–26; cf. *t. Sanh.* 13:3; *m. ‘Ed.* 2:10) (Jeremias, *TDNT* 2:657–58). In other cases, Jesus speaks of “Abraham’s bosom” as a postmortem place of rest and peace, which is contrasted with “Hades,” a postmortem place of torment (Lk 16:19–31).

Significantly, despite the popular insistence that the “kingdom of God” is not a realm but rather a reign (Perrin; Crossan), recent scholarship shows that in certain sayings the kingdom of God is in fact described as a supernatural realm into which one can “enter” or from which one can be “cast out” or barred entry (Allison 2010). Indeed, in many cases “the kingdom of God seems to be a way of speaking of heaven” (Dunn, 425). For example, Jesus teaches that the righteous will feast with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in “the kingdom,” while the wicked are thrown into the “outer darkness,” the spiritual realm of the damned (Mt 8:11–12; Lk 13:28–29; cf. Mt 22:1–14). Likewise, those who do not rid themselves of causes of sin will not “enter” the kingdom (equated with eternal “life”); rather, they will “go” instead into the fiery realm of Gehenna (Mk 9:42–48). In his response to Peter’s confession Jesus sets the “the kingdom” over against the spiritual realm of “Hades” (Mt 16:18–19). At the Last Supper Jesus promises his disciples that he will drink again “in the kingdom,” clearly describing it as a place of feasting (Mt 26:29; Mk 14:25; Lk 22:16–18, 28–30). Along similar lines, when the crucified Jesus is asked by the thief to be remembered when Jesus comes into his “kingdom,” Jesus

responds by promising the thief to be with him “in paradise” (Lk 23:43). Finally, even in the Gospel of John Jesus describes the kingdom as a realm into which a person cannot “enter” unless born of water and spirit (Jn 3:5), and his last words to Pilate before being crucified are that his “kingdom” is “not of this world” (Jn 18:36). Indeed, throughout John’s Gospel Jesus emphasizes that he himself is “not of this world” (Jn 8:23); instead, as Son of man, he has “descended from heaven” (Jn 3:13; cf. Jn 6:62). In sum, taken together, Jesus’ teachings in the Gospels about otherworldly realms are perfectly consistent with an apocalyptic worldview.

Fourth, apocalypticism is perhaps most widely known for its interest in the end of this present world and the beginning of the world to come. This interest manifests itself in descriptions of latter-day events such as a period of unparalleled tribulation, the rise of false messiahs and deceptive leaders of the people, war and strife, the final definitive judgment, the resurrection of the dead, and the establishment of a new heaven and new earth (e.g., Dan 7–9; 11–12; 1 En. 85–90; 91:11–17; 93; 4 Ezra 7; 13; 2 Bar. 26–30). One may note a few examples of the same interest in the Gospels in which Jesus shares this apocalyptic interest in the end-time events. For example, he speaks about “this generation” as a generation of wicked persecutors (Mt 23:34–36), in which the kingdom suffers “violence” (Mt 11:12; Lk 16:16). Likewise, he draws a stark contrast between “this age” or “this time” of suffering and the glory of “the age to come” (Mk 10:29–31; Lk 17:30). He also speaks of a coming time of tribulation in which wars, strife, persecutions and false messiahs will arise (Mt 24:3–8; Mk 13:3–8; Lk 21:5–9). Beyond the pale of the present age, Jesus looks forward to the resurrection of the dead (Mt 11:20–24; Lk 10:13–15) and their final judgment (Mt 12:38–42; Lk 11:29–32; Jn 5:24–25), on which day men will give account for every word they utter (Mt 12:36–37), before God establishes the “new world” (*palingenesia*) (Mt 19:28).

Taken together, these four aspects—emphasis on supernatural revelation, pronounced belief in the activity of angels and demons, focus on the invisible spiritual realms, forecasts of the end of this world—are what have led many to associate Jesus in the Gospels with the early Jewish outlook known as apocalypticism.

However, there is at least one notable difference between Jesus and early Jewish apocalypticism. As a general rule, apocalyptic movements are often intensely focused on earthly powers and political events, especially Gentile powers that persecute the

chosen people of God (e.g., Dan 2; 7; 11–12) (Vielhauer). Despite the contention of certain scholars that Jesus is engaged in a direct and extensive critique of the Roman Empire (Wright 1996; Horsley), we do not find anywhere near the same amount of explicit attention given to political events or the pagan empires in the teachings of Jesus as we do in early Jewish apocalypses, or even in the biblical prophets. Apart from a brief teaching about giving to Caesar what belongs to Caesar (Mk 12:13–17), and the forecast of political strife and “wars and rumors of wars” in the Olivet discourse (Mt 24:3–8; Mk 13:3–8; Lk 21:5–9), Jesus’ teaching in the Gospels as a whole is far more focused on the otherworldly forces behind visible personal and political events—the angels and demons, the kingdom of God, the “kingdom” of Satan—than on the visible political forces and earthly powers themselves. Earthly political forces apparently have “no power” except that given them “from above” (Jn 19:11).

3. Jesus and Apocalyptic Eschatology.

In contrast to widespread agreement about Jesus and the general apocalyptic worldview, a vigorous debate has raged over the last century and a half regarding the issue of Jesus and apocalyptic eschatology. The question has largely been framed in terms of how Jesus understood the coming of the kingdom of God and the Son of Man, and whether Jesus, like other apocalyptic visionaries, set a timeline for the cataclysmic end of this world within his own lifetime and, as such, was proven wrong by history. As is always the case with complex matters such as this, scholars differ over details and nuances. Nevertheless, the points of view in what has come to be referred to as the debate over “the apocalyptic Jesus” (Miller) can be organized as follows.

First, on one side of the debate stands the apocalyptic Jesus. This position is historically rooted Albert Schweitzer’s famous portrait in *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1906), in which all that Jesus did and said was completely determined by his anticipation of the imminent end of the world. From this point of view, Jesus shared not only the apocalyptic worldview of his contemporaries, but also the apocalyptic eschatology of an imminent destruction and renewal of the cosmos (Bultmann; Vermes; Ehrman; Allison). Based on key pieces of evidence in the Gospels in which Jesus speaks of the kingdom as being “at hand” (Mt 4:17; Mk 1:15) and even appears to set a timeline for the coming of the Son of Man in glory and/or the advent of the kingdom of God (e.g., Mt 10:23; Mk 9:1; Mk 13:24–27 par.), this perspective

holds that Jesus taught that the future kingdom of God, which is to be equated with the cataclysmic end of this world, would come very soon, within the lifetime of his contemporaries. The upshot of this view can be summed up well in the words of Jesus' Olivet discourse: "This generation will not pass away before all these things," including the end of the world, "take place" (Mt 24:34; Mk 13:31; Lk 21:32). From this point of view, the coming of the kingdom and the Son of Man would be accompanied by the final time of unparalleled eschatological tribulation, the dissolution of the cosmos, and the resurrection and final judgment of the dead. In a word, the apocalyptic Jesus expected the imminent "end of the world as we know it," and history has proven him wrong (Schweitzer, 371).

Second, on the other side is the nonapocalyptic Jesus. From this point of view, Jesus did not prophesy the imminent cataclysmic end of the cosmos. Instead, he emphasized the present kingdom of God, by which he referred to the inbreaking of God's power in the world here and now (Dodd; Crossan; Borg; Patterson). This present kingdom is manifest in various ways: through Jesus' exorcisms (Mt 12:28; Lk 11:20), in his teachings on love of God and neighbor (Mk 12:28-34), in the poor and persecuted (Mt 5:3-12; Lk 6:20-23) and in the righteous ones who suffer violence (Mt 11:2-11; Lk 16:16). Here the emphasis is placed on the present "Son of Man" sayings, in which the expression is not a title based on the book of Daniel but simply an Aramaic expression for "a man" (cf. Mk 3:27-28). In light of all this, Jesus can say to his contemporaries that the kingdom is not coming "with signs to be observed"; rather, "the kingdom of God is among you [*entos hymōn*]" (Lk 17:21). Indeed, in terms of quantity, the number of teachings ascribed to Jesus that forecast the imminent end of the world are very few when compared the number of teachings that have nothing to do with the end of the world or that suggest a realized eschatology. This view is also critical of the apocalyptic Jesus hypothesis for consistently failing to pay sufficient attention to the parables of Jesus, in which the coming of the kingdom of God is repeatedly described as a process of growth. Parables such as those of the mustard seed (Mt 13:31; Mk 4:30; Lk 13:18), the leaven (Mt 13:33; Lk 13:20), the seed growing secretly (Mk 4:26-29) and the weeds and the wheat (Mt 13:24-30; cf. Mt 13:36-43) suggest that the coming of the kingdom takes place in stages and over an extended period of time. Finally, advocates of the nonapocalyptic Jesus argue that the teachings in the Gospels in which Jesus sets a timeline for the

future advent of the Son of Man and the kingdom of God (Mt 10:23; Mk 9:1; Mk 13:30 par.), as well as the so-called apocalyptic discourse on the Mount of Olives (Mt 24; Mk 13; Lk 21), are not authentic. Instead of originating with Jesus, they are later creations of the early church, generated decades after the crucifixion in the context of the religious crisis of the rejection of the gospel by the Jewish people as a whole and the political crisis of Roman persecution.

Third, in something of a middle position, there are scholars who advocate what might be broadly described as an eschatological Jesus. On the one hand, this view can be distinguished from the non-apocalyptic Jesus because it affirms that Jesus did anticipate the "end" (*eschaton*) of the present age and the future consummation of the kingdom of God. Hence, Jesus can be accurately described as "eschatological" in outlook because, as a first-century Jew, he shared the eschatological hopes of many of his contemporaries for the restoration of Israel (Mt 19:28; Lk 22:28-30), the ingathering of the lost tribes (Mt 8:11-12; Lk 13:28-29), the coming of a new temple (Mt 26:61; Mk 14:58) and the resurrection and final judgment of the dead (Mt 12:38-42; Lk 11:29-32) (Sanders). On the other hand, this view can be distinguished from the apocalyptic Jesus because it holds that Jesus did not set a timeline for the imminent destruction of the cosmos. Instead, Jesus spoke of the eschatological hope for the kingdom both as already present in the powers manifested in his exorcisms and "healings" (Mt 4:17; Mk 1:15; Mt 12:28; Lk 11:20) and as not yet consummated in the world at large, so that Jesus can even instruct his disciples to pray, "Your kingdom come" (Mt 6:9-13; Lk 11:2-4) (Meier; Keener). In this way, advocates of an eschatological Jesus try to strike a balance between future and realized eschatology in the words and deeds of Jesus. Such scholars shy away from the adjective "apocalyptic" with reference to Jesus' eschatology: "The more popular use . . . of 'apocalyptic' for a future scenario of supernatural interventions in human history involving unprecedented violence and horror should be resolutely avoided. 'Eschatological' is much the more appropriate term" (Dunn, 401 [cf. Reiser, 321]).

With that said, it is important to emphasize that scholarly proponents of an eschatological Jesus vary widely in their opinions about the material in the Gospels in which Jesus appears to set a timeline for the end (Mt 10:23; Mk 9:1; Mk 13:30 par.). Some simply ignore the timeline texts, placing all of the emphasis on Jesus positive hopes for the imminent restoration of *Israel, the coming of a new temple, and/or the ingathering of the exiles (Sanders; Reiser).

Others argue that the evidence in which Jesus sets a timeline for the imminent end is not authentic; it was created by the early church (Perrin; Meier). Still others argue while Jesus prophesied the tribulation leading up to the destruction of Jerusalem would take place before “this generation” passes away (Mt 24:34; Mk 13:30; Lk 21:32), he did not set a similar timeline for the cosmic destruction of “heaven and earth” (Mt 24:35; Mk 13:31; Lk 21:33). Instead, Jesus stressed that “that day and hour” remain unknown (Mt 24:36; Mk 13:32) and taught that the final judgment and end of the cosmos would be unexpected, like the cosmic destruction of the world “in the days of Noah” (Mt 24:37-42; Lk 17:26-35) (Beasley-Murray; France). Indeed, if Jesus’ insistence that none knows the final day or hour is taken into account, then it follows that he taught neither the conjunction nor disjunction of the destruction of the temple and the end of the world; rather, he taught that the chronological relation between the two events was unknown, and that his disciples should be ready for them both (Geddert).

In short, a case can be made that Jesus spoke of imminent eschatological tribulation and fulfillment, as well as an undetermined future eschatological consummation. In support of this position, it is worth noting that this combination of both expectation and delay is not found only in early Jewish apocalyptic literature (Holman); it is also evidenced in the *parables of Jesus. On the one hand, there are parables that emphasize the imminent fulfillment of eschatological events, such as those of the fig tree (Mt 24:32-33; Mk 13:28-29; Lk 21:29-31) and the signs in the sky (Mt 16:2-3; Lk 12:54-56). On the other hand, there are parables emphasizing the unknown time of the final consummation and the danger of laxity in the face of apparent delay, such as those of the householder and the thief (Mt 24:43-44; Lk 12:39-40), the wicked servant who thinks that his master is delayed (Mt 24:45-51; Lk 12:41-48), the talents (Mt 25:14-30; Lk 19:11-27) and the ten virgins (Mt 25:1-13). Although one could argue that only the parables of imminence are authentic, recent parables scholarship has made a strong case for both sets originating with Jesus (Snodgrass). Of equal importance is that Jesus’ institution of a new “covenant” in his blood at the *Last Supper (Mt 26:26-28; Mk 14:24-25; Lk 22:16-19; cf. 1 Cor 11:23-24) suggests that he anticipated a substantial interim period between his own death and the passing away of heaven and earth, although the length of this period remains unclear (Glasson). Finally, Jesus’ appointment of the twelve disciples (Mt 10:1-11; Mk 6:7-13; Lk 9:1-5) re-

flects the intention to establish the nucleus of a community that would perpetuate his teachings and actions in his absence (Keener).

4. Jesus, the Olivet Discourse and Apocalyptic Language.

As the foregoing discussion makes clear, much of the debate over the apocalyptic eschatology of Jesus hangs on how one interprets the most famous and extensive apocalyptic teaching attributed to him: the so-called Olivet discourse (Mt 24-25; Mk 13; Lk 21). In this regard, recent scholarship is marked by at least two significant developments.

First, although scholars have differed in their interpretations, a number of recent studies have argued that much if not all of the Olivet discourse (Mt 24:1-36; Mk 13:1-32; Lk 21:1-33) originated with Jesus himself (Wenham; Evans; Wright; Pitre). In many twentieth-century studies of Jesus the Olivet discourse was considered to be so obviously and patently inauthentic that it is widely ignored, even in books purportedly interested in Jesus’ eschatology (e.g., Allison). This widespread disregard for the Olivet discourse in books on Jesus was often based on the influential theory that the material originated as a pre-Christian Jewish “apocalypse,” and that, as such, it was too Jewish to be authentic to Jesus (Bultmann; see Beasley-Murray 1993, 32-79). Skepticism toward the origin of the material with Jesus also seems to have been influenced by form-critical assumptions that, although a prophet, Jesus spoke not in extended discourses but rather in isolated aphorisms. (The Olivet discourse is the longest uninterrupted teaching of Jesus in the entire Gospel of Mark.) However, when the teachings in this discourse are examined in light of parallels from the OT and early Jewish literature, a case can be made that the substance of the discourse is historically plausible within a first-century A.D. Jewish context and coheres well with other teachings of Jesus. Indeed, given the widespread emphasis in recent scholarship on situating Jesus within his Jewish context, it is ironic that many scholars continue to ignore or dismiss indications that the Olivet discourse is at home on the lips of a first-century A.D. Jewish prophet such as Jesus.

For example, Jesus’ forecast of the destruction of the Jerusalem temple (Mk 13:1-2) fits well with early Jewish prophecies of the destruction of the second temple (1 En. 90:28-30; Josephus, *J.W.* 6.301-309; *T. Levi* 16:4; *Sib. Or.* 3:665). It also coheres perfectly with other evidence in the Gospels that Jesus intimated the future destruction of the sanctuary (Mt

23:37-38; Lk 13:34-35; 19:41-44; Jn 2:18-21). Likewise, Jesus' description of the "birth pangs" of imminent tribulation (Mt 24:4-8; Mk 13:5-8) is consistent with the widespread Jewish expectation of a period of eschatological tribulation and strife that would precede the age of salvation (1 En. 56-57; 62; CD-A XII-XIII; 1QM XVI-XVII; Sib. Or. 3:182-95; Pss. Sol. 17:11-21; T. Mos. 8:1-5). It also squares with other teachings in which Jesus forecasts a time of imminent tribulation, strife and widespread deception (Mt 10:34-36; Lk 12:51-53; Mt 24:26; Lk 17:23-24). In a similar vein, Jesus' prophecies of the suffering of his disciples and the conversion of the "Gentiles" (Mt 24:9-14; Mk 13:9-13; Lk 21:10-19) seem to be rooted in prophetic oracles of the eschatological ingathering of the nations in Jewish Scripture (Is 52:7-12; 66:5; Mic 7:6-18). They are also consistent with other material attributed to him regarding the conflict that his mission would engender (Mt 10:19-20; Lk 12:11-12; Jn 15:26-16:2) and the eventual ingathering of Israelites and Gentiles "from east and west" into the kingdom of God (Mt 8:11-12; Lk 13:28-29). Finally, there is perhaps no more characteristically "apocalyptic" image in all the Gospels than Jesus' forecast of the appearance of the "abomination of desolation" and the unparalleled tribulation that would follow its appearance (Mt 24:15-25; Mk 13:14-23). Even this image fits squarely into a first-century A.D. Jewish context, since Jesus takes it directly from the apocalypse of Daniel, in which "the abomination of desolation" and the destruction of the temple follow the death of the "messiah" (*mašiah*) (Dan 9:24-27; cf. Dan 11:31-35; 12:11). Indeed, one could argue that Jesus saw his own death as the Danielic messiah as inaugurating the eschatological tribulation and destruction of the temple (Pitre).

Second, much recent study of the Olivet discourse revolves around the apocalyptic language of the sun and moon being darkened and the stars falling from heaven at the coming of "the Son of Man" on the clouds (Mt 24:29-29; Mk 13:24-27; cf. Lk 21:26). For some scholars, this describes the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and the vindication and exaltation of Jesus into heaven. Interpreted in this way, it has nothing to do with the cataclysmic end of the cosmos (Wright 1996; Hatina; France). In support of this view are OT prophecies that use similar language about the sun, moon and stars being shaken to describe the overthrow of earthly empires and cities (Is 13; 34; Ezek 32). It is also supported by the book of Daniel, in which the coming of the "son of man" on the clouds describes his ascension to "the Ancient of Days," not his descent to earth (Dan 7:13-

14). For other scholars, the climax of the Olivet discourse describes the actual collapse of the cosmos and the descent of the Son of Man from heaven, not just the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple (Bock; Allison; Adams). In support of this view are abundant ancient Jewish texts that use similar language of global catastrophe to describe the destruction and/or renewal of the cosmos (1 En. 1:3-9; 83:3-5; 91:16; 1QH^a XI, 19-36; T. Mos. 10:4-6; L.A.B. 3:10; 4 Ezra 7:30-32), as well as important NT passages that envision the final return of Jesus from heaven to earth (Acts 1:9-11; 1 Thess 4:16-17) and the passing away of heaven and earth (Heb 12:25-29; 2 Pet 3:5-13; Rev 21:1). One scholar takes something of a middle ground, arguing that the apocalyptic language describes the actual cosmic effects of the destruction of the temple cult and the exaltation of Jesus into the heavenly temple as the Danielic son of man (Fletcher-Louis 1997; 2011). In support of this view is clear evidence that ancient Jews saw the temple as a microcosm of "heaven and earth" (Ps 78:69; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.181), so that the desecration of the sanctuary can be described as causing "stars" to be "cast down" out of heaven (Dan 8:9-11). It is also supported by early Jewish and Christian texts that purport to describe the actual cosmic effects of cultic events such as the death of a high priest, the destruction of Jerusalem and the death of Jesus (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.288-300; Mt 27:51; Mk 15:33, 38). These cultic events "shake" the cosmos but do not necessarily bring it to an end.

It remains to be seen whether the discussion of apocalyptic language and imagery will provide a way beyond the impasse in the continued debate over the authenticity of the Olivet discourse and the interpretation of Jesus' eschatological outlook.

5. Apocalyptic Teaching in the Four Gospels.

Although much of the apocalyptic material in the four canonical Gospels has already been catalogued above, it is important also to examine each of them in order to highlight their distinctive emphases and unique material.

5.1. Matthew. The Gospel of Matthew is widely regarded as the most apocalyptic of the four Gospels. For one thing, this Gospel displays a particular predilection for the memorable description of the realm of the damned as the "outer darkness" into which the wicked are cast, where there is "weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Mt 8:11-12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51). Matthew has a strong interest in the otherworldly fate of the righteous and the fate of the wicked, emphasizing both "eternal punishment" as

well as “eternal life” (Mt 25:46). In light of this emphasis on the suffering of the damned, it is perhaps unsurprising that Matthew’s special material provides us with what might be called “apocalyptic parables” of judgment: the weeds and the wheat, with its explanation (Mt 13:24-30, 36-43); the five wise and the five foolish virgins (Mt 25:1-13); the talents (Mt 25:14-30); the king and his servants (Mt 18:23-35); the sheep and the goats (Mt 25:31-46). With regard to apocalyptic eschatology, Matthew’s Gospel alone provides us with an explicit use of the Greek word *parousia* to describe the final advent of the Son of Man (Mt 24:3; 24:27). He also reflects the combination of ardent expectation and possible delay manifest in other Jewish apocalyptic texts (e.g., Mt 24:45-51) and distinguishes between the imminent destruction of the Jerusalem temple and the unknown time of the *parousia* (Gibbs). In keeping with the emphasis of Jewish apocalyptic worldview on the invisible transcendent realm of “heaven,” recent scholarship has argued the distinctively Matthean expression “the kingdom of the heavens” (*hē basileia tōn ouranōn*) is not just a customary Jewish periphrasis for avoiding the name of *God, but rather a technical phrase for emphasizing the kingdom of God as a transcendent realm (Pennington). Others see Matthew’s particular predilection for apocalyptic teaching as evidence that this Gospel was penned during a time of social conflict and persecution (Sim).

5.2. Mark. In comparison with Matthew’s Gospel, the Gospel of Mark contains somewhat less apocalyptic teaching, and what it does contain is often present in Matthew and Luke (the so-called triple tradition). Instead, much of Mark’s Gospel is taken up recounting the mighty deeds and exorcisms of Jesus. In this regard, however, the focus on Jesus’ exorcisms is consonant with the emphasis in Jewish apocalypticism on angelic and demonic beings. Jesus in Mark’s Gospel is bent not only on “casting out Satan” as an individual unclean spirit, but also on launching his assault on the spiritual “kingdom” of Satan, which stands in opposition to the spiritual “kingdom” of God (Mk 3:22-27). With regard to apocalyptic eschatology, there is a distinctively Markan emphasis on the call to disciples to “watch” (*blepete*) (Mark 13:33) and “keep awake” (*gregoreite*) (Mk 14:34) in eschatological expectation (Geddert). In light of the widespread view that the Olivet discourse is a veiled catalogue of contemporary events in the Markan community (Mk 13:1-27), many scholars conclude that the apocalyptic character of Mark’s Gospel reflects the tumultuous events lead-

ing up to and/or surrounding the Jewish-Roman war that culminated in the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in A.D. 70 (Marcus).

5.3. Luke. Since the influential twentieth-century work of H. Conzelmann, the Gospel of Luke has been widely regarded as having “de-apocalypticised” the earlier Gospel material in order to deal with the problem of the “delay of the parousia” (Bovon). As a result, it is often regarded as the least apocalyptic of the four Gospels. However, a close examination shows that this verdict is somewhat exaggerated, if not completely wrong. For one thing, Luke preserves much of the apocalyptic teaching found in the other Synoptics, such as *John the Baptist’s oracle about the coming fires of judgment (Lk 3:7-9, 15-17), the description of Jesus’ exorcisms as an assault on Satan’s “kingdom” (Lk 11:14-23), the description of the present generation as “an evil generation” (Lk 11:29), Jesus’ striking declaration that he has come not to bring peace but rather the “sword” of eschatological strife (Lk 11:51-53) and even the description of the damned who “weep and gnash” their teeth (Lk 13:28). It is Luke’s Gospel alone that preserves the apocalyptic revelation of Jesus that he “saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven,” in the context of emphasizing the disciples’ power over unclean “spirits” (Lk 10:18-19), as well as the startling declaration of Jesus that he has come “to cast fire upon the earth” (Lk 12:49), and the parable of Lazarus and the rich man, which contains the most explicit description of the invisible spiritual realms of “Hades” and “Abraham’s bosom” in the entire NT (Lk 16:19-31). Finally, with regard to apocalyptic eschatology, Luke contains teaching that emphasizes the imminent advent of the kingdom of God and the coming of the Son of Man (Lk 9:26-27) as well as the unexpected and incalculable nature of these events (Lk 12:35-40; 17:20). In this regard, Luke makes explicit both that certain of Jesus’ prophecies refer to the imminent siege and destruction of Jerusalem (Lk 19:41-44; 21:20-24) and that there must be an interim period of “the times of the Gentiles” before the ultimate end (Lk 21:24). However, this is very much in keeping with Matthew and Mark’s teaching that “the good news” must be preached to all nations before the end comes (Mt 24:14; Mk 13:20). Indeed, Luke preserves what is arguably Jesus’ most famous apocalyptic teaching: the prophecy that “this generation” would not pass away before “these things” take place, but that “heaven and earth will pass away” (Lk 21:32-33).

5.4. John. Finally, apocalyptic teaching in the Gospel of John is no less present than in the Synoptics, but in its own particular mode and with its own

distinctive terminology and emphases. Perhaps more than any other Gospel, John emphasizes Jesus' references to himself as the apocalyptic son of man from the book of Daniel (Reynolds). For one thing, in keeping with the apocalyptic interest in otherworldly beings and otherworldly realms, Jesus in the Gospel of John declares that the Son of Man is a pre-existent heavenly being (Jn 3:14; 6:62; cf. Jn 1:1); upon his person "angels" both ascend and descend (Jn 1:51); he himself has descended "from heaven" and will ascend "into heaven" (Jn 3:13-14; 6:62); he acts as the eschatological judge at the resurrection of the good and the evil (Jn 5:24-27); he has the power to give "eternal life" to whoever eats his flesh and drinks his blood (Jn 6:53-58); like the son of man in Daniel's apocalypse, the Son of Man in John's Gospel receives "glory" (Jn 13:31-32) and "worship" (Jn 9:35-38; cf. Dan 7:14-15). Moreover, in line with apocalyptic interest in otherworldly revelations, Jesus strongly emphasizes that he is a revealer of "heavenly things" (Jn 3:12, 32-35) because he alone "has seen the Father" (Jn 6:46). Although he is identified with the Messiah (Jn 12:34), his mysterious identity and glory will be fully revealed to his opponents only when he is exalted (Jn 8:28). Finally, in John, as in the Synoptics, we find both sayings focused on the realization of eschatological hopes in the present (Jn 3:19; 5:24) and sayings focused on the consummation of eschatological hopes in the future (Jn 5:28-29; 6:39-40, 44, 54; 12:48). Indeed, both present and future eschatology can occur together within the same saying (Jn 5:25-29). In short, although John's Gospel does not contain any extended apocalyptic teaching similar to the Olivet discourse in the Synoptics, it does retain a remarkable amount of apocalyptic teaching in almost every chapter.

6. The Apocalyptic Death and Resurrection of Jesus.

In closing, it is important to highlight that in the four Gospels apocalyptic teaching is not restricted to the teaching of Jesus; it is also contained in the accounts of Jesus' passion, death and resurrection (Allison 1985).

For example, in the Synoptic accounts Jesus' passion, death and resurrection are accompanied by all of the typical trappings of the end of the age in Jewish apocalypticism: the darkening of the sun's light (Mk 15:33); various earthquakes (Mt 27:51; 28:2-4); the rending of the veil in the temple, signifying its demise (Mk 15:38); the confession of faith in Israel's God by representatives of the Gentiles (Mt 27:54); the appearance of angels (Mt 28:2-4); and, of course,

the bodily resurrection of Jesus (Mt 28; Mk 16; Lk 24), in which the bodily resurrection that was expected for all Israel at the end of the age was accomplished in the person of Jesus on Easter (Wright 2003). Indeed, in the Gospel of Matthew the death of Jesus is so efficaciously eschatological that it actually triggers the bodily resurrection of "the holy ones," who come forth from their "tombs" after his individual resurrection (Mt 27:51-53). From this point of view, the Gospel narratives of Jesus' passion and death are modeled on the twofold movement of Jewish apocalyptic eschatology: (1) the sufferings of the righteous in the eschatological tribulation (the so-called messianic woes) are followed by (2) the glorification of the elect in the eschatological resurrection. Indeed, even the Gospel of John portrays the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus in categories taken from Jewish apocalypticism. Jesus' passion and death are likened both to the "tribulation" (*thlipsis*) suffered by a woman in her birth pangs (Jn 16:16-22; cf. Mk 13:5-6) and to a great "exorcism" of the chief of the evil angels, in which "the ruler of this world" will be judged and "cast out" (Jn 12:31). Indeed, Jesus' death and resurrection are nothing less than the destruction and restoration of the true temple, ushering in the age of the new temple, "the temple of his body" (Jn 2:21).

See also ANGELS; DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; DREAMS AND VISIONS; ESCHATOLOGY; EXILE AND RESTORATION; JUDGMENT; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; PROPHETS, PROPHECY; RESURRECTION; SON OF MAN; TEMPLE.

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B. J. Pitre

APOSTLE

The term *apostle* designates, in the Gospels, twelve men whom Jesus called, trained, sent and commissioned for the particular task of proclaiming the good news of the kingdom of God. The relative scarcity of the Greek term *apostolos* in the Gospels needs to be viewed in balance with the frequency of the term in the book of Acts, the second volume of Luke-Acts, whose author describes both the call of the apostles by Jesus (Lk 6:13; cf. Acts 1:2) and the work of the apostles as Jesus' envoys after his death, resurrection and exaltation and his granting of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost (e.g., Acts 2:42-43; 4:33). The "sending" of the Twelve and eventually of other envoys such as Paul was of foundational importance for the emergence of congregations of followers of Jesus.

1. The Meaning of the Term *apostolos*
2. Jesus' Call and Commission
3. The Twelve Apostles
4. The Role and Significance of the Apostles

1. The Meaning of the Term *apostolos*.

Of the eighty occurrences of the noun *apostolos* ("apostle") in the NT, nine occur in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt 10:2; Mk 3:14; 6:30; Lk 6:13; 9:10; 11:49; 17:5; 22:14; 24:10), one in the Gospel of John (Jn 13:16), twenty-eight in Acts (e.g., Acts 1:2, 26; 2:37, 42, 43; 4:33, 35, 36, 37) and thirty-four in Paul's letters. The verb *apostellō* ("to send") occurs 132 in the NT: sixty-eight times in the Synoptic Gospels and twenty-eight in John's Gospel; the verb *pempō* ("to send") occurs seventy-nine times in the NT: fifteen times in the Synoptic Gospels and thirty-two times in John's Gospel. Not all of these passages refer to Jesus' sending of the Twelve (e.g., in Mt 2:8, 16 King Herod "sent" his troops to kill the infants of Bethlehem).

1.1. Terminology. The term *apostolos* has a wide range of meanings in secular Greek (see LSJ; BDAG; Rengstorff); it can designate a naval expedition, a commander of a naval force, a colony, an order for dispatch, an export license, a letter of authorization (in shipping) or a bill of lading (thus often in the papyri); on occasion the term also designates a messenger or envoy (a herald, designated as *apostolos*, is sent to arrange a truce [Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.28]). Josephus uses the noun *apostolos* once, describing a delegation sent from Jerusalem to the emperor in Rome (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.300). In the NT the term is used exclusively of persons, mostly with the meaning "someone who has been sent"—that is, an envoy or messenger or ambassador. While *apostolos* was

readily understandable for speakers of Greek, the frequent use of the relatively rare Greek word by the early Christians reflects the importance of the apostles in the early church. In a Jewish context, the terms *šeliḥa'* (Aram.) or *šaliḥ* (Heb.) would have been used. Both the Aramaic/Hebrew and the Greek nouns are derived from verbs that mean "to send": the Greek verb *apostellō* means "to dispatch someone for the achievement of some objective" (BDAG), and the Hebrew verb *šālah* means "to send, dispatch" (HALOT, s.v. *šālah* 3).

1.2. Use in the New Testament. The meaning of *apostolos* in the NT takes up the rare secular usage with the meaning "envoy" or "messenger." Two main areas of use can be distinguished. (1) "Envoy" in the secular sense of "courier": messengers are "lower" than the person who has sent the messenger (Jn 13:16). (2) "Envoy" with extraordinary status: (a) prophets are *apostoloi* sent by God to his people (Lk 11:49; Eph 3:5; Rev 18:20); (b) Jesus the heavenly high priest is the *apostolos* of our confession (Heb 3:1); (c) the twelve disciples chosen and sent out by Jesus are *apostoloi* (Mt 10:2; Mk 3:14; Lk 6:13; 9:10; 17:5; 22:14; Rev 21:14; thus often in Acts [e.g., Acts 1:26; 2:37; 5:29]); (d) Paul is an *apostolos* called and sent by Jesus (e.g., Rom 1:11; 1 Cor 1:1; 9:1-2; 15:9; Gal 1:1); (e) other *apostoloi* with pastoral and missionary responsibilities such as Barnabas (Acts 14:4, 14), James the brother of Jesus and leader of the church in Jerusalem (Gal 1:19), envoys of churches who are active as Paul's coworkers for periods of time such as Titus (2 Cor 8:23), Silvanus and Timothy (cf. 1 Thess 1:1 with 1 Thess 2:7), Epaphroditus (Phil 2:25) and Andronicus and Junia (Rom 16:7); it is disputed whether this last understanding of *apostolos* (2e) should be distinguished from the first one (1).

The distinction between apostles who had an encounter with the risen Jesus (the Twelve [2c above], Paul [2d above]) and apostles who were commissioned by churches (2e above) is helpful only in a very general sense. It cannot explain the fact that Paul uses the term *apostolos* both in the titular sense of the witnesses commissioned by the risen Lord Jesus to proclaim the gospel (1 Cor 1:1; 15:9) and in the ecclesial sense of workers commissioned by churches (2 Cor 8:23; 1 Thess 2:7) without insisting on a different meaning of the term. The fact that Paul knew himself to be called and commissioned by the risen Lord when his life was turned around on the road to Damascus (Gal 1:1, 15-17) and that he was active together with Barnabas as an *apostolos* of the church in Antioch (Acts 14:4, 14; cf. Acts 13:2-3) suggests that the early Christians did not sharply distinguish be-

tween apostles commissioned by the risen Jesus and apostles commissioned by churches; the reference to *apostoloi* in 1 Corinthians 4:9 also denotes a larger group of witnesses who preach the gospel and who endure opposition and suffering (Frey).

1.3. Origin of New Testament Usage. The suggestion that the NT concept of “apostle” derives from a Jewish institution in which the religious authorities in Jerusalem sent envoys (*šēlūḥīm*, sg. *šāliah*) to the Jewish communities in the Diaspora (Billerbeck; Rengstorf, who assumes that the term *šāliah* was fixed legally and institutionally; note *m. Ber.* 5:5: “The one whom a person sends [*šāliah*] is like the sender”) has been proven to be historically anachronistic (Bühner). The theory that the title “apostle” derives from gnostic mythology (Schmithals) has been shown to be mistaken (Agnew). The attempt to widen the explanation on the basis of a Jewish *šāliah* concept in terms of a popular juridical understanding of an “authorized representative” derived from oriental law and Semitic concepts (Bühner) has been criticized as well (Lohmeyer).

The recognition that the early Christian term *apostle* can be best explained on the basis of the use of the verb *apostellō* and thus with reference to a general concept of envoys renders the derivation from Jewish parallels unnecessary. The concept of the sending of envoys found in Jewish, Greek and Roman contexts includes, in varying degrees, elements such as (1) the commission with a particular task, (2) the representation of the sender in the execution of the assignment, (3) the authorization for particular actions that the envoy could not carry out in the context of his own juridical status (Lohmeyer).

The fact that Paul speaks of apostles who were *apostoloi* before him (Gal 1:17) shows that he neither coined the titular use of the term nor devised the office of apostle. The earliest followers of Jesus who were active as his witnesses in Jerusalem and Judea immediately after his death and resurrection evidently used the Greek designation *apostoloi* already, presumably besides the Hebrew term *šēlūḥīm* (note that the church in Jerusalem was bilingual [Acts 6:1]). In addition to the Twelve, these early witnesses who were called *apostoloi* included Silvanus (identical with Silas of Acts 15:22, 27), who, if he belonged to the Jerusalem church, might have been among those who saw the risen Jesus. The same may be true for Andronicus and Junia, who were followers of Jesus before Paul (Rom 16:7), evidently Greek-speaking Jewish believers from Jerusalem who presumably had been active as missionaries from earliest times.

Whether or not Jesus himself used the designa-

tion “apostles” or “envoys” (*šēlūḥīm*) for those whom he called and sent out, he certainly appointed twelve of his *disciples, “sending” them (Lk 9:2) into the towns and villages of Galilee to proclaim the message of the *kingdom of God and to *heal, and whom he commissioned to continue his mission. While in Luke 9:2; 10:1 the verb *apostellō* is used by Luke (cf. Mt 10:5, 16; Mk 3:14; 6:7), in Luke 10:3 the verb is placed on the lips of Jesus as he appoints and sends out seventy disciples as his representatives (Lk 10:16) (see Mission). The identity of the first apostles (the Twelve), their function as Jesus’ representatives, their work as his witnesses and their message as his envoys derive from his own mission and from his call extended to the Twelve and to other disciples. Both for Jesus and for the apostles, function was more important than title.

2. Jesus’ Call and Commission.

The meaning of the term *apostle* is intricately linked with Jesus’ own self-understanding and mission. Jesus asserted that he has been “sent” (*apostellō*) by God to his people *Israel (Mt 15:24; 21:37; Mk 9:37; 12:6). Jesus understood himself as the prophetic-messianic *servant of the Lord who has been anointed by God with the Holy Spirit, “sent” (Heb. *šēlāḥanī*; LXX *apestalken*, perfect tense of *apostellō*) by God “to proclaim good news to the poor . . . to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim freedom for the captives and release to the prisoners” (Is 61:1-2) (see Jubilee)—a passage that Jesus quotes and explains at the beginning of his ministry (Lk 4:16-21; see the reference to Is 61:1-2 in Lk 6:20-21; 7:22). Luke relates Jesus asserting, “I must proclaim the good news of the kingdom of God also in the other towns, because I was sent for this purpose” (Lk 4:43). The passive of *apostellō*, translated “I was sent” (*apestalēn*), describes God’s action of sending Jesus to the people living in the towns and villages of Galilee. Jesus’ mission as God’s messianic envoy to Israel initiates the mission of Jesus’ followers whom he called and commissioned. Since the later, more narrowly defined significance of *apostolos* as a witness of the risen Jesus is not an integral part of the lexical meaning of the Greek term, there is no a priori reason why Jesus, who called, commissioned and “sent” his disciples on a particular mission, could not have used the noun *šēlūḥīm* (*apostoloi*) for the Twelve (Mk 3:14; Lk 6:13).

2.1. Jesus’ Call of the Twelve. The ministry and the message of the apostles were contingent on Jesus’ call and the commission. The circle of the Twelve is not a later creation of the church. Doubts that Jesus

formed a circle of twelve disciples (Guenther) are unfounded (for a defense of the historicity of the Twelve as a group formed by Jesus himself, see McKnight; Meier, 128-47). (1) The description of a group of twelve disciples close to Jesus is firmly rooted in the tradition (e.g., Mt 10:2 // Mk 3:16 // Lk 6:13; Mt 20:17 // Mk 10:23 // Lk 18:31; Mk 4:10; 11:11; Lk 8:1; 9:12; Jn 6:67, 70-71; 20:24; Acts 6:2; 1 Cor 15:5) (criterion of multiple attestation). (2) The uncertainty of some of the names in the list of the Twelve (the position of Andrew, Thomas and Simon the Cananean is uncertain, and Matthew and Mark have Thaddaeus, whereas Luke-Acts have Judas son of James) and the insignificance of the majority of the names support a pre-Easter origin. (3) The circle of the Twelve disappears as a group from the NT tradition after Acts 6:2, with the exception of the brief reference of Paul in 1 Corinthians 15:5. If the group of the Twelve was a creation of the early church, we would expect more numerous references to this group and their significance. (4) The inclusion of Judas Iscariot, the traitor, as a member of the original Twelve (Mt 26:14; Mk 14:10, 20, 43; Lk 22:3; Jn 6:71) makes no sense if the circle of the Twelve was a later invention (criterion of embarrassment).

The lists of the Twelve (Mt 10:2-4; Mk 3:16-19; Lk 6:14-16; Acts 1:13) divide the names of the twelve disciples into three groups of four names (except the list in Acts 1:13, which omits the name of Judas Iscariot, who was deceased) (see Table 1). Peter always heads the first group, Philip the second, and James son of Alphaeus the third. In the first group, Matthew and Luke keep the two pairs of brothers together, while Mark may have wanted to place in first position the names of the three disciples to whom Jesus gave nicknames and who form the inner circle of the

Twelve (cf. Mk 5:37; 9:2; 14:33); in Acts Luke places Peter and John first as the leading members of the Twelve (cf. Acts 3:1—4:31; 8:14-25). In the third group, Thaddaeus probably is identical with Judas son of James (the former, Greek name used to distinguish this Judas from Judas Iscariot) (Bauckham, 97-101).

In contrast to the rabbinic model of the teacher-student relationship (note Jehoshua b. Perachja: “Provide yourself with a teacher and get yourself a fellow-[disciple]” [*m. ’Abot* 1:6]), the Twelve did not choose Jesus as their teacher, but Jesus chose the Twelve. The Gospel writers emphasize the initiative of Jesus. Matthew describes how Jesus “walked” by the Sea of Galilee, “saw” Simon called Peter and Andrew his brother, who were fishing, approached them and “said” to them, “Follow me, and I will make you fishers of people” (TNIV: “I will send you out to fish for people”). It is telling that in the three instances in which people approached Jesus with the request of being accepted as disciples, Jesus does not automatically admit the candidate into the circle of his disciples. In one case he flatly refuses the request, in the second case he gives an answer that amounted to a refusal, and in the third case he dismisses the reservations that accompany the request (Mk 5:18 // Lk 8:38-39; Mt 8:19-20 // Lk 9:57-58; Lk 9:61-62; cf. Jn 15:16).

Jesus’ call to the Twelve, recounted for five of the core disciples—Peter and Andrew, James and John (Mt 4:18-22 // Mk 1:16-20 // Lk 5:1-11; cf. Jn 1:37-42) and Matthew/Levi (Mt 9:9 // Mk 2:14-15 // Lk 5:27-28)—exhibits the following elements.

(1) Jesus calls the first disciples in a situation where they had experienced their own helplessness as fishermen who had not caught any fish (thus the context in Lk 5:4-5) and where they subsequently witnessed the miracle of a huge catch of fish (Lk 5:6-

Table 1. The Three Groups of the Twelve

Matthew 10:2-4	Mark 3:16-19	Luke 6:13-16	Acts 1:13
Simon Peter	Simon Peter	Simon Peter	Peter
Andrew (brother of Peter)	James (son of Zebedee)	Andrew (brother of Peter)	John
James (son of Zebedee)	John (brother of James)	James	James
John (brother of James)	Andrew	John	Andrew
Philip	Philip	Philip	Philip
Bartholomew	Bartholomew	Bartholomew	Thomas
Thomas	Matthew	Matthew	Bartholomew
Matthew	Thomas	Thomas	Matthew
James (son of Alphaeus)	James (son of Alphaeus)	James (son of Alphaeus)	James (son of Alphaeus)
Thaddaeus	Thaddaeus	Simon the Zealot	Simon the Zealot
Simon the Cananean	Simon the Cananean	Judas (son of James)	Judas (son of James)
Judas Iscariot	Judas Iscariot	Judas Iscariot	[vacancy, filled by Matthias]

9). Peter's recognition of his unworthiness on the one hand and of the presence of God on the other hand is reminiscent of the call narratives of the OT prophets who recognized their unworthiness in view of God's self-revelation and commission (1 Kings 19:19-21; Is 6:1-10; Jer 1:4-10).

(2) Jesus calls the disciples to a radical change of life and work with the expectation of immediate obedience—that is, with divine authority. Only God has the authority to extend as unconditional a call to a new way of life as Jesus did.

(3) Peter, and presumably the other disciples, recognized the presence of God in the words of Jesus, resulting in his willingness to leave his fishing boat and his business partners (Lk 5:7) and to follow Jesus immediately and unconditionally (Lk 5:11).

(4) Jesus' call is life-changing. He summons the disciples to follow him, which implies that they are called away from their work; Simon Peter and Andrew leave their nets, James and John leave their boat, Matthew/Levi leaves his tax station. The fact that both the trade of the disciples and Jesus' imperative are formulated in the durative present and imperfect tense means that the actions that are described and the actions that are demanded form a sharp opposition, which underlines the life-changing implications of Jesus' call (Landmesser). The Twelve leave their social environment as they travel with Jesus from town to town and from village to village.

(5) Jesus calls these men to follow after him (*opisō mou*). The call to follow Jesus comes before the commission and the assignment of a specific task. The apostles are the constant companions of Jesus who observe what he does and who learn from him. This is why they are called "disciples": a *mathētēs* is a person who learns through instruction from a teacher. As they follow Jesus (Mk 1:18; 6:1; 10:28), they leave their families (Mk 1:20; 10:29), risking their hostility (Mk 13:12) but gaining a new home and a new family: the community of Jesus' followers (Mk 10:30).

The itinerant ministry of the disciples who follow Jesus from town to town has been compared with the lifestyle of *Cynic philosophers (Georgi; Theissen). There are indeed some parallels: the minimal equipment (which included a cloak, a bag and a club), the divine calling, the homelessness, the commission to teach, reflection on social relationships that represent obligations that hinder a person from carrying out the divinely given task. However, since the sources for this suggestion are literary texts written by Stoic philosophers, since the Cynic movement was very diverse, since Cynic philosophers

have not been demonstrated to have been active in first-century *Galilee, since some parallels are not exclusively Cynic or not Cynic at all, and since the presuppositions and the motivations of Cynic philosophers differed considerably from those of Jesus and his followers, these parallels do not explain the itinerant ministry of Jesus and the Twelve. Some suggest that the activities of Levitical Torah teachers (cf. 4 Ezra 13:54-56; Philo, *Leg.* 2.49-52) explains the itinerant ministry of Jesus and the Twelve. Since the primary evidence for the existence of organized Levitical Torah teachers is very limited, and since the relationship between Jesus and the Twelve has no parallels in the activities of the Levitical teachers, the assumed parallel explains little. The same holds true for the scenario of rabbinical students who lived with their rabbi in a community context, if the advice of Rabbi Chisda (b. A.D. 309) to change teachers was followed in the first century ("He who studies the law only from one teacher will never see in his life a sign of victory" [*b. 'Abod. Zar.* 19a]). Jesus' call and commission of twelve disciples whom he sent into the towns and villages and whom he trained for a later mission was unique in the ancient world. This is hardly surprising when we consider the symbolism of the figure "twelve" (see 4.1 below).

2.2. Jesus' Commission of the Twelve. Three series of texts formulate the purpose of Jesus' call of the Twelve: the call narratives in which Jesus asserts that he will make the disciples "fish for people" (Mt 4:19 // Mk 1:17 // Lk 5:10; Mk 3:13-15); the narratives of the sending of the Twelve into the towns and villages of Galilee in which Jesus commands the disciples to proclaim the good news, to liberate people from evil spirits, and to heal the sick (Mt 10:1-4 // Mk 6:7-13 // Lk 9:1-6); and the narratives of the sending of the Twelve to all nations after Jesus' resurrection (Mt 28:18-20 // Lk 24:46-49; Jn 20:21; Acts 1:8). The commission of the Twelve involves both a command ("follow me") and a promise ("I will make you fish for people"). The following elements of the commission of the twelve apostles stand out.

(1) The twelve apostles are commissioned to "fish for people." The term "fishers of people" (*halieis anthrōpōn* [Mt 4:19 // Mk 1:17]) has no genuine parallels in ancient literature, including the OT. The fishermen in Jeremiah 16:16 are connected with the gathering of the children of Israel in the context of God's judgment; Jesus may be implying with the term "fishers of people" that he calls the disciples in view of the approaching divine *judgment, commissioning them to proclaim his message of the kingdom of God and gather Israel for a new exodus. Hardly plausible is the

suggestion that OT passages that refer to fishing and to hooks (Ezek 29:4-5; Amos 4:2; Hab 1:14-17; cf. 1QH^a XI, 26; XIII, 7-8) in a context of war and judgment explain Jesus' commission to "fish for people" as a call to participate in God's holy war in the last days. The reference to Greco-Roman and Jewish-Hellenistic texts that use the metaphor of fishing with the positive connotation of a teacher (Plato, *Soph.* 218d-222d; Diogenes Laertius, *Vit.* 2.67; *Let. Arist.* 2.23; 'Abot R. Nat. rec. A 40) captures only part of Jesus' commission: the Twelve certainly teach, but they are also called to drive out evil spirits, to heal and to establish communities of disciples. Jesus probably coined the metaphor of "fishers of people" himself, as he calls and commissions twelve disciples, some of whom are fishermen on the Sea of Galilee. The commission to "fish for people" is an assignment to assist Jesus, who gathers the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 10:6; cf. Mt 15:24; Lk 15:4, 6) in view of the dawn of the kingdom of God. The Twelve are commissioned to bring people to accept the message that Jesus proclaims, with the result that more and more people follow Jesus and join the movement of messianic fulfillment that Jesus has set in motion. The "people" (*anthrōpoi*) of Jesus' commission would have initially been understood to refer to the people of Israel, given Jesus' ministry in Galilee among the Jewish people. It seems significant, however, that Jesus describes the target of the disciples' future preaching and teaching activity not with ethnic terms or cultural terms, such as "Jews" (*Ioudaioi*), "Israelites" (*Israelitai*), "people of God" (*laos*) or "your brothers," but rather in the most general terms.

(2) The twelve disciples are commissioned to "go" (*poreuesthe* [Mt 10:6; cf. Mt 10:7; 28:19]); Luke speaks of Jesus "sending out" (*apostellō*) the Twelve (Lk 9:2). They do not stay at home; they go to the people who live in the towns and villages into which Jesus is sending them. Their "going" involves a journey (Mt 10:10, where the term *hodos* describes the action of traveling on a road) on foot to places where they need to find accommodations (Mt 10:11-13). In the parable of the wedding banquet the king "sends" (*apesteilen*) his slaves to go to the invited guests and tell them that it is time to come, and eventually he commands them to "go" (*poreuesthe*) to the streets that lead out of town (*diexodoi*) and to invite to the banquet anyone they find (Mt 22:3-4, 9; Lk 16:17, 21, 23 with the verb *exerchomai* ["to go out"]).

(3) The Twelve are commissioned to "proclaim" (*kēryssō*) the good news of the nearness of the kingdom of God, following the lead of Jesus' own proclamation (Mt 10:7; Lk 9:2). The proclamation

of the dawn of the kingdom of God involves teaching, as Mark's description of the disciples' report upon the return indicates (Mk 6:30). As the Twelve teach what Jesus taught, they initiate and consolidate the tradition of Jesus' sayings and message already before Easter.

(4) The Twelve are commissioned to cast out unclean spirits and to cure diseases (Mt 10:1, 8; Mk 6:7; Lk 9:1). They will be able to do what Jesus is doing because Jesus grants them the power and authority to perform these miracles. As the sick are cured, the dead raised, the lepers cleansed and the demons cast out (Mt 10:8), the people to whom the Twelve are sent experience the reality of God's power and thus are challenged to acknowledge that the kingdom of God is becoming a reality in connection with Jesus and his message, which is conveyed to them through Jesus' envoys (*see* Healing, Miracles and Miracle Stories).

(5) The Twelve are sent out in pairs of two (*dyo dyo* [Mk 6:7])—that is, in six groups of two disciples each. The pairing of the disciples serves mutual encouragement and support, attests the veracity of the testimony of two *witnesses (cf. Deut 19:15; Num 35:30) and represents the new community that is being established (*see* Mission).

(6) The Twelve are warned that they will not be welcomed by every house or every town (Mt 10:13-14; Mk 6:11; Lk 9:5). Jesus sends them "like sheep into the midst of wolves" (Mt 10:16). This prediction reflects Jesus' own experience: the proclamation of the presence of God's kingdom provokes opposition. The phrase that introduces this prediction—"See, I am sending you" (*idou egō apostellō* [Mt 10:16]) emphasizes the protection that Jesus promises his disciples: he does not send them to their death, although he sends them into a potentially dangerous situation. The lesson is that they should be "wise as serpents" (i.e., behave circumspectly so that their reliance on God's protection becomes evident without seeking martyrdom or playing tactical games) and "innocent as doves" (i.e., not to be overly cautious or suspicious of everybody and anything). The Twelve are instructed to avoid conflicts, and they are encouraged to be unafraid.

(7) The Twelve are sent as Jesus' envoys to all nations in Matthew 28:18-20 (cf. Lk 24:47), or, in Acts 1:8, from Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria to the end of the earth. This happens only after Jesus' resurrection. The missionary work of the Twelve includes *Gentiles, but it does not exclude Jews. They are directed to begin reaching the Jewish people with the good news of *salvation in Jesus, Israel's Messiah (*see* Christ), in Jerusalem and Judea, but they are di-

rected to reach the *Samaritan people and all other peoples as well. As Jesus sends out the Twelve, he assures them of his continued presence, which is the presence of the *Holy Spirit of God, who will empower their mission with divine *authority.

(8) The mission of the apostles whom Jesus sends is patterned on the mission of Jesus, whom God had sent (Jn 20:21). The disciples are the envoys of Jesus, in whom God reveals himself to the world: "Whoever sees me sees him who sent me" (Jn 12:45), and "No one comes to the Father except through me" (Jn 14:6). The shape and the purpose of the sending of the disciples are determined by the content of Jesus' mission: as Jesus reveals the Father when he risks his life for the world like a good shepherd and eventually lays down his life (Jn 10:11, 15) so that the world might be "sanctified in the truth" that is Jesus himself (Jn 17:17), the envoys whom Jesus sends into the world (Jn 17:18) are directed to help people find *forgiveness of sins, salvation and eternal *life (Jn 3:16) (Köstenberger). By virtue of being sent by Jesus, they are coworkers of God the Father; they do the work of the Son (Jn 13:12-14), by whose ministry all of God's creatures are to believe in God and receive salvation (Jn 6:29). The Spirit empowers their mission in a hostile world (Jn 15:25-26), guaranteeing the effectiveness of their witness (Jn 16:8-11).

3. The Twelve Apostles.

The authors of the Gospels do not provide much detail about the Twelve, nor does Luke in the book of Acts provide information about either the background or the work of the Twelve, whom he lists in Acts 1:8 (note in Acts 1:26 the addition of Matthias replacing Judas Iscariot). Due to Luke's biographical focus on Peter in the first half of Acts, we have information about Peter for the first twelve years of his ministry (before he leaves Jerusalem in A.D. 41/42) and some information about John. The apocryphal *Acts* of various apostles provide little in the way of historically reliable information about the members of the circle of the Twelve. The treatment of the Twelve here follows the sequences of names in Matthew 10:2-4.

3.1. Simon Peter. The first man called by Jesus as his disciple (Mk 1:16-18) was Simon and his brother Andrew. The name "Simon" (Heb. *Šim'ôn*) was the most popular male name among Palestinian Jews. The name of the father was "Jonah" (Mt 16:17) or "John" (Jn 1:42; 21:15-17). The family came from Bethsaida (Jn 1:44) and owned a house in Capernaum (cf. Mt 8:14; Mk 1:21, 29; Lk 4:38). The family business was fishing on the Sea of Galilee (Mk 1:16). Peter was married (Mk 1:29-31; 1 Cor 9:5). Jesus

called Simon "Peter" (Gk. *Petros* [Lk 6:14]), the Greek equivalent of the Aramaic surname "Cephas" (*Kêph'â*, transliterated in Greek as *Kêphas*), which means "rock" and thus constitutes a play on words: both the Aramaic term *kêph'â* and the Greek term *petra* mean "rock," and *petros* means "stone." This change of name highlights Simon's task and responsibility: he was appointed as the leader and spokesman of the Twelve and thus the "rock" or foundation of the new "house" of the messianic community, a role that he is portrayed as fulfilling in Acts, where he is described as the spokesperson of the Twelve (Acts 2:14; 5:1-11, 17-39) and the leader of the Jerusalem church (Acts 1:15-25; 9:32-43; 11:2-13; 15:7) and its mission in Jerusalem (Acts 3:12), Judea (Acts 9:32, 35), Samaria (Acts 8:14, 25) and Caesarea (Acts 10:5-48), who preaches at Pentecost (Acts 2:14-40), on the Temple Mount (Acts 3:11-26) and before the Jewish leaders in the Sanhedrin (Acts 4:8-12; 5:29-32). The Gospel writers portray Peter as the first disciple to confess Jesus as the Messiah (Mt 16:13-20 // Mk 8:27-30 // Lk 9:18-21; cf. Jn 6:69), an acknowledgment marred by a lack of understanding of the necessity of Jesus' death (Mt 16:21-23 // Mk 8:31-33; cf. Lk 9:22). He is afraid to acknowledge his association with Jesus during Jesus' trial when confronted by a slave girl (Mt 26:69-75 // Mk 14:66-72 // Jn 18:25-27). After Pentecost, Peter is bold enough to defy the orders of the high priest and the Sanhedrin (Acts 5:29).

In A.D. 41, Peter was arrested in Jerusalem by Herod Agrippa I, who wanted to execute him (Acts 12:3). After a miraculous escape from prison, Peter left Jerusalem and went to "another place" (Acts 12:17) that Luke does not specify; he could have gone to Rome, to northern Asia Minor (cf. the regions mentioned in 1 Pet 1:1) or to other cities with large Jewish communities. Some suggest that the major disturbances in Rome that evidently were connected with the proclamation of Jesus as the Messiah, prompting the emperor Claudius to issue an edict evicting the Jews from Rome in A.D. 49 (Suetonius, *Claud.* 25.3-4), can most plausibly be explained with the presence and activity of a major Christian figure such as Peter. There is no direct evidence that can support this suggestion, however. We know that after leaving Jerusalem, Peter was active as a missionary, traveling with his wife (1 Cor 9:5); he was active in Antioch probably in A.D. 48 (Gal 2:11-14), and he participated in the apostles' council in Jerusalem in A.D. 48 (Acts 15:7), where he reminded the believers that God had used him in the early days of the church to proclaim the gospel to the Gentiles without requiring them to become Jews (Acts 15:7). Early

traditions place Peter in Rome, at least by the time of Nero, during whose reign he is said to have died as martyr, being crucified upside down (*Acts Pet.* 38). If this information is reliable, Peter's death is best dated during the Neronian persecution in A.D. 64.

The apocryphal *Gospel of Peter*, written in the second century A.D., is dependent on the canonical Gospels. The main aim of the author seems to have been to blame the Jews for Jesus' death and to exonerate Pilate, and the text adds nothing to our knowledge about the historical Peter. The same holds true for the apocryphal *Acts of Peter*, written at the end of the second century A.D., which relates stories about Peter's ministry in Rome.

3.2. Andrew. Andrew (Gk. *Andreas*) was Simon's brother (Mk 1:16) and thus also a fisherman from Bethsaida and Capernaum. He was a disciple of John the Baptist (Jn 1:35, 40) before he met Jesus. According to the Fourth Gospel, Andrew was the first follower of Jesus, identified by name when he brought Simon Peter to Jesus, and the first to recognize Jesus as the Messiah (Jn 1:35-42). Mark relates Andrew's call by Jesus in connection with Peter's (Mk 1:16-18). He is present when Jesus cures Peter's mother-in-law (Mk 1:29-31), and he is among the four disciples who hears Jesus predict the destruction of the *temple (Mk 13:3-4). John relates that Andrew brought the boy with the bread and the fishes to Jesus on the occasion of the feeding miracle (Jn 6:8); still later, he and Philip took the Greeks to Jesus who wanted to see his master (Jn 12:22). Matthew and Luke mention Andrew only in connection with his call (Mt 4:18) and the list of the Twelve (Mt 10:2 // Lk 6:14), which should not be taken to mean that they regarded Andrew as less important.

The apocryphal *Acts of Andrew*, written in the late second century A.D., contains only minimal historical information; the original author claims to know that the apostle Andrew preached the gospel in northern Asia Minor in the cities of Amaseia and Sinope in the region of Pontus, that he traveled from Pontus to Nicea (freeing the city from dangerous demons), that he visited Nicomedia and Byzantion and then traveled through Thrace and via Perinth, Philippi and Thessalonica in Macedonia to Patras, Corinth and Megara in Achaia, where he converted the proconsul and his family to the Christian faith, and eventually died as martyr in Patras. Origen claims to know that the apostle Andrew went to Scythia, the Bosporan kingdom on the north coast of the Black Sea (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.1.1), which agrees with the apocryphal *Acts of Andrew and Matthias*, written in the fourth century A.D., whose au-

thor asserts that the apostle Andrew engaged in missionary work among the "man-eaters" (the Greeks localized the cannibals on the north coast of the Black Sea [see Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.106]). *Acts of Andrew* does not mention a mission of Andrew to Scythia. It is impossible to verify these pieces of information in terms of their historical accuracy.

3.3. James the Son of Zebedee. James (Heb. *Ya'āqōb*, transliterated in Greek as *lakōbos*) is always among the first three disciples in the four lists of the Twelve, indicating that he belonged to the inner circle of Jesus' disciples. Since he is always mentioned before his brother John, presumably he was the elder of the two. His father's name was "Zebedee," the family business was fishing on the Sea of Galilee (Mt 4:21 // Mk 1:19); Luke reports that the Zebedee family was a partner with Peter and Andrew (Lk 5:10). The mother of the Zebedee brothers was one of the women at the cross (Mt 27:55-56); if her name was "Salome," as the reference in Mark 15:40 suggests, she was the sister of Jesus' mother, which makes James and his brother John Jesus' cousins. James was among the first men to be called to follow Jesus; when he and his brother John accepted Jesus' call, their father, Zebedee, was left behind in the boat together with the hired men (Mk 1:20).

Jesus gave James and his brother John the nickname "Boanerges," meaning "sons of thunder" (Mk 3:17), evidently because of their sometimes impetuous personalities: when Samaritan villagers refused entry to Jesus, the brothers asked Jesus for permission to command fire to come down from heaven and consume the villagers (Lk 9:51-56), and as they approached Jerusalem, they asked Jesus for places of honor in the kingdom to be established (Mk 10:35-45 [according to Mt 20:20-28, it was their mother who made the request]). Jesus prophesies that James and his brother will "drink the cup" that he has to drink—that is, that they will suffer (Mt 20:23 // Mk 10:39). James was the first of the Twelve to die on account of his allegiance to Jesus; he was executed by Herod Agrippa I in A.D. 41 (*Acts* 12:2).

3.4. John the Son of Zebedee. John (Gk. *Iōānnēs*, Heb. *Yōhānān*), the brother of James, was the younger son of Zebedee, also a fisherman from Bethsaida. He was called from his fishing boat along with his brother to follow Jesus (Mk 1:19-20). In Mark, John is one of the three disciples closest to Jesus (with his brother James and with Simon Peter): at the raising of Jairus's daughter (Mk 5:37), at Jesus' *transfiguration (Mk 9:2) and in *Gethsemane (Mk 14:33). In the Synoptic Gospels, John is once mentioned alone: he reports that the disciples stopped

someone who was not a follower of Jesus from casting out *demons in Jesus' name (Mk 9:38 // Lk 9:49). John was chosen by Jesus alongside Peter to prepare the Passover meal (Lk 22:8 [anonymous in Mk 14:13]). In the Gospel of John, he is mentioned once explicitly in the reference to the "sons of Zebedee" in the list of some disciples who encountered the risen Jesus in Galilee (Jn 21:2). Traditionally, since the latter part of the second century A.D., John has been identified with "the disciple whom Jesus loved," the so-called Beloved Disciple in John's Gospel, mentioned for the first time when he is reclining beside Jesus at the *Last Supper (Jn 13:23); he was the only disciple among the Twelve who witnessed Jesus' crucifixion (Jn 19:25-26), and he was the first disciple to see the empty tomb (Jn 20:2-5); he perhaps was the disciple with Peter in the courtyard at Jesus' trial, described as being known to the high priest (Jn 18:15). According to John 21:24-25, the writing of the Fourth Gospel is attributed to the Beloved Disciple.

In Acts, John appears in association with Peter, praying in the temple and healing a crippled man (Acts 3:1-10), forced to justify their activities before the *Sanhedrin (Acts 4:7, 13), whose leaders describe him as uneducated (in the law). When Samaritans are converted through the ministry of Philip, John accompanies Peter to confirm, consolidate and expand the work in Samaria (Acts 8:14-17, 25). Paul describes John, together with James and Cephas (Simon Peter), as one of the "pillar apostles" (Gal 2:9), confirming John's leading role in the Jerusalem church. The suggestion that John the son of Zebedee was arrested when Paul persecuted the followers of Jesus in Jerusalem and was executed on Paul's vote in Jerusalem (Witherington, who argues from the absence of John from Acts 9—28 and from alleged clues in Acts 8:1-3; 22:4; Gal 1:13, 23; 1 Tim 1:13, 15) is entirely hypothetical. Irenaeus (A.D. 130–200) defended the view that the apostle John wrote the Johannine Epistles and Gospel in Ephesus, the latter to answer the errors of Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.3.4). Justin Martyr, who lived in Ephesus ca. A.D. 150, asserted that the John who wrote Revelation (Rev 1:1, 4, 9; 22:8) was the apostle John (Justin, *Dial.* 81). Polycrates of Ephesus (A.D. 189–198) claims to know that John was buried at Ephesus (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.31.3; 5.24.1-3). Various apocryphal texts, including *Acts of John*, written in the second century A.D., emphasize John's triumph over pagan worship (e.g., *Acts John* 37-55 relates that he destroyed the temple of Artemis in Ephesus) but do not provide reliable historical information about the ministry of John.

3.5. Philip. Philip (Gk. *Philippos*, a name popular among Greeks as the name of Alexander the Great's father) came from Bethsaida, as did Peter and Andrew, and John and James (Jn 1:44). In the Synoptic Gospels, Philip is mentioned only in the lists of the Twelve. According to John's Gospel, he was one of the first disciples of Jesus (Jn 1:43-44). When he recognized Jesus to be the Messiah, he shared his conviction with his friend Nathaniel and invited him to come and see Jesus (Jn 1:45-46). When challenged by Jesus to feed five thousand people, Philip acknowledged that even six months' wages could not buy enough food for so many people (Jn 6:5-7). In Jerusalem he introduced Greeks to Jesus who wanted to see him (Jn 12:21-22), and he participated in the dialogue about the meaning of Jesus' announcement that he would go to the Father (Jn 14:8-9). He was with the other disciples in the upper room waiting for the arrival of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:13). Philip the apostle must not be confused with the Philip who was one of the seven men appointed to distribute food (Acts 6:5) and who preached the gospel in Samaria (Acts 8:4-24).

The apocryphal *Acts of Philip*, written in the fourth century A.D., claims to know that the apostle Philip preached the gospel in Parthia and also traveled to Ethiopia and from there to Azotus (Ashdod) on the Mediterranean coast, presupposing a journey from Palestine via the Sinai to Nubia. It is impossible to verify these claims.

3.6. Bartholomew. The name "Bartholomew" (Gk. *Bartholomaios*) is the transliteration of the Aramaic patronymic "bar Talmi" ("son of Talmay" [cf. Num 13:22; 2 Sam 3:3]). Traditions from the ninth century A.D. onward identify him with the Nathanael mentioned in John 1:43-46; 21:2, which, however, has no basis in the text. Bartholomew is mentioned only in the four lists of the Twelve. Eusebius claims to know that Bartholomew, who was in India before Pantaenus, left the people a copy of the Gospel of Matthew written "in Hebrew letters" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.10); since multiple traditions place the apostle Thomas in India, this seems to be a confused piece of information that could be due to a misunderstanding: Pantaenus might have understood "Bar Thoma" (Bartholomew) instead of "Mar Thoma" (Thomas, with "Mar" being an oriental honorific title).

3.7. Thomas. The Greek name "Thomas" (*Thōmas*) is translated in John 11:16; 20:24; 21:2 with the Greek equivalent *Didymos*, which means "twin" and was used by the Greeks as a personal name, which was not the case for the Hebrew and Aramaic terms

meaning “twin” (*tē’ōm* and *tē’ōmā’*); John never tells his readers who was Thomas’s twin. In the Synoptic Gospels, Thomas is mentioned only in the lists of the Twelve. In the Gospel of John, he is mentioned as a courageous disciple who is willing to die with Jesus (Jn 11:16; cf. Jn 14:5). He doubted the reports concerning Jesus’ resurrection from the dead (note that the other disciples had refused to believe the women’s reports about having encountered Jesus as risen from the dead); after he encountered Jesus, he confessed him as the divine Messiah (“My Lord and my God!” [Jn 20:28]). According to later tradition, both written (the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*) and oral (the so-called Thomas Christians in India), Thomas went to India as a missionary (see Schnabel, 1:880–95). The apocryphal *Gospel of Thomas*, composed in the second century A.D. and consisting of 114 sayings (logia) mainly by Jesus, is linked by many scholars with the oral Jesus traditions (which have to be reconstructed by translating the Coptic text of the document back into Greek and eventually into Aramaic); the gnosticizing tendency of the document, its world-denying outlook and the emphasis on an esoteric and ascetic faith for which the words of Jesus are important (they give eternal life to those who discover their esoteric truth) but not his works or his cross and resurrection account for the fact that we learn nothing about the historical Thomas.

3.8. Matthew. The name “Matthew” (Gk. *Maththaios*, Heb. *Matityā* or *Matityāhū*) appears in the lists of the Twelve. Since the First Gospel describes Matthew in the list of the Twelve as a tax collector (Mt 10:3) and replaces the name of Levi the tax collector, whom Jesus called (Mk 2:13–17 // Lk 5:27–32), with “Matthew” (Mt 9:9), Matthew and Levi are regarded as identical (though this is implausible to some [see, e.g., Meier, 201; Bauckham, 108–11]). Early tradition credits Matthew/Levi with the authorship of the First Gospel. Rufinus claims to know that the apostle Matthew went to Ethiopia (Rufinus, *Hist.* 1.9–10).

3.9. James the Son of Alphaeus. The patronymic “son of Alphaeus” (Gk. *Alphaios* is the transcription of the Hebrew name *Ḥalḥāy*) distinguishes this James (Heb. *Ya’āqōb* [“Jacob”]) from James the son of Zebedee. If he is identical with “James the younger,” his mother was called “Mary,” and he had a brother with the name “Josés” (Mk 15:40), but this cannot be confirmed. Since Levi is also described as “son of Alphaeus” (Mk 2:14), it is possible that this James and Levi were brothers; however, because the disciple lists mention the other brothers in pairs, but not James and Levi, this is uncertain.

3.10. Thaddaeus. A disciple with the name “Thaddaeus” (Gk. *Thaddaios*, Heb. *Taddai*) is mentioned in the last group of four names in the list of the Twelve in Matthew 10:3; Mark 3:18, while Luke lists a Judas (Heb. *Yēhūdā* [“Judah”]) son of James (Lk 6:16; Acts 1:13). It is possible that this is the same individual bearing both a Greek and a Hebrew name, which was not uncommon among the Jews of the time. John mentions Judas son of James in connection with the Last Supper, relating that “Judas, not Iscariot” asks Jesus how he will reveal himself to the disciples and not to the world (Jn 14:22). According to the apocryphal *Acts of Thaddaeus*, a disciple with the name “Thaddaeus” engaged in missionary work in Edessa in the region of Osroene, a vassal state of the Parthians east of the Euphrates River; this tradition is known to Eusebius, who identifies Thaddaeus as one of the seventy disciples sent to proclaim Christ (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 1.13.4; 2.1.6). Scholars identify this Thaddaeus with the Jewish Christian missionary Addai, who engaged in missionary work in Edessa and in Adiabene (1 *Apoc. Jas.* 36:15–24; *Doctrina Addai*), dating this mission to around A.D. 100. Some scholars are prepared to reckon with a mission of Thaddaeus to Edessa around A.D. 33/34, pointing to the exchange of letters between Abgar and the emperor Tiberius mentioned in the *Doctrina Addai* (for discussion, see Schnabel, 1:900).

3.11. Simon the Cananean. Since the leading disciple also had the name “Simon” (Peter), this Simon is identified as “the zealot” (Gk. *ho zelōtēs* [Lk 6:15; Acts 1:13]) and “the Cananean” (Gk. *ho Kananaios* [Mt 10:4 // Mk 3:18]); the term “the Cananean” is to be derived from Aramaic *qan’ānā’* (“enthusiast, zealot”). Both the Aramaic term and the Greek term have a broad range of meanings; every person who was committed to fulfilling the *law could be described with the term (cf. 4 Macc 18:12; Philo, *Spec.* 2.253). The term itself does not prove that this Simon belonged to the political movement of the Zealots—that is, the nationalist Jewish group that was willing to engage in active resistance against the Romans (see *Revolutionary Movements*). Many scholars regard this assumed association as questionable because the Zealot party emerged only in A.D. 66. We do not know how Simon’s zeal for God and the law manifested itself. The fact that he was willing to live and work in the company of Jesus, who was reviled for being “a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners” (Mt 11:19 // Lk 7:34), indicates his willingness to have his attitude and his behavior changed by Jesus’ example and authority.

3.12. Judas Iscariot. “Judas” (Heb. *Yēhūdā*) is a venerated Hebrew name, the name of one of the patriarchs. The second name (or nickname) “Iscariot,” which distinguishes him from other early disciples with the name “Judas/Jude,” probably refers to the place Kariot (Tell Qiriath in the Negev, or Askaroth near Shechem?). He was the treasurer of the Twelve (Jn 12:6), which means that he was regarded as competent in money matters. Like the other members of the Twelve, he was called and sent by Jesus “to proclaim the kingdom of God and to heal” (Lk 9:2). According to Acts 1:17, Peter reminded the other disciples that Judas “belonged to our number and received a share in our ministry.”

All four Gospel writers relate Judas’s betrayal of Jesus to the Jewish authorities (Mt 26:14 // Mk 14:10 // Lk 22:4) who subsequently arrest Jesus in Gethsemane. Mark provides no motive for Judas’s betrayal; money is mentioned only after he went to the chief priests (Mk 14:10-11; cf. Lk 22:5). Matthew specifically mentions greed as Judas’s motivation (Mt 26:14-15), while Luke provides a demonic explanation: “Then Satan entered into Judas” (Lk 22:3). John combines the two motivations: he portrays Judas Iscariot as greedy (Jn 12:4-5) and notes that “Satan entered into him” (Jn 13:2, 27).

Matthew provides a fuller version of the events (Mt 26:14-15; 27:3-10) than Luke: he relates that Judas repented, and that he threw the thirty pieces of silver that he had received into the temple before committing suicide by hanging; the priests used the money to purchase a piece of property. Luke is mostly interested in the horrible fate of Judas, relating that Judas acquired a piece of land (which may simply mean that it was Judas’s money that bought the plot of land with the gruesome name “Akeldama,” meaning “field of blood”), and that he fell headlong, bursting open in the middle with the result that all his entrails spilled out (Acts 1:18-19). Judas Iscariot was replaced by Matthias in the circle of the Twelve after Jesus’ resurrection and before Pentecost (Acts 1:12-26).

Revisionist theories that seek to rehabilitate Judas Iscariot have been suggested since early on. The apocryphal *Gospel of Judas*, a gnostic text dating to the third or fourth century A.D., while recognizing that Judas was the betrayer of Jesus, portrays him as a necessary functionary in the grand divine plan in which Jesus is rescued and released from the constraints of earthly existence for heavenly existence. The fact that the content of the document is “almost entirely derivative from the canonical Gospels and Acts” (Porter and Heath, 95), combined with the consistently gnostic outlook of its theology, suggests

the conclusion that we learn nothing new about the historical role of Judas. More recent attempts to portray Judas Iscariot as a good disciple of Jesus who wanted to arrange a meeting between Jesus and the high priests, each with their own hopes for the outcome of such an encounter (Klassen), are equally unconvincing.

4. The Role and Significance of the Apostles.

In discussing the significance of the apostles in the Gospels, the focus needs to go beyond the concept of the *apostolos* to include the group of the Twelve—Luke, who often speaks of the apostles in Acts, not surprisingly connects the term *apostolos* with the Twelve (Lk 6:13; 9:1, 10; 22:3, 14, 47; 24:9-10)—and include the evidence of the book of Acts. The significance of the Twelve as a group can be seen in Mark’s description of the calling of the Twelve by Jesus: “And he appointed twelve, whom he also names apostles” (Mk 3:14); the term “appointed” translates the Greek verb *poieō*, which can be interpreted in terms of Jesus “creating” the Twelve and can be compared with Exodus 18:25-26 (Moses) and 1 Kings 12:6 (Moses and Aaron), as well as with statements in which Yahweh appears as the creator of his people (Is 43:1; 44:2).

4.1. The Nucleus of Restored Israel. The Twelve were not biological descendants of the twelve tribes of Israel: note the two pairs of brothers and the fact that “Israel” in the first century A.D. consisted of only two or three tribes (Judah/Benjamin, the priests from Levi). The Twelve correspond symbolically to the twelve princes of the tribes of Israel in the wilderness (Num 1:4-16) (Horbury). They represent Israel’s hope for a restoration in the messianic age (cf. Ezek 37:15-22; see also Jas 1:1; Rev 7:4-8; 22:2), a symbolism often linked with the Qumran community, in which twelve lay leaders symbolized their claim to be the covenant community of the last days (cf. 1QS VIII, 1; 1Q28a I 11-22; 4Q159 2-4, 3-4; 1Q33 II, 1-3; cf. 11Q19 LVII, 11-14, referring to twelve princes, twelve priests and twelve Levites). In Matthew 19:28 // Luke 22:29-30 the Twelve are explicitly linked with the twelve tribes of Israel, as dispensing judgment. Jesus’ appointment of twelve disciples was a programmatic action, symbolizing the claim that in his ministry the messianic restoration of *Israel had begun had begun in embryonic form (Bryan).

Luke’s portrayal of the activities of the apostles in Acts confirms their significance as constituting the nucleus of a restored Israel, suggesting that Jesus’ announcement that the Twelve will “judge” Israel (Lk 22:30) includes the exercise of leadership authority

(Clark). Luke's description of the work of the Twelve in Jerusalem after Pentecost and their encounters with the Jewish leaders in Acts 3–5 portrays the latter as leaders without credibility and authority, as leaders who have killed the promised Messiah and are now threatening Jesus' envoys without the courage to punish the apostles because they are afraid of the people (Acts 4:5–22). And he describes the apostles as the effective leaders of the Jewish people who defy the Jewish leaders in the Sanhedrin (Acts 4:13), who are willingly heard by the people of Jerusalem (Acts 4:2; 5:25) and whose preaching leads thousands of Jews to come to faith in Jesus as the Messiah. Luke portrays the apostles as effective leaders of the new messianic community of Jesus' followers (see Acts 2:42; 4:35, 37; 5:2; 6:1–6; 8:14). He draws a close connection between the apostles and the city of Jerusalem (Lk 24:49; Acts 1:4), in which their ministry is initially focused (Acts 1–6). He describes the apostles as legitimizing new developments in the expanding mission that includes the fulfillment of the prophetic expectation that in the last days the nations will come to Zion and receive salvation (Acts 8:14, 15–17; 11:1, 18; 15:5–6, 22–23).

The role of the Twelve seems to be less important after Peter's departure from Jerusalem in A.D. 41/42, which appears to have coincided with a change of leadership in the Jerusalem church from the apostles to the "elders" (the latter are mentioned in Acts 11:30; 15:2, 4, 6, 22, 23; 16:4; 21:18), presumably prompted by the departure of all or most of the Twelve after the martyrdom of James.

4.2. The Twelve Apostles as Authoritative Eyewitnesses. The role of the apostles as witnesses to the fact that the crucified and buried Jesus rose from the dead is central for Luke. This role is emphasized in the commissioning of the apostles (Lk 24:48; Acts 1:8), and it is central both in the description of the criteria of apostleship when the need arose to replace Judas Iscariot (Acts 1:21–22) and in Peter's preaching and teaching (Acts 2:32; 3:15; 4:2, 10, 33; 5:32; 10:41). The apostles are "distinctive in their role as Jesus' authorized delegates, witnesses to the reality of his resurrection and expounders of its significance" (Clark, 178). The witness is confirmed by God in the signs and wonders that happen in their ministry (Acts 2:43; 3:1–10; 4:16; 5:12, 14; cf. Acts 4:30).

4.3. The Twelve Apostles as Authoritative Transmitters of Jesus Tradition. The calling of the Twelve, all of whom evidently lived in Galilee, at least at the time of their first encounter with Jesus, should not be understood as the calling of rural, illiterate peasants and laborers. At least for Levi/Matthew, a col-

lector of tolls, some degree of education can be assumed; he probably would have been able to take written notes during the three years of Jesus' teaching and preaching ministry, and he may have been among the Jerusalem believers who were capable of sophisticated scribal activity (Bauckham, 287–89). The status of the Twelve symbolizing the messianic restoration of Israel explains their status in the early church as "authoritative transmitters of the sayings of Jesus and authoritative eyewitnesses of the events of Jesus' history" (Bauckham, 95–96).

See also AUTHORITY AND POWER; BELOVED DISCIPLE; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL; ISRAEL; JOHN, GOSPEL OF; MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF; MISSION.

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ARAMAIC LANGUAGE. See **LANGUAGES OF PALESTINE**.

ARCHANGELS. See **ANGELS**.

ARCHELAUS. See **HERODIAN DYNASTY**.

ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

We begin with a short discussion of the actual or presupposed geographical data, most of which is contained in the Gospels. Special attention will be devoted to the question of whether the results of archaeological investigations can shed light on NT and early church traditions referring to details of locale. In conclusion we will consider what theological sig-

nificance can be attributed to geographic factors, and whether these factors furnish any grounds for drawing conclusions about the historical reliability and the origin of the Gospels.

1. Infancy Narratives
2. Areas of John the Baptist's Activity
3. Public Ministry of Jesus in Galilee
4. Withdrawal Areas around Galilee
5. Journeys to Jerusalem
6. Jerusalem
7. Historical and Theological Significance

1. Infancy Narratives.

1.1. The Birthplace of John the Baptist. To visit Elizabeth, Mary went "into the hill country [*oreinē*], to a city of Judah" (Lk 1:39). The Greek word describes the district around Jerusalem (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5.14). A literary tradition that can be traced back to the sixth century identifies the birthplace with En-Kerem (Arabic *Ain Karim*), seven kilometers west of Jerusalem (*ELS* 44ff.). Remains of two fourth-century churches indicate, however, that the tradition stretches back to a still earlier time (*GBL* 2.776). The identification of this site with the priestly city of Juttah (Josh 15:55; 21:16) ten kilometers south of Hebron is ruled out on philological grounds alone.

1.2. Bethlehem. According to Matthew 2:1 and Luke 2:4 Jesus was born in Bethlehem (Gk. *Bēthleem*), the native city of the house of David (see Birth of Jesus). It has often been argued that this is nothing more than a deduction from the prophecy of Micah 5:2, and that Jesus actually hailed from Nazareth. Against this is the fact that Bethlehem as Jesus' birthplace appears in two traditions that are totally different from each other. When John 7:42 is taken as indicating that the Fourth Evangelist knew nothing of Jesus' birth in the city of David, the intentional ambiguity found throughout John's Gospel is being misunderstood. That Joseph set out for Bethlehem because of a tax census (Lk 2:14) is explicable only if he had land holdings thereindeed, it is probable that it was his place of residence (cf. Mt 2:11, 22-23). This is not necessarily contradicted by Luke's presentation, since *katalyma* (Lk 2:7) need not refer to a guest house but far more commonly connotes a large room. Worth mentioning only as a curiosity is the occasional claim that Jesus' birthplace was the Bethlehem that lay eleven kilometers northwest of Nazareth.

A somewhat independent reference to Jesus' origin in the city of David is the early Christian local tradition, not derivable from the Gospels, placing Jesus' birth in a cave in Bethlehem (*GBL* 1.196-97).

The present Church of the Nativity, lying at the west edge of the hill that marked the old city, was erected over a large rock cave, some 12 x 3 meters in size. This cavern is one of several that were located near houses and served as stalls or for storage of supplies (cf. Lk 11:33) in the first century. Already at the beginning of the second century, the local tradition was so well established that Hadrian (in c. A.D. 135) made the cave into a sanctuary to Adonis in order to eliminate veneration of it by Jewish Christians (ELS 83ff.). Jerome still remembered the original "manger" (*phatnē*) of Luke 2:7 consisting of a rock groove with plain clay walls (ELS 91) in a sidecave some 3 x 3 meters in size (GBL 2.847). Due to the marble paneling and rebuilding, today it is very difficult to envision the original appearance of this grotto.

1.3. The Shepherd Fields. Based on Genesis 35:21 and Micah 4:8, some Jews expected the Messiah to appear at a place called the "shepherd's tower" (Heb. *migdalēder*) east of Bethlehem (GBL 2.977-78). Luke 2:8 may envision the shepherds at this site. From the fourth century at the latest, the shepherd fields were sought east of Bethlehem near the village of Beth Sahur (ELS 90ff.). Excavations in this area have brought to light a small shepherd settlement dating to the first century (GBL 1.197).

1.4. Rachel's Tomb. Already in NT times, this tomb near Bethlehem was venerated based on Genesis 35:19. This is probably the same site as the present one at the junction that leads to Jerusalem (GBL 1.197). There may have been a connection between the tradition surrounding this tomb and Matthew 2:16-18.

1.5. The Tomb of Herod the Great. Matthew 2:19 mentions the death of the Jewish king. Originally he had foreseen a family burial site a little north of the modern Damascus gate in Jerusalem in a rotunda modeled after Augustus' mausoleum in Rome. Herod was transferred, however, to the Herodium, his refuge located southwest of Bethlehem on a hill partially constructed from rubble (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.673). For a long time his grave was suspected to lie in the main tower, but excavations located it at the base of the fortress, where a prestigious sarcophagus has been found.

2. Areas of John the Baptist's Activity.

2.1. The Desert John Inhabited. As the parallelism to Jesus' birth narrative shows, the Baptist was already "in the desert" as a small child (Lk 1:80). Some researchers have suspected that John was brought up in Qumran or another Essene settlement, since the Essenes adopted youths and in-

structed them in their doctrine (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.120; cf. 1QH 9:35-36). The local Christian traditions regarding the desert frequented by the Baptist are of late origin and contradictory (ELS 62ff.). Even if John was in contact with the Essenes during his youth, after his prophetic calling from God he turned away from their exclusivist teaching to preach repentance to the populace at large (see Mountain and Wilderness).

2.2. The Baptism of Jesus. According to Matthew 3:13-17 Jesus was baptized (see Baptism) at the Jordan River where it forms the eastern border (cf. Mk 1:4-5) of the desert of Judea (Mt 3:1). This points to the area between the mouth of the wadi Farah and the site where the Jordan enters the Dead Sea. Already in the third century Origen (*Comm. Joh.* 6.104) knew a local tradition on the heights of Jericho on the east bank of the river. This tradition connected the site with the name Bethabara (probably a ford). Subsequently the Byzantine tradition without exception transferred Jesus' baptismal site to this location, more precisely to the wadi el-Charrar (ELS 171ff.). A Jewish local tradition, quite independent of Christian tradition, located *Elijah's ascension (2 Kings 2:5-14) in this very area (GBL 1.193). It is quite possible that John chose this baptismal site deliberately in order to hint that he was the eschatological Elijah (cf. Mt 11:14; 17:11-13; Mk 9:12-13; Lk 1:17). Recent excavations have confirmed the very early veneration of this place.

2.3. The Mountain of the Temptation. While a symbolic understanding would also be possible (Mt 4:8; cf. Lk 4:5), it appears that early Byzantine tradition regarded this mountain to have been the Djebel Qarantal northwest of Jericho, on which the Hasmonean fortress of Dok lay (ELS 189-90). Perhaps the Jerusalem Talmud polemicalizes against such a veneration (y. *Abod. Zar.* 39c). According to the Qumran Copper Scroll it seems possible that there was an Essene hideaway there (3Q15 7:11-13). Local Christian tradition preserves, perhaps, the memory that Jesus withdrew (Mk 1:12-13 par.) in a similar manner to the peaceful solitude of this deserted place (GBL 2.659).

2.4. Aenon and Salim. John also baptized at another site, by a sizable spring Aenon (Heb. *ʿynōn*; Gk. *Ainōn*) in the vicinity of Salim (Gk. *Saleim*; Jn 3:23). Baptizing in the Jordan could have been hazardous during high water, but also its tributaries were considered as waters of the Jordan (GBL 1.64). Because of the travel route presupposed by the Fourth Evangelist (cf. Jn 3:22; 4:16), modern researchers have tried to identify Salim with Ain Farah twelve kilometers northwest of Sichem. The early

Byzantine tradition (*ELS* 214ff.), however, places the site twelve kilometers southeast of Scythopolis (Bethshan), where the lush springs of Ed Der arise near Tel Shech Salim (*GBL* 3.1318). In favor of the Baptist's having chosen this site is the fact that Elisha's birthplace, Abel Mehola where Elijah made him his disciple (1 Kings 19:15-21), was not far distant. The Copper Scroll suggests (3Q15 12:6-7) that an Essene group that practiced baptism settled in this area (*DJD* IV.262). Early Christian pilgrims were shown the palace of Melchizedek near Salim, a feature which may point to a tradition formed by this Essene group (cf. 11QMelch) in competition with Jerusalem. Since the area lay in the jurisdiction of Scythopolis, a city of the Decapolis, the Baptist was safe here from persecution by Herod Antipas.

2.5. Bethany Beyond the Jordan. At this place (*topos*) east of the Jordan (Jn 1:28: *en Bēthania peran tou Iordanou*), a delegation from Jerusalem interrogated John the Baptist regarding who he claimed to be (Jn 1:19-28). At Bethany Jesus called his first personal followers from among the Baptist's adherents (Jn 1:35-51; cf. Acts 1:21-22). There he tarried, obviously to avoid harassment, shortly before the passion. In so doing he gained still more followers from among John's ranks (Jn 10:40-42). In the third century Origen found no place by this name on the east bank of the Jordan. He therefore opted for the reading *Bēthabara* that appears in a few texts (Origen, *Comm. Joh.* 4.204). The oldest manuscripts (*p*⁶⁶, *p*⁷⁵), however, support *Bēthania*, and the transition from John 10:40-42 to 11:1-2 shows that the Evangelist was aware of how similar Bethany (on the far side of the Jordan) and Bethany (near Jerusalem) sounded (Jn 11:1, 18). The distances presupposed in John 1-2 and 10-11 speak in favor of a location nearer *Galilee than Judea. In recent time various more precise attempts to pin down the location have not succeeded (*GBL* 1.193-94).

One explanation that clarifies much holds Bethany to have been the district of Batanaea (Gk. *Batanaia*), the Bashan of the OT, which is designated in the LXX as *peran tou Iordanou* (Num 32:32-33; Deut 3:8; 4:47). A Greek transliteration as *Bēthania* would not be surprising given the surfeit of various spellings in the *targums and rabbinic literature (see Rabbinic Traditions and Writings). Batanaea belonged to the tetrarchy of the tolerant Herod Philip (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.106-7) and thus furnished Jesus a safe refuge. This attempted explanation does not necessarily conflict with Jesus' baptism at the south end of the Jordan valley, since his baptism is only presupposed in John 1:32-34, not depicted. John 1:35-

51 is parallel to the calling of the first *disciples recorded in the Synoptics (Mk 1:16-20 par.) in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee. Locating Bethany in the north of the Holy Land would fit in well with this. In this northerly setting (Hermon area, "Damascus") certain groups with Essene ties appear to have expected the onset of the eschaton (see Galilee). Occasionally the appearance of the eschatological Elijah was also looked for in the north (cf. 1 Kings 19:15; *SDtn* 41 [79b]). That could explain why John began baptizing here (Jn 10:40). Perhaps John 10:16 and 11:52 refer to a mission Jesus had among such Jewish fringe groups. If one accepts a connection between the Mandaean and the Baptist's followers, then the role played in the Mandaean writings (*GBL* 2.648) by the river Yarmuk on the Batanaean border is interesting. Luke 3:3 also presupposes that the Baptist's impact was felt throughout the entire Jordan area.

2.6. Death and Burial. The site of the Baptist's execution is not given in the Gospels. But Josephus cites the fortress Machaerus east of the Dead Sea (*Ant.* 18.119). Mark 6:22-25 may preserve a recollection of this site when it speaks of separate celebrations for men and women on Herod Antipas' birthday. At Machaerus two large dining halls (*triclinia*) have been excavated. Rapid communication (cf. Mt 11:2-3 par.) between the fortress and other parts of the country was facilitated by a very well constructed access road (*GBL* 2.905-6).

Since no later than the fourth century, the Baptist's burial site was presumed to be in Samaria (Jerome, *Ep.* 43.13; 108.13). This location, independent of the Gospels (cf. Mk 6:29), is probably correct. The grave site, uncovered under churches of the twelfth and fourth centuries, reflects a first-century Jewish arrangement. It is obvious that prior to this the grave of Elijah was venerated at the same spot. The choice of this site by John's disciples could have been entirely deliberate since their master's life so closely followed Elijah traditions. In view of the Baptist's ministry in Aenon near Salim, the existence of John's followers in Samaria is not surprising.

3. Public Ministry of Jesus in Galilee.

3.1. Nazareth. Since Nazareth (Gk. *Nazaret*) is not mentioned in the OT, in the Apocrypha or in rabbinic literature, some during the nineteenth century disputed its existence in NT times. In addition to an inscription mentioning it as a settlement for priests in the third to fourth century (*IEJ* 12, 1962, 137-39), excavations of recent years have removed every doubt (*GBL* 2.1031-37). The name is sometimes derived from the Aramaic *nāṣṣēraṭ*, "lookout,"

“watchtower.” Against this, however, speaks its setting in a fertile high valley. Matthew 2:23 connects the messianic branch (Heb. *nēšer*) of Isaiah 11:1 with the name Nazareth (see Nazarene). Perhaps members of the house of David from Babylon or the area around Damascus resettled the area in late Hellenistic times and gave it a consciously messianic name (cf. Julius Africanus [Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.7.612]; *GBL* 2.801-2).

Remains dating from NT times consist especially of cisterns and silos hewn from rock, along with tombs. Rather well preserved ground walls of a house from Jesus’ time were unearthed in 2009 and can be seen under the International Marian Center. They show that that the people of Nazareth were not cave-dwellers as some scholars assumed. Ritually clean clay stone vessels were also found pointing to pious Jewish inhabitants. As it expanded, Nazareth may have grown to a settlement of some 200 persons. It is unfounded to imagine it as remote for two reasons. First, it was only an hour’s walk from the former district capital of Galilee, Sepphoris (*GBL* 3.14-29). Second, it lay near one of the most important trade routes of the Roman empire, the road from Egypt to Damascus. If the so-called Nazareth inscription actually comes from there (*GBL* 2.1037), then Greek was a language understood among the populace.

The connection between Jesus and Nazareth, the birthplace of his mother Mary (Lk 1:26), is verified in such various Gospel traditions (e.g., Mk 1:9; Lk 2:39; 4:16; Mt 2:23; 4:13; Jn 1:45-46) that it is disputed only by outsiders. After an obviously successful expulsion from his extended family (Lk 4:16-30; cf. Mk 3:21, 31-35; 6:4), Jesus switched his residence to Capernaum (Mt 4:16; cf. Jn 2:12). As yet no sure signs of what is likely to have been the quite modest *synagogue presupposed by the Gospels (Mk 6:1-2 par.) have been found. The precipice (*ophrys*) of the hill on which Nazareth was built, and from which some attempted to hurl Jesus (Lk 4:29), has been confirmed archeologically on the west side of the present-day Church of the Annunciation. When Matthew (Mt 2:23) and Luke (Lk 1:26 and elsewhere) call Nazareth a city (*polis*), it may be due to their sources containing the ambiguous Hebrew expression *šr*, which may mean either city or village. Under the Church of the Annunciation lie the remains of a fifth-century Byzantine basilica and a still older, obviously Jewish, worship structure. A fragmentary inscription containing Luke 1:28 indicates that already in pre-Byzantine times there was common knowledge of the annunciation to Mary in this area. Remains of another Byzantine structure along with remains from

NT times lie under the convent of the Dames de Nazareth. Byzantine pilgrims possibly sought Joseph’s house here. An old Jewish Christian baptistry is located under Joseph’s Church. A bath-house near Mary’s Well connected by some to Mary and Jesus dates only from the Crusader period. An Archaeological Garden, called Nazareth Village, contains agricultural installations from Jesus’ time and good reconstructions of contemporary houses.

3.2. Cana. To distinguish this Cana (Gk. *Kana*) from the Kanah southeast of Tyre (Josh 19:28), John calls it “Cana in Galilee” (Jn 2:1, 12; 4:46; 21:2). Jesus did two *miracles and obviously had relatives there. The place visited by pilgrims today, Kafr Kennā six kilometers north of Nazareth, was not regarded as the NT Cana until the seventeenth century and is based on a local, philologically impossible identification of names. Most researchers identify it rather with the site of the ruins at Khirbeth Qānā, twelve kilometers north of Nazareth, which was a burgeoning settlement especially in the first six centuries A.D. Ancient pilgrim reports (*ELS* 206f.) can also be related to this location. Cana was a strategically vital center on the Roman road from Ptolemais (Akko) on the Mediterranean to Magdala on the Sea of Galilee (Josephus, *Life* 86). Recent excavations speak against the frequently alleged connection between John 2:1-12 and the cult of Dionysius. Cana is shown as a Jewish place by ritual baths, ritual stone vessels and possibly the remains of a synagogue, and was, at least after the Bar Kokhba revolt (A.D. 132-135), a settlement of Jewish priests (*GBL* 2.75153). John 2:12 indicates an awareness that one “descended” from Cana to Capernaum.

3.3. Nain. The site Nain (Gk. *Nain*) has occasionally been identified with a [N]ain in Judaea (Josephus, *J.W.* 4.511). Textually, however, this is uncertain. The place Josephus mentions may be the Ain of Joshua 15:32 and 19:7, near Hebron. According to the context of Luke 7:1-11, Nain should be sought in the Galilee region (*GBL* 2.1022-23). Early Byzantine tradition points unwaveringly to the present-day Arabic village Nein, eight kilometers southeast of Nazareth (*ELS* 341ff.). During NT times this probably belonged to the Galilean portion of the plain of Jezreel. Nain was hardly a city (*polis*); the city gate mentioned in Luke 7:11-12 could have been no more than the outlet of a street. Excavations have not yet been possible, however. Five kilometers north of Nazareth lies Shunem, where Elisha raised a youth from the dead (2 Kings 4:18-37). The parallel resurrection story about Elijah (1 Kings 17:17-24) could have affected the formulation of Luke 7:11-12, but the wit-

nesses of Jesus' miracle themselves saw a connection with Elijah (cf. Lk 7:18).

3.4. The Sea of Gennesaret. An essential portion of Jesus' ministry was concentrated on the shore of the Sea of Gennesaret (Gk. *Gennēsaret*). Matthew and Mark call it the "Sea of Galilee" (Mt 4:18; Mk 1:16 and elsewhere) or simply the "sea" (Mt 8:24; Mk 4:39 and elsewhere). Since the Hebrew *yāmm* can mean either the high seas or an inland sea, this mode of expression shows the connection of both Evangelists with ancient Palestinian tradition. Luke, in contrast, chose the proper Greek literary designation *limnē* (Lk 5:1-2 and elsewhere). The name "Sea of Tiberias" (Jn 21:1; cf. 6:1) is not necessarily an anachronism in the first century (cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 3.57; 4.456-57). The "twenty-five or thirty stadia" (five or six kilometers) of John 6:19 probably depicts (accurately) the middle of the northern portion of the sea, with the entire body of water measuring about twenty-one kilometers (thirteen miles) north to south and thirteen kilometers (eight miles) at its widest point.

Occasionally Gospel reports that mention the sea preserve clear examples of local color. Due to the elevation well below sea level (212 meters), temperatures that permit sleeping outdoors are common (cf. Mk 8:2). The lowlying setting results in sudden violent downdrafts and storms (cf. Mt 8:24; Mk 4:37; Lk 8:23; Jn 6:18). Especially notorious is a wind that blows from the east (cf. Mt 14:22-24; Mk 6:45-48), which arises mostly when the seasons are changing, e.g. around Passover (cf. Mk 6:39; Jn 6:4). Most notably, the Gospels on the whole present the sea's fishing industry in an expert fashion. An outstanding example of boat travel on the sea is furnished by two recent finds dating to NT times: a boat mosaic from Magdala, and a derelict boat, with place enough for a dozen people, raised from beneath the water near Nof Ginnosar (*GBL* 3.1371-72).

3.5. Tiberias. Herod Antipas established Tiberias (Gk. *Tiberias*) ca. A.D. 17-18 in the vicinity of the OT Hammath (Josh 19:35) as the new regional capital of Galilee. He named it after his patron Tiberius. It is striking that the Gospels make no mention of Jesus' ministry in Tiberias. Some pious Jews considered the city to be unclean (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.38), but that would hardly have deterred Jesus. In addition not everyone shared this view, as the strong support enjoyed by the nationalist-religious revolutionary Zealots (see *Revolutionary Movements*) in Tiberias proves (Josephus, *Life* 32-42; 87-101; 271-335). Furthermore, the assumption that Jesus avoided hellenized cities is untenable, because Magdala, Jericho and, not least, Jerusalem all be-

longed in that category. Jesus at least had devotees in Tiberias (cf. Jn 6:23), among whom may have been the wife of the Herodian steward Chuza (Lk 8:3). Presumably the reason that Jesus made no public foray into Tiberias lies in the danger posed by Herod Antipas (cf. Lk 13:31-33). The Jerusalem Talmud presupposes a Jewish Christian community in Tiberias (*y. Sanh.* 25d), presumably at about the end of the first century. Of the synagogues discovered to date, one may date back as far as the second or third centuries A.D. (*GBL* 3.1554-56).

3.6. Magdala. This architecture hellenized site lay five kilometers northeast of Tiberias. Because of its important dried fish industry, its Greek name was *Taricheia* (Josephus, *Life* 403-4). Excavations have confirmed the urban character of Magdala (*GBL* 2.909-10). A small building from NT times had been originally identified as synagogue, but was a fountain house. In 2009 considerable remains of a synagogue of the Second Temple era were excavated. Later rabbis criticized the supposed immorality of Magdala's inhabitants (Str-B I.1047), but most of them sided with the Jews in the revolt against Rome (Josephus, *Life* 142). Magdala receives direct mention only in a few late manuscripts at Matthew 15:39 and Mark 8:10. The places mentioned in the original text (see 3.8. below), however, are not scribal slips for Magdala; they rather refer to a region lying further to the north. One of Jesus' most loyal followers, Mary Magdalene (Mt 27:55-56; 28:1 par.), hailed from Magdala; the second portion of her name may give a clue that Jesus ministered there.

3.7. Gennesaret. The NT site, in contrast to the OT city of Chinnereth (Josh 19:35), is located south of (not at) Tell el'Oreimeh, on the northeastern edge of the exceedingly fertile (Josephus, *J.W.* 3.516-21) plain of Gennesaret. It is not entirely clear whether the Gospels refer to the site (cf. Mt 14:34) or the plain (cf. Mk 6:53-56). The late Byzantine textform at Matthew 14:34 (*eis tēn gēn Gennēsaret*) provides the first unambiguous reference to it as an area.

3.8. Dalmanutha/Magadan. Except at Mark 8:10 Dalmanutha (Gk. *Dalmanoutha*) is not attested as a site where Jesus went ashore. The parallel (Mt 15:39) speaks of "the region of Magadan." The rest of the narrative (Mt 16:14; Mk 8:11-13) seems to indicate a place on the west shore of the sea of Galilee. It has been proposed that Mark understood "Dalmanutha," which in Aramaic could mean "area of his [Jesus'] stay," as a specific place name (*GBL* 1.247-48). Some derive Magadan (Gk. *Magadan*) from *may-gad*, "water of (the Canaanite god of springs) Gad [plus the common local ending -an]"; this

would fit in well with the abundant springs of Tabgha two kilometers southwest of Capernaum. Josephus calls them the “spring of Capernaum” (*J.W.* 3.517), and Byzantine sources speak of the seven springs (Gk. *Heptapēgon*, from which the garbled Arabic *Eṭ Ṭābghahâis* derived). This appears to have been, in fact, one of Jesus’ preferred locations for ministry, one at which he was able to reach large crowds (*GBL* 2.767). A branch of the important trade and pilgrim’s route from Caesarea Maritima to Damascus bordered the Sea of Galilee at this point, and there was sufficient drinking water available. As early as the end of the fourth century, the Christian pilgrim Egeria found here three firmly grounded local traditions (*ELS* 281-82): the *Sermon on the Mount, the feeding of the five thousand, and the postresurrection appearance of Jesus related in John 21. These traditions deserve to be taken seriously because there was a continuous Jewish Christian presence in Capernaum from NT times until the fourth century (Str-B 1.159-560), providing a means by which the traditions could be passed along.

3.9. The Sermon on the Mount. In the fourth century Egeria found the place of remembrance for Matthew 5–7 to be a cave not uncommon for Jewish Christian memorial sites—which can only have been the so-called cave of Job 200 meters east of the Church of the Miraculous Feeding (or Multiplied Loaves) (*GBL* 2.767). The “level field” (Gk. *topos pedinos*) mentioned in Luke 6:17 below a hill (Lk 6:12; cf. Mt 5:1) bears identification with the level stretches, large enough to hold several thousand, lying above this cave. Not until later did the local tradition (influenced by Mt 5:1) shift the scene further up the hill. In favor of a location in Tabgha are: (1) the mention of Capernaum (Lk 7:1; cf. Mt 8:5) following directly after the sermon on the plain and (2) the fact that here is one of the few places where the hills extend right down to the seashore.

3.10. First and Second Miraculous Feeding. The Jewish Christians thought of the first feeding (Mt 14:13-21 par.) as taking place at an exposed rock at the edge of a small, fertile plain in Tabgha. The pilgrim Egeria found that the rock had been incorporated into a church building, serving as the altar, as it is today in the reconstructed Byzantine basilica. Since the area was uninhabited in NT times, one could speak of a “lonely place” (Mt 14:13; Mk 6:32). Now it appears, nevertheless, that John presupposes that the feeding of the five thousand took place on the eastern shore (cf. Jn 6:1, 17, 22, 24). The Greek text has multiple variants at this point, however, and John can just as easily be understood to assume a location

on the western shore (R. E. Brown, *The Gospel of John*, 1971 1.231-59). Luke 9:10 also can be understood to say that the feeding took place not in but on the way to Bethsaida. Perhaps behind Luke 9:12 (*episitismos*, “food,” “something to eat”) stands a Hebrew wordplay (*bêṭ šedâ*, “house of food”). The view that the feeding of the four thousand is not simply a doublet may be upheld by topographical considerations: Matthew 15:31 seems to presuppose the presence of *Gentiles, and Mark 7:31 appears to have the Decapolis in mind. Late Byzantine traditions (*ELS* 278-79) actually transfer the second feeding to the area of Kursi (see 4.1. below) on the eastern shore (*GBL* 1.442).

3.11. Jesus’ Appearance by the Sea. Egeria located the encounter between the resurrected Jesus and his disciples (Jn 21) in Tabgha at some rock staircases still visible today (cf. Jn 21:9). A small church had been erected in the immediate vicinity already in the fourth century. The beach of Tabgha was an especially good fishing area, since the water of the warm springs and the vegetation they carry attract many fish, especially at night (cf. Jn 21:3). Another indication of fishermen’s fondness for this site is a small, ancient boat harbor (*GBL* 2.767).

3.12. Capernaum. This site (Gk. *Kapharnaoum*) is mentioned by Josephus (*J.W.* 3.517; *Life* 403) and became Jesus’ place of residence for a time at the beginning of his public Galilean ministry (Mt 4:13-17; 9:1; cf. Jn 2:12). Excavations of the twentieth century established beyond any doubt that Capernaum is to be identified with the site of the ruins at Telūm (*GBL* 2.764-68), which was still visited by pilgrims in the seventh century (*ELS* 296ff.). The large village of some 1500 residents consisted of individual living quarters containing large families. Beneath an octagonal fifth-century Byzantine church and a fourth century Jewish Christian house synagogue, the remains of a private house were uncovered. It had, as early as the second half of the first century, served as an assembly hall for religious meetings. Inscriptions and the reports of early Christian travelers (*ELS* 299) make it possible to identify the building as Peter’s house (cf. Mt 9:27-31; Mk 1:29; 2:1; 3:20; 9:33). Remains from synagogues of the third and first centuries A.D. (Lk 7:5, cf. Mk 1:21-29) have been found beneath the celebrated white limestone synagogue that dates to the end of the fourth century. The tradition reflected in Mark 1:29-39, which probably goes back to Peter, is characterized by notable local color: the synagogue lay not far (Mk 1:29) from the house of Peter’s large family (Mk 1:29-30), at the door of which there really was an open area (Mk 1:33). Mark

2:4 (otherwise Lk 5:19) presupposes correctly a building method utilizing clay roofs.

Apparently separated by vacant land from the Jewish village, a small Roman-style settlement stood at the present site of Greek Orthodox property. One can easily envision the residence of the Gentile centurion (cf. Lk 7:6). An imperial road passed nearby. The toll booth (Gk. *telōnion*, Mk 2:14) manned by Matthew/Levi may have demanded heavy taxes from fishermen rather than road tolls. Halfway between Capernaum and Tabgha lies a small inlet whose acoustic qualities may have served well as Jesus preached at water's edge (Lk 5:1-3). Capernaum was not destroyed in either of the two Jewish revolts. It was gradually deserted beginning in the tenth century. Jesus' pronouncement of woe (Mt 11:20-24; Lk 10:13-15; see Blessing and Woe) has Capernaum's eschatological fate in view; it says nothing about a temporal destruction.

3.13. Chorazin. Although no story from Chorazin (Gk. *Chorazin*) has been preserved, Jesus' pronouncement of judgment (Mt 11:20-24; Lk 10:12-15) indicates an extensive ministry there. Excavations have so far found vestiges of a Jewish village dating from the second to fourth century A.D., but as yet hardly any evidence from NT times.

3.14. Bethsaida. The Jewish village of Bethsaida (Gk. *Bēthsaida*) was declared a *polis* by the tetrarch Herod Philip and named Julias, probably not after the daughter of Augustus, Julias (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.28), but rather after Augustus' wife Livia-Julia, sometime after A.D. 30. So it may be not without significance for the age of the Gospel traditions that they use only the old Jewish name. The city lay on the east bank of the Jordan, not far from where it flows into the Sea of Galilee in the district of Gaulanitis (Josephus, *J.W.* 3.515). Excavations on the mound of ruins called et-Tell have uncovered extensive remains of houses dating from NT times. Some have contained fishing gear. This establishes the location of the city, even if the existence of a Roman temple is disputed. West of where the Jordan flowed in former times, right at the edge of the sea, lies the small site of the ruins of El-Aradj. Presumably it was already settled in NT times. It contains the remains of a Byzantine synagogue or church.

It is not easy to decide which of the two cites should be connected with the longer ministry of Jesus in this area (Mt 11:21; Lk 10:13; cf. Lk 9:10). The *healing of the blind man outside the "village" (*kōmē*) of Bethsaida (Mk 8:22-26) may favor the El-Aradj location. John gives as the birthplace of several disciples, "Bethsaida in Galilee," but he calls it a *polis* (Jn 1:44;

12:21). Now Josephus also calls the rebel leader Judas, who hailed from near Gamla in Gaulanitis, "the Galilean" (*Ant.* 17.341; *J.W.* 2.118). The references in John, therefore, could relate to the Julian city. A semitically influenced, loose usage of *polis* is, however, also a possibility. In this case El-Aradj is a viable choice; it fell to Antipas after the death of Herod the Great and thus became part of the political region of Galilee.

3.15. The Mountain in Galilee. According to Matthew 28:16 an important appearance of the resurrected Jesus took place "on the [definite article] mountain in Galilee." An identification with Mount Tabor, which was apparently uninhabited in Jesus' day, goes back to Theodosius early in the sixth century (*ELS* 321). The same identification may, however, be presupposed also in the fourth century by Eusebius (*In Ps* 88:13) and Epiphanius of Salamis (*GBL* 3.1517-19). Mount Tabor ranks among the mountains possessing eschatological significance in rabbinic literature (Str-B IV/2.930-31).

4. Withdrawal Areas Around Galilee.

4.1. The Land of the Gerasenes. According to Mark 5:1-20, Jesus healed a *demon-possessed Gentile man here, an area on the east shore of the Sea of Galilee. Mark could hardly have had in mind the far distant Decapolis city of Gerasa; he rather makes use of a semitic designation, "land of the expelledes" (Heb. *gērûšim*; Gk. *Gerasēnoi*), as the name for an entire region (*GBL* 1.442-43). The city of the Decapolis presupposed in Mark 5:14, 20, must be Hippos. The "country of the Gadarenes" (*chōra tōn Gadārēnōn*) of Matthew 8:28-34 is found to bear the name for the regional capital Gadara that had a stretch of shore in the southeast of the Sea of Galilee. If the reading "country of the Gergesenes" in Luke 8:26-39 (Sinaiticus) is original, this perhaps reflects the Semitic name for Hippos (*Gergesa*). Or it may refer to the Gargasites, who according to Deuteronomy 3:14 and Joshua 12:5 (LXX) settled in this area and this was still remembered by Origen (*Comm. Joh.* 6.24) and the Jerusalem Tamud (y. *Šeb.* 36c). A local tradition that has received some archeological support locates the miracle at El-Kursi.

4.2. Tyre and Sidon. Upper Galilee bordered on the territory of the Gentile city Tyre (Gk. *Tyros*). When threatened, Jesus found this to be a natural place to withdraw (Mt 15:21; Mk 7:24). Mark 7:24-30 mirrors quite authentically the ethnic tensions that obtained in the border area between Tyre and Galilee (Theissen, 61-80).

4.3. The Decapolis. Another nearby place of refuge (Mk 7:31, Gk. *Dekapolis*) for Jesus was that area

lying east of the Jordan comprised of hellenistic Gentile cities loosely linked by various alliances and political associations (*GBL* 1.263-64). A Jewish minority lived there as well (cf. Mt 4:25).

4.4. Caesarea Philippi. Matthew 16:13 and Mark 8:27 use this name (*Kaisareias tēs Philippou*), not the later name Neronias, for the capital city of Herod Philip, whose tolerance was well known and in whose jurisdiction Jesus could accordingly feel himself to be secure. Recent excavations have shown the wealth of the city, including two magnificent temples at a cave where one of the Jordan springs originated. In this region around Hermon, Jewish groups expected the arrival of the age to come (*GBL* 1.225-26). It may therefore be no accident that Jesus chose the area of “the towns [near] Caesarea Philippi” to elicit from Peter, who expressed the sentiments of the entire band of *disciples, a confession of his messiahship (Mt 16:13-20 par.) (see Christ).

4.5. The Mount of Transfiguration. The geographical context favors identifying this with Hermon (*GBL* 2.562-63), the highest mountain of the Holy Land (2814m), rather than Tabor (*GBL* 3.1517-19). In favor of this are the words of Matthew 17:1 and Mark 9:2, “a very high mountain” (*horos hypsēlos*), which is reminiscent of *Testament of Levi* 2:5 (cf. Deut 4:48 MT; 4Q213:16-17) with its clear reference to Hermon. This conclusion appears to receive additional support from the most ancient local tradition (Eusebius, *In Ps* 88:13) (see Transfiguration).

5. Journeys to Jerusalem.

5.1. The Journey Through Samaria. Luke 9:51-56 accurately depicts the tensions between *Samaritans and Jewish pilgrims bound for Jerusalem (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.232-33). Luke 17:11 presents difficulties, for it asserts that Jesus passed *dia meson Samareias kai Galilaias* to Jerusalem. It is preferable to think of Jesus passing through the Samaritan Galilee border area (cf. Lk 17:12-19); the notion that he journeyed first through Samaria and then through Galilee is highly unlikely.

5.2. Sychar and Jacob's Well. There was no doubt in the local tradition of the early church that Jacob's well was to be located one-half kilometer southeast of OT Shechem (*ELS* 219ff.). This permits confirmation of John's outstanding knowledge of that locale, as borne out in John 4:4-42 (*GBL* 3.15035). There is an artificial (Jn 4:11, *phrear*), very deep (Jn 4:11) well at the junction of important roads (cf. Jn 4:3-4, 6) near the traditional site of Joseph's tomb (cf. Jn 4:5) which Samaritans considered sacred. By “woman of Samaria” (Jn 4:7) is not meant an inhabitant of the ancient imperial city of Israel, which had generally

been called Sebaste since Herod the Great, but rather an adherent to Samaritan religious views and practices. Her home was in Sychar (Gk. *Sychar*, Jn 4:5, 8, 28), which is to be identified with Askar at the foot of Mount Ebal some 1.5 kilometers away. At that time it was probably the major Samaritan settlement. The holy mountain of the Samaritans (cf. Jn 4:20) was Gerizim. Recent excavations make it clear that the Samaritan sanctuary at Jesus' time, already in ruins, stood not at Tell er-Ras on the slope of Mt. Gerizim, but on top of this mountain, where later a Byzantine church was erected.

5.3. Ephraim. Jesus withdrew to this location (Gk. *Ephraim*) before the passion. It is to be identified with Ophrah in the territory of Benjamin (Josh 18:23) and the modern Arabic Christian village Et-Taibbeh (formerly Afra) some thirty kilometers north of Jerusalem (*GBL* 1.322). Here, “near the wilderness,” as John 11:54 rightly notes, a group must have existed among which Jesus did not feel threatened.

5.4. Jericho. In Jesus' day the OT Jericho (Gk. *Ierichō*) was only a deserted heap of rubble. To the south, at the mouth of the Wadi Qilt, Herod the Great had constructed his winter residence, whose opulence is attested by excavations (*GBL* 2.659). The chief tax collector Zacchaeus belonged to the upper class of this hellenistic city (see Hellenism). Priests dwelled there too (cf. Lk 10:30-31), however, as spacious burial accommodations indicate. According to Luke 18:35-43 Jesus healed a blind man as he entered Jericho on the way to Jerusalem; Mark 10:46-52 (cf. Mt 20:29-34) has it that the healing took place as Jesus left. Some suggest that Luke speaks of the NT site, Mark and Matthew of the Jericho site of the OT. But if the local tradition of Byzantine vintage is correct (Jerome, *Ep.* 108.12), the healing occurred (as Matthew and Mark have it) as Jesus exited the Herodian city.

5.5. Bethphage and Bethany. The setting of Bethany (Gk. *Bēthania*), whose distance from Jerusalem is correctly given in John 11:18 as fifteen stadia (ca. 3 kilometers) from Jerusalem, has been ascertained by modern excavations (*GBL* 1.193). Inscriptions in a former Jewish ritual bath suggest that there was a Jewish Christian presence well into Byzantine times. The local tradition that touts a tomb in the area as belonging to Lazarus (cf. Jn 11:1-44) may, therefore, be reliable. The home of the obviously unmarried siblings Lazarus, Mary and Martha (Jn 11:1) furnished a secure place for Jesus to stay (Mt 21:17; Mk 11:11; cf. Lk 21:27), even in the last days. Perhaps Bethany was one of the three sites east of Jerusalem to which the Qumran Temple Scroll assigned lepers

(11Q19 XLVI, 1618; cf. Mt 26:6; Mk 14:3; *see* Leprosy). The Evangelists locate Bethany, just as they do Bethphage (Gk. *Bēthphagē*; which rabbinic sources place on the outer fringe of Jerusalem; Str-B I.839-40), in the vicinity of the Mount of Olives (Mt 21; Mk 11:1; Lk 19:29). Even if the precise location of Bethphage still remains unknown, its placement before Bethany (Mk 11:1; Lk 19:29) could be correct, depending of the way one approaches Jerusalem from Jericho (GBL 1.196).

6. Jerusalem.

6.1. The Temple. The Lukan birth narrative underscores the significance of the Temple for devout Jews of NT times. Zecharias learned of the birth of his son John through an angel appearance at the altar of incense (Lk 1:8-20). The newly born Jesus was presented in the Temple by his parents, and godly Jews uttered prophecies about him on that occasion (Lk 2:22-38). Jesus' family made an annual pilgrimage from Galilee to Jerusalem (Lk 2:41-51); Jesus himself frequently joined the great pilgrim bands that journeyed to the holy city (Jn 2:13; 5:1; 7:2-13; Mk 11:1-19 par.) (*see* Feasts). The pillared colonnades that surrounded the Temple were the location of Jesus' teaching (Jn 7:28-39; Mk 11:27-13:37 par.). "The portico of Solomon" (Jn 10:23) on the Temple's east side (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.221; *J.W.* 5.185) receives special mention. Some archeologists hold that it actually stands atop a wall of Solomon's Temple (GBL 2.510). Excavations conducted thus far (GBL 3.1536-41) show that there was ample reason for the excited reactions of Jesus' disciples (Mk 13:1) and Josephus (*Ant.* 15.411-425) over the structure's size and splendor.

The Temple was the basis for the political and economic might of the *Sadduceans. Through the Temple cleansing (*see* Temple Act), a symbolic action meant to send a clear message, Jesus did away with the bloody sacrifice of animals and established the Temple as the eschatological house of *prayer for all peoples (Mk 11:15-18 par.; Jn 2:13-22). The cleansing may have taken place in the royal portico on the Temple's south side (GBL 2.668-69). At the end of his ministry Jesus even foretold the destruction of the sanctuary (Mk 13:1-2). That gave ultimate impetus to the strategy of the Sadducees, who could marshal a host of Jerusalem Temple loyalists against Jesus (Mk 14:57-60 par.). At a Feast of Tabernacles Jesus had proclaimed himself as the spring welling up in the eschatological Temple (Jn 7:37-39) and described himself (Jn 2:18-22; cf. Mt 12:6) as well as the redeemed community he founded (cf. 2 Sam 7:12-16; 4Q174 1 I, 2-13) as the new, spiritual Temple.

6.2. Bethesda. John 5:2 is to be translated, "There is in Jerusalem by the Sheep [gate] a pool called in Hebrew Bethesda having five porticoes." A location north of the Temple square for this (twin) pool (cf. Sir 50:3), whose name has been passed along (Jn 5:2) in a rich variety of variant forms (*Bēthesda*, *Bēthzatha*, *Bēthsaida* [House of Fish—i.e., baptismal symbol?]), is consistently attested both by ancient reports from Christian pilgrims (*ELS* 460ff.) and by modern excavations. The five *stoai* (not necessarily porticoes with pillars) were probably located on the four sides and along the dividing wall of the two pools. Steps allowed to descend in the pool but how the waters came to be disturbed (Jn 5:7) is as yet uncertain. Baths on the east side point to a Jewish healing sanctuary; the Roman emperor Hadrian converted them into a pagan shrine to Serapis. The text-critically secondary verses of John 5:3b-4 also indicate a Jewish sanctuary; they may preserve a local legend current in Jerusalem. The legends about Solomon in the Jewish apocryphal *Testament of Solomon* may likewise have a connection with Bethesda. On the basis of a reference in the Copper Scroll (3Q15 11:11-14), a shrine with connections to the Essenes or Therapeutae is possible.

6.3. Siloam. In NT times the mouth of the Siloam channel, whose source was the spring at Gihon, was itself regarded as a spring (Josephus *J.W.* 5.140-145). The pool of Siloam (Gk. *Silōam*, Jn 9:7, 11), whose waters flowed from the same source, is identifiable based on reports from ancient Christian travelers (*ELS* 467ff.) and recent archeological finds which disclosed its great size and magnificent workmanship (Reich, 232-44). Like Bethesda the Siloam pool served pilgrims as ritual bath before entering the Temple. The rabbis regarded the waters of Siloam, which during the Feast of Tabernacles was poured out in the Temple to celebrate endtime expectations (Str-B II.774-780; cf. Jn 7:3-4), as ceremonially cleansing (*see* Clean and Unclean) and physically therapeutic. Based on references on the Copper Scroll (3Q15 10:15-16) it is possible that the Essenes also regarded Siloam as a sacred site. Hadrian made an overt attempt to supplant a Jewish sanctuary with a Nymphaeum. Although Jesus sent the blind man to wash in Siloam (Jn 9:17), he was clearly the healing agent. Tracing the name Siloam to the Hebrew *šālāh*, "sent" (Jn 9:7), may reflect a pre-Christian tradition (*Vit. Proph.* 13). In conjunction with the messianic conception of *shiloh* in Genesis 49:10 (cf. 4Q252 V, 4) it may refer to Jesus' own being sent as Messiah. Perhaps the "tower of Siloam" (Lk 13:4) should be identified with the circular tower some-

what northeast of the pool dating from the second century B.C. Perhaps the tower housed a columbarium where doves for the Temple offerings were hatched.

6.4. The Hall in Which the Last Supper Took Place. Jesus celebrated the last Passover meal with his disciples in an "upper room" (Gk. *anagaion*; Mk 14:15; Lk 22:12; see Last Supper). In Luke's presentation this room is to be identified with the first gathering place of the earliest Jerusalem believers. Luke uses the expression *to hyperōon* (Acts 1:13; cf. 9:37, 39; 20:8), which denotes a hall for religious worship (GBL 2.1075-77). The definite article shows that Luke was aware of a tradition about this location; the tradition was subsequently passed on without a break into Byzantine times (ELS 473ff.). Remains of a synagogue erected by Jewish Christians between A.D. 73 and 135 on the site of the upper room can still be seen today on the hill, today known as Zion, in the southwest section of Old Jerusalem at the so-called tomb of David. Josephus' allusion to the "gate of the Essenes" (J.W. 5.145) and modern excavations justify the assumption that a quarter containing members of this sect was located nearby. This strengthens the view of those scholars who maintain that Jesus celebrated the Passover in A.D. 30 according to the Essene solar calendar on Tuesday evening.

6.5. Gethsemane. The description of the evangelists alone (Mt 26:36; Mk 14:32; cf. Jn 18:1-2 [ford of the brook Kidron]) rules out any doubt regarding the general location of the Garden of Gethsemane (see Gethsemane) on the west slope of the Mount of Olives. The name (Hebrew/Aramaic *gaṭ šēmānī[m]*) suggests an olive garden with an oil press. Such an installation (GBL 1.460-61) is actually located in a cave (cf. Jn 18:4) in an area (ELS 533ff.) probably already known to preByzantine tradition (Origen, PG 13.740). The local circumstances would have permitted Jesus to take flight over the Mount of Olives and into the desert right up to the last minute. Luke 22:41 may indicate that memorial sites were shown in Gethsemane already in the days of the Evangelists.

6.6. The Palace of the High Priest and the Meeting Place of the Sanhedrin. The palace, in which some of the proceedings against Jesus (see Trial of Jesus) took place (Mt 26:58; Mk 14:54; cf. Lk 22:54), stood on the hill west of the city according to Josephus (J.W. 2.426). Late and secondary is the local tradition associated with the Armenian Church of the Redeemer, which lies only forty meters north of the site of the Last Supper (ELS 566ff.). Reports of early Byzantine pilgrims (ELS 566ff.), which have some archeological support, point to the area of the

Church of St. Peter in Gallicantu (GBL 3.1109-10). This location on the west edge of modern Mount Zion poses no problems for the authenticity of the local tradition about the room where the Last Supper was held. The impressive tiered street passing nearby, dating to NT times and leading toward the area of Jerusalem inhabited by Essenes, was divided by separated stairs to preserve ritual purity despite use by persons of different grades of purity (cf. *Ep. Arist.* 106). The *Sanhedrin's official convening site was at that time probably outside the Western Temple wall (cf. Josephus, J.W. 5.144), possibly in the colonaded so-called Masonic Hall.

6.7. The Praetorium. The official residence of the Roman prefect (*praitōrion*), where Jesus' hearing before Pilate took place (Mt 27:27; Mk 15:16; Jn 18:28, 33; 19:9), is today identified by many researchers with the new palace constructed beginning in 20 B.C. (Josephus, J.W. 5.156-183) by Herod the Great. Its location was in west Jerusalem, south of the modern citadel (GBL 3.1221-22). Its existence is presupposed in the story of the Magi (Mt 2:1-12). There is, however, no local tradition of any kind in support that this palace served also as Pilate's. The tradition for the Fortress of Antonia on the northwest corner of the Temple square is very late and decisively contradicted by archeological investigations at the convent of the Sisters of Zion (GBL 1.68). The most ancient reports from Christian travelers (ELS 583ff.), finally made intelligible by recent excavations, refer to an area on the west slope of the Tyropoeon valley opposite the southwest corner of the Temple (GBL 3.1223-24). This is where Josephus (*Ant.* 20.189-192; J.W. 6.358) locates the Hasmonean royal palace. Gabbatha (Jn 19:13) could refer to the rock cliff, still visible today, opposite the Wailing Wall (GBL 1.398). The Greek name *lithostrōtos* that occurs in the same context (Jn 19:13) may refer to a paved square in front of the Praetorium, possibly the one still to be seen in place in the Wohl Museum. Such a location for the Praetorium would also fit well with Mark's account, according to which the crowd (presumably from the Temple) "came up" (Mk 15:8).

6.8. Hakeldama. This piece of ground received its popular Aramaic name "field of blood" (Acts 1:19; Gk. *Hakeldamach*) in connection with Jesus' betrayer Judas, either because of his violent death (Acts 1:18-19), or due to the innocent nature of Jesus' shed blood (Mt 27:4). The potter's field cited in Mt 27:7-10 probably lay at the end of the Hinnom valley (cf. Jer 19:1-2). Christian tradition since at least the fourth century (ELS 575ff.) is almost unanimous in placing Hakeldama here on the grounds of the On-

ophrius cloister (*GBL* 2.508-9).

6.9. The Hinnom Valley. Various Jewish groups associated this valley, which wrapped around the old city of Jerusalem on the west and south, with the expected eschatological judgment (*GBL* 2.578-79). In Jesus' own usage the Aramaic *gêt-hennā* (Gk. *geenna*: Mt 5:22, 29-30 and elsewhere) likewise became a designation for the place of endtime punishment.

6.10. Golgatha. The "Garden Tomb" north of the Damascus gate at the alleged hill of Golgatha is a place where one may envision the Easter events. But its origins are pious speculations of the nineteenth century, excluded by the archeological data that demonstrate a pre-exilic tomb. Recent investigations (*GBL* 1.480-82) show rather that the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre actually lay a bit outside the city wall (cf. Mt 28:11; Jn 19:17-42) in the vicinity of a gate (Heb 13:12; cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 5.146 [*Gennath-* (i.e., garden) gate]) and a busy street (Mt 27:39). Remains of the temple of Aphrodite have also been found, which Hadrian in A.D. 135 erected to displace a Jewish Christian worship site (*ELS* 619ff.). Golgatha was a rock formation that took shape as a result of quarrying activity. It rose as high as twelve meters and owed its Aramaic name *gûlgultāā'* or Hebrew name *gulgôlet* (Gk. *Golgotha*), "the skull" (Lk 23:33; cf. Mt 27:33; Mk 15:22; Jn 19:17), to its shape. All four Gospels betray unusual knowledge of local details in connection with Jesus' *burial. Mark 16:5 presupposes that the ledge on which Jesus' body was placed lay on the right side of the rock burial chamber; this detail is corroborated by the tomb under the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is regarded as genuine for several good reasons (*GBL* 1.178). Matthew 27:60; Luke 23:53 and John 19:41 all seem to point also on the unfinished condition of this tomb. In addition John's Gospel is aware that Golgatha lay very near the city (Jn 19:20) and that Jesus' tomb was in the immediate vicinity (Jn 19:42) of a garden (Jn 19:41). Remains of the quarry, of garden walls from the Second Temple period and of the massive rubble fill under the Hadrianic temple can be seen in an Archeological Garden under the Protestant Church of the Redeemer. Archeology also gives us insight into the gruesome details of crucifixion, regarded in NT times as the most fearsome form of execution (*GBL* 2.840-42).

6.11. Emmaus. Alleged locations of Emmaus (Gk. *Emmaous*) near Kiriath Jearim and El-Qubeibeh are late and secondary (*ELS* 714ff.). Local tradition utterly fails to support the suggestion of Moza, ca. eight kilometers west of Jerusalem. In Josephus (*J.W.* 7.217) the original name of this place (after sifting

variants through textual criticism) is not Ammaous but Amassa or Amosa. The best solution is to follow the manuscripts (like Sinaiticus) that place Emmaus 160 stadia from Jerusalem (Lk 24:13) and to identify it, as already the preByzantine tradition did (*ELS* 706ff.), with Emmaus Nicopolis (today the destroyed Arab village 'Amwās) twenty-three kilometers west of Jerusalem, the place of a great Maccabean victory against a Syrian army (1 Macc 3:27-4:25). There one also finds the warm springs which one would expect given the name Emmaus (Heb. *hāmmat*, "hot spring"). The reading "sixty stadia" in other manuscripts probably arose through a scribal omission. A journey to Emmaus and back on foot on the same day as the resurrection (Lk 24:33-34) does not appear to have been an impossible feat in that day and culture. The designation of Emmaus as "village" (Lk 24:13: *kômē*) is not surprising in view of its destruction in 4 B.C. (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.60-63) and similar references found in other contemporary sources (*GBL* 1.313-14). The place where Jesus held a meal with two disciples after the resurrection was commemorated by two Byzantine basilicas. Under the one from the fifth century are possibly buried the remains of a small church of the fourth century and a first century A.D. house.

6.12. The Mount of Olives. Because Zechariah 14:4-5 expected the intervention of God in the eschatological battle with the Gentile nations to take place on the Mount of Olives (Gk. *ho oros tōn elaiōn*), many Jewish endtime expectations were associated with it (Str-B I.840-842). Thus it was that the Egyptian false prophet (Acts 21:38) wished to launch the eschatological assault on Jerusalem from there (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.261-263). Jesus and his disciples often visited the Mount of Olives (Lk 21:37; cf. Jn 8:1), an area that was still within the jurisdiction of the nearby city. There is absolutely no justification for the assumption that "Galilee" in Mark 14:28; 16:7 (par.) refers to a resting place for Galilean pilgrims on the Mount of Olives (*GBL* 2.1088-91). Jesus' messianic *triumphal entry began there, which could have been misunderstood by the political authorities (Mk 11:1-11 par.). Luke 19:37 betrays special geographic awareness in speaking about "the descent of the Mount of Olives," down which the ancient ways steeply led. Here Jesus announced the destruction of the city (Lk 19:41-44; see Jerusalem), as he also made it a place for *apocalyptic instruction (Mt 24:3; Mk 13:3; cf. Acts 1:6-7). From no later than the second century (*Acts of John* 97) a cave on the heights of the Mount of Olives was venerated (*ELS* 384ff.). Constantine ordered a basilica to be built over it. Perhaps

this preserves an authentic recollection of one of Jesus' distinctive teaching sites. Since at least the fourth century the location of Jesus' ascension has been sought immediately nearby (Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* 4.18); Luke's statements such as "on the Mount of Olives" (Acts 1:12) and "out to (*pros*) Bethany" (Lk 24:50) comport with this. The visible return of the resurrected Christ to the Mount of Olives is announced in Acts 1:11.

7. Historical and Theological Significance.

7.1. John the Baptist. The Baptist began his ministry in the northern portion of the Holy Land, where some of the Jews expected the coming of the eschatological Elijah (Mal 3:1; cf. Mk 1:2-8) (see 2.5 above). Both of his other known baptismal sites were associated with Elijah traditions (see 2.2 and 2.4 above). His followers buried John at the traditional site of Elijah's tomb (see 2.6 above). This cannot all be happenstance. It rather shows how in Jewish thought certain areas had significance for the expectation of OT fulfillment. Put another way, John's choice of a specific place for a symbolic action could call attention to a certain claim about his mission, in this case that he was the endtime *prophet in the tradition of Elijah.

7.2. The Gospels in General. The Synoptics, probably for sheerly catechetical reasons, offer a simplified picture of the geographic framework of Jesus ministry: (1) baptism and *temptation in the lower Jordan valley (Mk 1:1-13 par.); (2) ministry in Galilee (Mk 1:14-9:50), at the end interrupted increasingly by short stays on the other side of the Galilean border (Mk 7:24-31; 8:27-30 par.); (3) journey to Jerusalem (Mk 10:1-52); (4) brief sojourn in the holy city (Mk 11-16 par.). As isolated allusions in the Synoptics also show (Mt 23:37; Lk 4:44 and elsewhere), John's presentation, which portrays about a two to three year ministry with frequent trips between Galilee and Jerusalem (Jn 2:13; 6:4; 12:1), deserves preference historically. The Fourth Gospel's description is also not exhaustive, however, for it seems intentionally (cf. Jn 21:25) to restrict itself to mentioning very little when it comes to the ministry in Galilee and surrounding areas. The geographic schema of the Synoptics has relative historical justification of its own, however: the concrete placenames that appear in the Gospel tradition point to a clear concentration of Jesus' ministry in Galilee and Jerusalem.

Three historical questions must be kept constantly in mind regarding what the geographical information says: (1) about the framework of Jesus'

ministry; (2) about the local color of the preGospel traditions and (3) about the local knowledge of the Evangelists themselves. The question of the eventual theological significance of geographic factors is associated with these prior questions.

7.3. Jesus. For his family, as for Jesus himself (Jn 7:41-42), his birth in Bethlehem was an indication of his Davidic messianic ministry (see Son of David). The name of his later residence, Nazareth, kept the memory of the prophecy in Isaiah 11:1 alive (see 3.1 above). From the heights around Nazareth he viewed a panorama of OT salvation history. It may be no accident that Jesus drew parallels between his own fate and that of Jonah (Mt 12:39-41 par.; 16:4; see Sign of Jonah), whose grave was thought by early Jewish tradition to be the only grave of a prophet in Galilee (Gath-Hefer in the immediate vicinity of Nazareth; *GBL* 1.411). The choice of preaching sites like the springs of Tabgha (see 3.8 above) and the Jerusalem Temple also had practical reasons: here Jesus could reach great masses of persons, both from Jerusalem and from the Diaspora. The initial concentration of his own proclamation as well as that of the disciples he sent out to Galilee (Mt 10:5-6) remains, however, striking. Especially deserving of explanation is the emphasis placed by Jesus' pronouncements of judgment (Mt 11:20-24 par) on Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum, all lying near each other on the northwest shore of the Sea of Galilee. It was likely not first of all the Evangelist Matthew (Mt 4:12-16), but rather Jesus himself, who saw this concentration on the southern portion of Naphthali, bordering Zebulun, as a symbolic action in fulfillment of Isaiah 9:1-2 (MT 8:23-9:1).

The phase in which Jesus resided in Capernaum (see 3.12 above) should probably be distinguished from a time during which withdrawal to areas outside Galilee became necessary (see 4 above) because of increasingly threatening circumstances. To this second phase belong *logia* that speak of Jesus' homelessness (Mt 8:20 par.). It is hardly accidental that it was precisely in the Mount Hermon area, to which at least a few Jewish groups attached special eschatological expectations, that Jesus, on the occasion of Peter's confession and the Transfiguration, divulged his messiahship (see 4.4, 4.5 above).

There is another reason why Jesus evaded persecution in the north: his death in Jerusalem had deep theological significance (Mk 10:33-34 par.; Lk 13:33; Lk 13:34-35 par.). Here he would identify with Israel's prophets, martyred in Jerusalem (cf. Lk 13:24); and offer his life as an atoning sacrifice, thus terminating the validity of the Temple and its cult. Jerusalem re-

mained, however, even in Jesus' proclamation the focal point of the eschatological pilgrimage of all the nations to the one true God (Mt 8:11-12 par.). When after his resurrection Jesus expressed the desire to meet his disciples in Galilee again (Mk 14:28; 16:7 par.), he was saying that their earlier mission that started there would be renewed. In the same way the resurrected Christ revealed himself at Tabgha (see 3.11 above), which had been a center of his earthly ministry. A manifestation that was decisive for revealing his mission took place on Tabor, a place rich with endtime associations (see 3.15 above). Jesus departed from his disciples on the Mount of Olives, which in both OT and Jewish expectation is specially related to the eschaton (see 6.12 above).

7.4. Mark. Contrary to a widely held notion, the geographical knowledge of the Second Evangelist does not rule out his Palestinian origin. One can, nevertheless, detect a certain difference. While Mark does not seem to know his way around Galilee so well (see 3.8, 4.1. above), he offers a number of more specific allusions in regard to Jerusalem (see 5.5, 6.1, 6.7, 6.10 above). That agrees fully with the traditional identification of the Evangelist with John Mark of Jerusalem (Acts 12:12). Especially detailed knowledge of Galilee and the north appear in traditions which one can easily envision as Petrine in origin (see 3.4, 3.12, 3.14, 4.4 above).

Much has been made of the theological significance of geographical information in Mark's gospel. Already in pre-Markan tradition a connection was probably seen between the two miraculous feedings (both stress the isolated [*erēmos topos*] or desolate [*erēmia*] nature of the location) and the miraculous feeding of Israel in the wilderness (Mk 6:31; 8:4 par.). This connection was probably intended by Jesus himself (cf. allusions to manna and wilderness in Jn 6:26-59). Perhaps Mark wished to anchor the Gentile *mission in Jesus' ministry with his especially expansive description (Mk 5:1-20) of Jesus' first journey into *Gentile territory (see 5.1 above). The stilling of the storm (Mk 4:35-41) that precedes Mk 5:1-20 may intend to draw a parallel between Jesus ministry and the mission of the prophet Jonah (cf. Jon 1:4-17). It is likewise possible, in view of its close connection with Mark 7:1-23 (clean and unclean) and Mark 7:24-30 (healing of a Gentile woman), that the location of the second miraculous feeding (Mk 8:1-10; cf. 7:31) in the Gentile Decapolis (see 3.10, 4.3 above) looks ahead to the table fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians. The journey from the north to Jerusalem is a prototype for the life of the disciples as they follow Jesus. This is underscored by

the repetition of the motif of the "Way" (Mk 8:27; 9:33, 34; 10:52).

7.5. Matthew. Corresponding to the scribal characteristics that the first Gospel bears, one encounters geographical information most of all in connection with the fulfillment of OT promises: the birth of Jesus (see 1.2 above) in Bethlehem (Mt 2:1-8; cf. Mic 5:1), the flight to Egypt (Mt 2:13-15; cf. Hos 11:1), Rachel's tomb (see 1.4 above) near Bethlehem (Mt 2:16-18; cf. Jer 31:15), life in Nazareth (Mt 2:22-23; cf. Is 11:1), concentration of the areas belonging to the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali (Mt 4:12-16; cf. Is 9:1-2 [MT 8:23—9:1]), the procurement of the potter's field or field of blood (Mt 27:5-10; cf. Jer 32:9). The location of Jesus' first great (ethical) discourse on "the mountain" (Mt 5:1) awakes remembrances of the giving of the *Law through *Moses on Sinai. Gadara (see 4.1 above) forms the border of the land of Israel in the rabbinic outlook (Mt 8:28; cf. Str-B I.490). The coupling of the cities of Tyre and Sidon (Mt 15:21) is reminiscent of the OT and indicates that the Evangelist saw Jesus' stay in this Gentile region as paradigmatic. Calling the northern Transjordan "Judea on the other side of the Jordan" (Mt 19:1) is probably due to Joshua 19:34. Even if it holds true for Matthew that the area of Jesus' proper mission is restricted to the purely Jewish districts of Galilee and Jerusalem (Mt 10:5-6), he nevertheless emphasizes how many followers Jesus had from other areas (Mt 4:25) containing Jewish majorities (Judea) or minorities (Decapolis and Transjordan).

The First Gospel's geographical information comports with a Palestinian provenance of its traditions. It is most specific regarding Jerusalem and its surroundings (see 5.5, 6.8, 6.10 above), as well as the area of Capernaum (see 3.8, 3.9, 3.12, 3.15 above). The roles played in Matthew by Capernaum as the "city of Jesus" (cf. Mt 9:1) and the house in which Jesus sometimes lived (see 3.12 above) are striking (Mt 9:27-31; 13:1; cf. Mt 4:13) and may point to traditions handed down by Galilean followers of Jesus. In comparison to John, however, Matthew's geographical references are fewer and less explicit than one would expect from a Gospel that tradition attributes to an eyewitness. The unique emphasis on Jesus' preaching becoming known as far as Syria (Mt 4:24) fits with other indicators that point to the First Gospel's final redaction in this locale.

7.6. Luke. The Third Evangelist may well owe his sometimes interesting geographical information on Galilee and its environs entirely to tradition (see 3.1, 3.3, 3.9, 3.10, 4.1, 5.1 above). He hardly had any closer knowledge of Galilee, since he would otherwise not

have referred to Nazareth (see 3.1 above) and Nain (see 3.3 above) as cities (*poleis*). Still more peculiar are a few references, more specific than one might expect, to local features of Jerusalem and its surroundings (see 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 6.1, 6.4, 6.5, 6.10, 6.12 above). The precise knowledge of the distance between Jerusalem and Emmaus is unique in the Synoptics (see 6.11 above). An unforced explanation is possible by recognizing that the author of Luke's two-part work had visited the holy city himself according to the events related in one of Acts' "we" sections (Acts 21:15-18). The geographical references in Acts, especially concerning the area between Jerusalem and Caesarea Maritima, strengthen the view that its author was a travel companion of Paul.

Any possible deeper significance for geographical references may lie at the level of the tradition (see 1.3, 3.3, 3.10 above). The evangelist who wrote for learned Greeks could hardly assume that his readers would have knowledge of OT prophetic geography. A precise reference such as the one concerning Emmaus betrays rather a historical interest. Nevertheless, for Luke the anchoring of Christian teaching in the reliably transmitted story of Jesus was also theologically relevant (cf. Lk 1:14).

7.7. John. Compared to the other three Gospels, John offers by far the most references to places. Often the references are quite specific. His knowledge is sound in whatever areas he describes, whether Galilee (see 3.2, 3.4, 3.5, 3.14 above) and the north (see 2.4, 2.5 above), Samaria (see 5.2 above), or Jerusalem (see 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.5, 6.7, 6.10 above) and its surroundings (see 5.3, 5.5 above). The only meaningful explanation for this is that the evangelist, or at the least the disciple who vouched for the tradition (Jn 21:24), was a native of Palestine, though not necessarily of Jerusalem.

Just as John gave a more comprehensive picture of the temporal duration of Jesus' appearance, he also depicts more fully its geographical scope. According to the Fourth Evangelist Jesus also ministered in areas like Batanaea (see 2.5 above) and Samaria (see 5.2 above) where Jewish fringe groups lived. Contact with them appears to have brought on him the opprobrious designation of "Samaritan" (Jn 8:48). It is striking that Jesus often ministered at sacred sites like Jacob's well (see 5.2 above), Bethesda (see 6.2 above), Siloam (see 6.3 above) and of course the Jerusalem Temple (see 6.1 above). This was to fulfill the expectations associated with them, to surpass those expectations, and thereby to render them superfluous. In the presence of Gerizim, and in view of the Jerusalem Temple, the supersession of all Jew-

ish sanctuaries through worship of Jesus "in spirit and truth" becomes an explicit theme (Jn 4:20-24).

In John's Gospel Jesus' ministry concentrates so strongly on Jerusalem that one can raise the question whether the stereotyped talk of "the Jews" (*hoi Ioudaioi*) does not also strike a resounding geographical note (making "the Jews" equivalent to "Judeans"; *GBL* 2.736). With the name "Bethany" John linked geographically the inbreaking of salvation in the north with its fulfillment in the south (see 2.5 above). In connection with Siloam he can make christological use of Jewish interpretation of a place name's meaning (see 6.3 above). It is hardly accidental that the most secure anchoring of Jesus' ministry in time and space comes to the fore in the work of the Evangelist who places special emphasis on the incarnation (Jn 1:14).

See also GALILEE; JERUSALEM; MOUNTAIN AND WILDERNESS; TEMPLE.

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R. Riesner

ASCENSION OF JESUS

Jesus' exalted status at God's right hand is a key NT theme. It expresses the Christian conviction that Jesus now reigns over the universe, and it has wide implications especially for NT *eschatology and cosmology. This theme is present across the NT documents and is closely linked to Jesus' *resurrection, although Luke alone provides a narrative of the ascension of Jesus as a space-time event after his resurrection.

1. Sources
2. Resurrection and Ascension
3. Historicity
4. Theological Significance

1. Sources.

Jesus' exalted status and position at *God's right hand is widely attested in the NT. Paul takes it for granted without argument or defense and builds other points on it, such as Jesus' expected return from heaven (e.g., Rom 8:34; Phil 2:9; 1 Thess 1:10; 4:16; cf. Eph 1:20; 4:7-13; Col 3:1; 1 Tim 3:16), as does 1 Peter 3:21-22. Hebrews bases its understanding of Christ's priestly role on his location seated "at the right hand of the Majesty on high" (Heb 1:3; cf. Heb 4:14; 7:26; 8:4; 9:24). Jesus' reign is a key element of Revelation's Christology (Rev 3:21; 5:6-14; 7:17). In the Synoptic Gospels, the "Son of Man" sayings present Jesus "coming with the clouds" (e.g., Mt 24:30; 26:64; Mk 14:62; Lk 21:27), which portray Jesus either "coming" to God (along the lines of Dan 7:13-14) or "coming" from heaven to earth; either way, his exalted status is clear. The Fourth Gospel includes teaching on Jesus' "glorification" (e.g., Jn 7:39; 8:54; 12:16; 14:13; 17:5), which fits well with the Synoptic material: John portrays Jesus journeying back to the Father in heaven, from whence he came (Jn 3:13; 13:1-3; 16:5, 28), a journey that includes his cross, resurrection and exaltation. John distinguishes Jesus' resurrection from his ascension, for Jesus says to Mary, "I have not yet ascended [*anabainō*] to the Father" (Jn 20:17; cf. Jn 3:13; 6:62), thus implying that his ascension is yet to come. Belief in Jesus' exaltation thus forms part of the bedrock of apostolic faith from the earliest attested times.

Luke alone tells a story of how Jesus entered his present position, in the twice-told ascension (Lk 24:44-53; Acts 1:4-11), and Luke uniquely specifies the forty-day period of Jesus' resurrection appearances

before his ascension (Acts 1:3). Both accounts portray Jesus' travel into heaven as visible to his followers who were present (Lk 24:51; Acts 1:9-11). The Acts passage has four words of seeing that are not the usual "vision" or "dream" words (*blepō, ophthalmos, atenizō, emblepō*), and both passages use verbs of being "lifted up" or "taken up" (*anapherō, epairō, analambanō*). It is worth noticing that Hebrews at least hints at an ascension event in speaking of Jesus "passing through" (*di-erchomai*) the heavens (Heb 4:14).

2. Resurrection and Ascension.

The question that naturally follows from Luke's account is how the relationship of Jesus' resurrection, exaltation and ascension should be understood. Broadly, there have been three major scholarly views (so K. L. Anderson, who adds other, minority views): (1) Jesus rose spiritually, an event that was coincident with his exaltation, and the Lukan accounts present a later stage of storytelling to explain Jesus' exalted status (G. Lohfink calls this "concretizing" or "historicizing"); (2) Jesus rose and was exalted and ascended on Easter morning, and then he appeared from heaven for a period of forty days before a final appearance and departure (Fitzmyer; Maile; Zwiep); (3) Jesus' death, resurrection and ascension are to be seen as an integrated progress through pain to reign; we should see these events as a complex (van Stempvoort; Parsons; Anderson; Harris). Here we look briefly at each of these three views.

The first view is held quite widely and goes with a rejection of the physicality of Jesus' resurrection. G. Lohfink argues that Luke's ascension accounts are modeled on rapture accounts found elsewhere in the Jewish and Greco-Roman worlds (e.g., Elijah in 2 Kings 2:11-12). That Luke's story is presented in a similar way to other rapture stories is undeniable, but this tells us nothing about the origins of Luke's story; and in Elijah's case, the prophet does not die before his rapture, whereas Jesus dies before ascending. It seems unlikely that the earliest Christians moved from thinking of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus as invisible events to thinking of them as physical events, since their (Jewish) assumptions about resurrection were highly physical (Wright). Equally, Luke also does not conflate exaltation and ascension; rather, he links exaltation with resurrection (Lk 24:26; Acts 13:33).

The second view appears to run against the grain of Luke's storytelling, for it means that in Luke 24:26 Jesus was criticizing the two walking to Emmaus for not realizing that he was already ascended (so Fitzmyer). This does violence to Luke's story se-

quence of resurrection, appearances and then ascension. Further, the evangelistic speeches in Acts contain a similar story sequence of resurrection followed by appearances, without an ascension coming between them (Acts 10:34-43; 13:30-31; cf. Acts 2:32-35).

A version of the third view appears the best, for this view sees the resurrection, exaltation and ascension of Jesus as comprising a whole with distinguishable "moments" within it (Anderson). Thus, there is a fluidity about Luke's references to these moments: he can refer to Jesus' resurrection as his enthronement (Acts 2:30-31) and to his ascension as his exaltation (Acts 2:33-34). Similarly, Jesus' rejection can be followed by his resurrection as "author [*archēgos*] of life" (Acts 3:14-15) or by his exaltation to God's right hand as "leader" (*archēgos*) and "savior" (Acts 5:30-31).

3. Historicity.

Criticism of the historical value of Luke's ascension account has centered on two main areas: it assumes an outdated "three-tier" model of the universe (Lohfink; Houlden), and it is a Christianized version of Jewish and Greco-Roman stories, notably the apotheosis of emperors (Houlden; Wright, 55-60).

Although Luke probably is using a pictorial way of writing, it seems unlikely that he (or other NT writers) envisaged Jesus dwelling a few miles above earth; speaking of heaven as "above" the earth need not imply this assumption, any more than people today speaking of the sun "rising" necessarily entails the view that the earth is static and the sun moves around the earth (Moule; Wright, 653-56). More likely, Luke draws on tradition in telling this story, for the "forty days" (Acts 1:3) and the use of vocabulary of seeing (see 1 above) bespeak an event in space-time that clarifies how the apostolic band came to understand that Jesus was now exalted in heaven at the Father's right hand. The silence of Luke 24 and John 20 on this matter does not override the voice of Acts 1 (Harris).

Ancient stories of entering heaven can be categorized in two ways (Lohfink): those involving a journey of the soul to heaven (as frequently in intertestamental Jewish apocalyptic writings), and those involving a "rapture" tradition (such as the Elijah story or the departure of Romulus) (Lohfink; Zwiep). Luke's accounts include more elements of the latter but nevertheless present Jesus' ascension as unique rather than simply "modeled" on other accounts, not least because Jesus' ascension marks the end of his sequence of postresurrection appearances to his disciples. Although there is evidence of Christian tradition centuries later telling the story of Christ's exalta-

tion in terms that echo the apotheosis of emperors, Luke's stories show little such connection, since they are not about a "soul" departing to a higher plane but rather about a physical departure of a reembodyed and transformed Jesus. Nonetheless, it is likely that to speak of Jesus entering heaven implicitly challenged imperial rule because it placed Jesus where deceased emperors were supposed to be.

4. Theological Significance.

The ascension of Jesus marks his transition from earth to heaven: "into heaven" is found three times in Acts 1:10-11 (cf. Lk 24:51) and provides the apostles with a visual demonstration of the truth of Jesus' exalted status. It has at least seven significant implications (Donne; Farrow; Harris; Walton).

(1) The ascension implies that Jesus now reigns alongside God in heaven, and thus it is appropriate to call him *"Lord" as well as "Messiah" (Acts 2:36). The (singular) cloud (Acts 1:9) echoes the one in Luke 21:27 on which the *Son of Man comes to God (cf. Dan 7:13), clearly placing Jesus alongside Israel's God. Thus Jesus, still human, is to be *worshiped (Lk 24:52) alongside Yahweh, and the portrait of Israel's God expands (Johnson). Psalm 110 (esp. Ps 110:1, 4) was a key biblical passage that was interpreted (following Jesus' own lead [Mk 12:35-37]) concerning Jesus, who is thus to be understood as having been enthroned at God's right hand as co-ruler (e.g., Rom 8:34; Heb 10:12-13).

(2) The ascension presages Jesus' return to earth from heaven (Acts 1:11; cf. Heb 9:28). That return will be the time of cosmic renewal and restoration promised in Scripture (Acts 3:20-21) and of *judgment (Acts 17:31). The cloud—a key marker of Jesus' departure (Acts 1:9)—became an emblem of Jesus' return in early Christian writing (e.g., 1 Thess 4:17; Rev 1:7; 14:14-16). Paul picks up Psalm 110:1 as testimony that the time will come when God will place Jesus' enemies under his feet (1 Cor 15:25-26). The ascension is "the advance notice of the end" (Robinson, cited in Zwiep, 196).

(3) Because of Jesus' ascended status, the *Holy Spirit is given to believers from him (Acts 2:33). The Spirit comes from heaven at Jesus' behest, for the exalted Jesus is now Lord of the Spirit (Acts 2:36). By the Spirit, Jesus exercises his rule and reign, empowering believers to call the whole of creation back to God; hence, the apostles are to go to "the end of the earth," encompassing the whole of creation (Acts 1:8).

(4) Jesus' presence in heaven means that he welcomes believers there, for he stands there to wel-

come Stephen (Acts 7:55-56). The naming of Jesus as "the Son of Man" in Acts 7:55-56 implies that he has fulfilled Daniel 7:13 and now has the universal jurisdiction given to the Son of Man by the Most High. Paul similarly recognizes that when Jesus returns to the renewed heaven and earth, he will bring with him believers who have died to welcome believers who are still alive (1 Thess 4:14-17).

(5) Because Jesus is now in heaven, he can appear and act from heaven. Luke does not have an "absentee Christology," for Jesus can appear to Saul on the Damascus road and strike him blind (Acts 9:8); indeed, Jesus is identified with the believers whom Saul persecutes (Acts 9:5). The Jesus who reigns is also the Jesus who suffers with his people and who thus shares God's own ability to be present in many locations at once. Further, Jesus speaks to Ananias to prepare for Saul to be welcomed by the believing community (Acts 9:10-16); Jesus is thus the stage manager of earthly events. Likewise, Jesus pours out the Spirit (Acts 2:33) and heals Aeneas (Acts 9:34), and by his name others are healed (e.g., Acts 3:6, 16; 4:7, 30). Since Jesus is engaged with events on earth from heaven, it is appropriate for believers to pray to ask him to act (Acts 9:14, 21).

(6) Jesus' ascension pierces the barrier between earth and heaven, and two-way traffic between them then flows. The flurry of angelic activity in the early chapters of Acts is striking (Acts 1:10-11; 5:19; 8:26; 10:3; 12:7-11, 23); this is even more true than in Luke's Gospel (where angels are more prominent than in the other Gospels), for there angelic appearances are a feature only of the infancy narratives and the resurrection stories (it is unlikely that Lk 22:43 is part of the original text of Luke). Similarly, the repeated coming and activity of the Spirit shows heaven invading earth (e.g., Acts 2:1-4; 4:8, 31; 6:10; 7:55; 8:17; 9:17; 10:44; 11:28; 13:2, 9, 52). The early Christians' exorcisms mark the repulsion of the occupying powers of evil and bondage (e.g., Acts 5:16; 8:7; 16:16-18; 19:12), and "signs and wonders" occur at the battle-fronts (e.g., Acts 2:22, 43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 14:3; 15:12). God's word is an active agent of the mission of God (Acts 6:7; 12:24; 13:48-49; 20:32; cf. Is 55:10-11). Heaven is permanently "open for business" in a way that is unprecedented in Scripture.

(7) Jesus' present position in heaven means that believers may approach God with confidence through him: he is the sure source of *salvation (Heb 5:9-10; cf. Acts 4:12). He has the ear of the Father and intercedes for believers (Heb 7:25). As high priest, standing within heaven's courts (Heb 6:19-20), Jesus can aid believers tempted to sin or apos-

tatize (Heb 4:14-16). Christian confidence and assurance stem from Jesus' exaltation, for through him believers are assured of God's welcome and encouraged to trust Christ's enabling power in transforming their lives and enabling them to live as God calls them to live.

See also CHRISTOLOGY; GLORY; HOLY SPIRIT; RESURRECTION; SON OF MAN; TRANSFIGURATION.

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ATONEMENT. See DEATH OF JESUS; SERVANT OF YAHWEH.

AUTHENTICITY OF SAYINGS/ACTIONS OF JESUS. See CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY.

AUTHORITY AND POWER

In order to grasp the portrayal of Jesus' use and understanding of authority and power in the Gospels, we must look beyond the individual. A person's charisma, influence or role may contribute to one's access to authority and power, but these are not the only contributing factors. Additionally, one must look to the context in which they have been acquired and are wielded. Most individuals, cultural systems, institutions, ethnicities and socioeconomic and political classes have rigid boundaries about who is included or excluded. In the Gospels we meet a Jesus who surprises. While he seems to be a charismatic individual (Mk 1:27-28), we find in his confrontations with leadership and power structures that excluded, marginalized and dehumanized (Mt 23) a use of power grounded in his authority and rich theological imagination, values, ethics, understanding of the *kingdom of God and relationship to the Father that offered a different way of being and behaving for the new community founded in his name. Surprisingly, then, discussion of these concepts has played a minor role in understanding the Gospels as a whole. One thing is true: religion fundamentally involves authority and power because it is a conversation about God—the ultimate authority with all power—and those who claim to speak for God.

1. Understanding Authority and Power
2. Authority and Power in the Four Gospels
3. Summary

1. Understanding Authority and Power.

The words *authority* and *power* demand careful definition, as they are often confused. *Authority* is a complex term that can refer to the right to do something or to act in a particular manner, like giving an order, enforcing obedience or influencing another. Authority typically is delegated in some way or comes by divine right, as many monarchs often reminded their subjects. It can also refer to expertise—that is, to one who is a source of information that is in some way authoritative. Finally, authority possesses a moral dimension. The manner by which a person, organization or government derives or exercises authority is as important as having it. Thus, an exploration of power and authority ought to include a web of values (e.g., humility, *justice, generosity, kindness, grace, *mercy) and beliefs that shape how one amasses and then uses them.

Power is fundamentally different than authority. It refers to the ability, capacity or means to do something or act in a particular way. This abstract definition obscures where and how power mani-

fest itself. But those who are socially aware understand that power is present in most human interactions and human systems. We cannot escape it. Examples include economic and political relationships. If power is an element that is always present in human interaction, the pressing question becomes how it is employed and responded to; it is one thing to amass power and quite another to wield it once it has been accumulated.

Some have suggested that legitimacy also needs to be considered here, since not all in authority have power (e.g., a ruler living in exile), and not all power is exercised through existing structures or appointed roles. Authority and power are inextricably bound concepts that inevitably become a part of the discussion of leadership, communal life and human interaction.

The Gospels are unified in their basic presentation of Jesus as possessing a unique endowment of authority and power. He walks the earth with an authority that derives from his relationship to the Father and his role in the kingdom of God (Mk 1:9-11), and he exercises a power that also finds its source in *God. The locus of Jesus' authority and power does not reside in his unique charisma or special giftedness, though he does possess those traits. Rather, his power and authority are located in the arrival of the kingdom of God and made visible in the lives of the people whom Jesus encounters. We see in Jesus a redefinition of power and authority intrinsic to God's reign.

There have been two main approaches to understanding Jesus' power and authority within the Gospel traditions: the narrowly linguistic and the social/political. Some have focused on the words (especially *exousia*, usually translated as "authority"; and *dynamis*, usually translated as "power") and their historical uses, confining the explication to the linguistic occurrences and context. However, this generally limits the scope of study to the *miraculous (exorcisms and healings) while excluding broader social issues. More recently, sociological and political theory have been employed in studies of Jesus and the Gospels (e.g., Bryan; Carter; Horsley), and Jesus' use of authority and power in his everyday interactions becomes prominent with these models (e.g., the Canaanite woman [Mt 15:22-28]; the woman with the ointment [Mt 26:6-13 // Mk 14:3-9 // Lk 7:36-50]) (see Social-Scientific Criticisms). Understanding Jesus' life within his historical and cultural context requires the use of such methods. His many encounters with people and systemic issues become case studies in how his beliefs and values challenge existing attitudes and practices concern-

ing socioeconomic status, gender, ethnicity and political affiliations. For example, a simple story of Jesus' pronouncement that those who enter the kingdom of God must do so like those *children who gathered around him at his invitation contains within it a profound statement about the use of power. Likewise, Jesus' conversation with a *Samaritan woman at a well (Jn 4:1-29) and the story of a Samaritan man assisting a person left for dead along the roadside (Lk 10:25-37) demonstrate unexpected uses of authority and power. To limit ourselves, then, simply to the occurrence of the terms *authority* and *power* would be to miss how Jesus embodied these in his encounters with people, culture, political and religious systems, and so forth.

The Gospels were composed after Jesus' death and resurrection, allowing many years for reflection, exegesis and theological exploration by followers who tried to account for the events that surrounded Jesus and their experience of him. With this in mind, we can turn to four narrative elements that present us with a view of power and authority and the nature and character of God: the *incarnation (Matthew, Luke, John), the cross (see Death of Jesus), the *resurrection/*ascension and the kingdom of God. The incarnation, the understanding that the Son took on human form, and the manner in which it occurred (Mt 1:18-25; Lk 1:26-38; cf. Phil 2:1-11) are a study on the use of authority, power and humility. Similarly, the crucifixion and resurrection narratives demonstrate the notion that the power of God is manifest in weakness and suffering. That Jesus brings with him the arrival of the kingdom of God, when read politically and socially, presents us with the beginnings of an alternative society populated by those dedicated to Jesus' leadership and to the values and norms of heaven and its ruler, God. Jesus' life, behaviors, teachings, attitudes and values reveal how power and authority are to be understood within the kingdom of God, demonstrating a radical departure from the social games played within human kingdoms.

2. Authority and Power in the Four Gospels.

2.1. Mark. A cosmic focus in Mark forms the basis for the Synoptic portrait of Jesus. With the arrival of Jesus and the kingdom of God, a conflict ensues between the primal forces of good and evil, the kingdom of God versus Satan. Jesus' authority is located in God and his role in salvation history. The baptism and temptation narratives play a particularly important role here. With the bestowal of the Spirit on Jesus and his successful resistance against Satan's ad-

vances, Satan and his control of the world are dealt a significant defeat, marking the beginning of the end of his power. The crowds rightly perceive a unique authority in Jesus' teachings on life and on the kingdom of God and its practices, and in his *forgiveness of sins (Mk 2:10) and casting out *demons (Mk 1:27; 11:26, 28, 33). The implications and source of this authority are spelled out more clearly in Mark 11:27-33 in the dialogue between Jesus and the chief *priests, *scribes and *elders who question the source of Jesus' authority that allows him to exorcise demons. This echoes the earlier query about whether God or Beelzebul is at work (Mk 3:22). Jesus' response compels the inquisitors to consider the origins of John's *baptismal authority: is it heavenly or human? This frames well the notion of authority for the Gospels and Jesus: legitimate authority derives from alignment with the Father and the kingdom of God. It is not so much an issue of personal charisma, as M. Weber argues; rather, Jesus views himself as aligned with God and the rule of God in heaven, now coming to earth.

Power is the means by which the inbreaking of the kingdom of God is demonstrated in the lives of the people whom Jesus encounters. It validates Jesus' message and provides a window into his identity. One may make many claims, but proof lies in results. The conflict crystallizes: how can the religious leaders disagree with Jesus' understanding of the new thing that God is doing through him and explain his deeds of power? In this way, structural, systemic, religious, economic, political and social issues are exposed. People who follow Jesus tangibly experience the powerful shift of the kingdoms moving from chaos to cosmos, a foreshadowing of the health, healing and wholeness that will accompany the denouement of the kingdom of God.

2.2. Matthew. Matthew's first explicit reference to authority does not occur until Matthew 7:28-29, at the close of the *Sermon on the Mount, the first of five major blocks of teaching material. The crowds "were amazed at his teachings, as one with authority [*exousia*], not like the scribes." Authority comes into play first in his teachings themselves; many find Jesus' expertise and interpretation of the *law compelling. Second, the crowds perceive the authority of Jesus' instruction vis-à-vis that of the religious establishment. This is actually Matthew's point in the narrative. Jesus' relationship to God the Father in Matthew is more developed and central to his understanding of authority (Mt 11:25-30). The uses of authority in Matthew 21:23-27 are similar in their appeal to a delegated authority; likewise, the authority

in Matthew 10:1 is delegated as Jesus commissions and gives his *disciples authority over unclean spirits and to cure disease. Jesus receives his authority from the Father and in turn delegates authority to the disciples.

The passage that primarily shapes our understanding of authority in Matthew's Gospel is Matthew 28:16-20, which many consider to be the summary and thus the key to the interpretation of this Gospel as a whole. Jesus states, "All authority [*exousia*] in heaven and earth has been give to me" (Mt 28:18). This delegated authority culminates the story and also provides the narrative framework for a reading of the story. Jesus, the leader of their movement, emerges in the end as the sole legitimate authority in the universe. With this, Jesus' identity, so long obscured throughout the Matthean narrative, is revealed. As he does with other aspects of his identity, he shapes his use of power and authority by the values of the kingdom of God throughout the book.

In Matthew's Gospel power relates primarily to Jesus' miracles, his deeds of power (*dynamis* [see Mt 7:22; 11:20-21, 23; 13:54, 58; 22:29; 24:30]). Power here refers to the resources necessary to accomplish the task. In this case, it is the Spirit of God who accomplishes these deeds in alignment with the purposes of God (see Holy Spirit). As in Mark, emphasis is not on Jesus' personal charisma but rather on the effects and point of the deeds of power: the revelation of the inbreaking kingdom of God evidenced in restoration, healing and emancipation (Mt 11:4-6) on behalf of those seeking new life in the kingdom. The values that shape the use of power are humility, grace, kindness, *love and *freedom. The oppression of demonic possession or physical illness is met with Jesus' power and authority. Matthew's inclusion of conflict between Jesus and Jewish leadership, climaxing in Matthew 23, is fundamentally about power and authority. The use of power and authority is meant to bring *peace, freedom and a restoration to a quality of life that is a hallmark of the kingdom of God. This renewal reveals Jesus' role as the long-awaited Davidic king.

2.3. Luke. Luke's narrative interest in the arrival of the kingdom of God and the *salvation God made universally available to all humankind, Jew and *Gentile alike, shapes his notions of authority and power. Although we find similarities to Mark, a usage of authority unique to Luke appears in Luke 4:6, when the devil offers Jesus the authority (*exousia*) over the kingdoms of the world. Here authority is again tied to government and rule. It is similarly expressed in Luke 7:8 in the dialogue with the centu-

rian, who understands he functions within a system that links his own authority to the hierarchy of the Roman army (cf. Mt 8:9). A command from above passes through the line of command (see Rome). Thus, he anticipates that Jesus has a similar authority within the kingdom of God. Proper use of that authority requires that Jesus be aligned with God's wishes. When Jesus sends his disciples out, the nuance is similar. Jesus, who has authority because of his identity and function within the kingdom of God, gives his disciples power and authority so that through them also the deeds of the kingdom—exorcisms, healings and the like—will be accomplished (Lk 9:1-2).

The role of the Holy Spirit within Jesus' life and ministry and that of the community of followers is an important motif in Luke-Acts. The Spirit provides the power to accomplish the deeds of the kingdom. Again, salvation broadly defined is available to all. One should not understate that the goal of power is a people set free, healed and restored, foreshadowing the full establishment of the kingdom of God (e.g., Lk 4:16-21). Neither power nor authority is used in political or organizational contexts with which we tend to associate them today. But the use of power in the realm of human systems is nevertheless implicitly present in the narratives. Jesus' relationship with *women (Lk 8:1-3), for example, is more explicit in Luke. Jesus is more inclusive of women within his inner circle than one might expect given the traditional culture. Similarly, his relationship to the poor, disenfranchised and outcast evinces an understanding and use of power that has as its goal inclusion, restoration and salvation. Jesus' behaviors, beliefs and values challenge the status quo and subvert the socioeconomic, gender and ethnicity barriers created by culture, human bias and institutions. His radical inclusion is a model for the new community.

2.4. John. Power and authority are more explicit in John, but not in the manner of the Synoptics. Given the prologue (Jn 1:1-18) and John's *Christology, one might expect the Jesus of John to exude authority and power. However, these terms rarely occur, and when they do, they have a different reference. There are no exorcisms and few healings, and Jesus is the one who will execute *judgment (Jn 5:27). John's references to Jesus' authority draw on his relationship to the Father and his place within the hierarchy of the rule of God. The boundaries between the world and the followers of Jesus and the Father are more delineated in John, creating the notion of a people separate from broader society and

marked by a set of beliefs and values that shape their behaviors. As such, authority is tied to Jesus' identity, location and standing within his Father's realm and rule and this new community. John's message of salvation is an invitation to enter into the society of disciples. Although unseen, the authority of God trumps the human authority of governments, rulers and societal norms. To use Weber's language, Jesus' authority is legitimated by his relationship to the Father and place within the Father's kingdom.

John's understanding of power is similar. Power exists within a theological worldview. Followers are granted power to become children of God (Jn 1:12). Jesus has the power to give up his own life (Jn 10:18). Even *Pontius Pilate has no real power over Jesus (Jn 19:11), except that which the Father has given to him. Here we witness the human misunderstanding of power. Real power is elusive, and it is not always clear in whose hands the power lies.

3. Summary.

Jesus is often considered one of the great charismatic figures of world history. As such, it is assumed that his popularity and charisma afforded him social power and authority. If one limits the investigation to exploring the dynamic between Jesus and the people and his seeming innate authority and power, the Gospels reveal limited information: Jesus was a charismatic individual who was endowed by the Holy Spirit and taught powerfully; he was an exorcist and healer who ran afoul of the Jewish leaders and Romans. If we consider a broader understanding of power and authority, however, Jesus' unique relationship to the Father as Son, empowerment by the Holy Spirit and role in bringing the kingdom of God take on a profound richness. He subverts the typical human notions of authority when he states explicitly, "You know that among the Gentiles those whom they recognize as their rulers lord it over them, and their great ones are tyrants over them" (Mt 20:25 // Mk 10:42 // Lk 22:25). The values and behaviors of those within the kingdom of God are different. In Jesus' teachings, demonstrations of power and engagements with people we find one who uses power and authority to bring about wholeness, restoration and

healing. In his confrontations with leadership we see his understanding of systems and the role that power plays in enforcing boundaries that exclude, marginalize and dehumanize. The converse is also true. Jesus provides a model for the positive use of authority and power grounded in his rich theological imagination, values, *ethics, understanding of the kingdom of God and relationship to the Father.

See also COMMANDMENT; DEATH OF JESUS; DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; ETHICS OF JESUS; GOD; HOLY SPIRIT; JUDGMENT; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; LAW; MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES; RESURRECTION; WOMEN.

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R. Beaton

B

BANQUETING. See TABLE FELLOWSHIP.

BAPTISM

Baptism was the central rite for entrance into the church in apostolic and later times. The basis for this importance was the experience of Jesus and the texts of the Gospels. This article discusses the terminology of baptism, possible antecedents to Christian baptism, the practice of John the Baptist, the baptism of Jesus, a metaphorical use of the language of baptism, and two texts from the Gospels important for the future.

1. Terminology
2. Possible Antecedents to Christian Baptism
3. Practice of John the Baptist
4. Jesus' Baptism
5. Metaphorical Use of the Language of Baptism
6. Two Texts Important for the Future

1. Terminology.

The common Greek word used to describe dipping in water for the purpose of purification, *baptismos*, occurs in the Gospels only in Mark 7:4 (cf. Heb 6:2; 9:10). In distinction from these repeated washings, the baptism of John and Christian baptism are represented by *baptisma* (e.g., Mk 1:4; 11:30; cf. Acts 1:22; Rom 6:4; Eph 4:5). The verb *baptō* ("to dip") occurs in Luke 16:24; John 13:26 (cf. cognate *embaptō* in Mt 26:23 // Mk 14:20). Since its principal use in secular Greek was in the secondary sense "to dye" (from the practice of dipping an object in its coloring agent [cf. Rev 19:13, where Jesus' robe is "dipped" in blood]), the intensive form *baptizō* came into general use. Two of its common uses were to describe the drowning of a person and the sinking of a ship (e.g., Josephus, *B.J.* 1.437; 3.423). There is no indication that the NT departs from the meaning "to dip, plunge" (Mk 1:5, 9; Mt 3:6, 16; cf. Acts 8:38).

2. Possible Antecedents to Christian Baptism.

2.1. Pagan Washings. The use of water—immersion, pouring, sprinkling—was common in Greco-Roman paganism. These applications of water were for ceremonial cleansing before entering a sacred precinct. In the mystery religions they were preliminary purifications and noninitiatory.

2.2. Jewish Practices. The law required bathing in water to remove various impurities (Lev 11:24, 32; 14:6-16; 15:5-27; Num 19:17-20). By the time of Jesus, the Pharisees understood many of the purifications to require an immersion (Lk 11:38), and the Mishnah (ca. A.D. 200), in its tractate *Miqwa'ot*, codified the regulations, including the size of immersion pools to permit submerging the whole body. The discovery of scores of *miqwa'ot* in Israel of pre-A.D. 70 date, including many adjoining the Temple Mount, confirm that these later regulations were observed in Jesus' time.

The Qumran community observed a daily bath for purification. The DSS stressed a righteous life to accompany the physical cleansing by water. It may be that the first bath of a new member had a special meaning, but it cannot be proved that this had an initiatory significance. The *Damascus Document*, similar to the Mishnah later, requires that "No person shall bathe in dirty water or in an amount too shallow to cover a person" (CD-A X, 10-14). The stepped pools at Qumran likely served for ritual bathing, and the stepless cisterns stored water and had other uses (see Dead Sea Scrolls; Essenes).

Later sources speak of several baptizing groups among the Jews, but all appear to have originated post-A.D. 70.

Nor can proselyte baptism be confirmed before A.D. 70. Sources that speak of conversion to Judaism prior to this date make no mention of it. The later rabbinic formulation of the conversion ceremony required circumcision, immersion and sacrifice at the temple. The central rite was circumcision of

males; this circumstance meant that the subsequent immersion acquired a special significance for female converts. This immersion probably was rooted in the earlier ceremonial cleansings, but when it became an initiatory act, it was given a moral meaning as a symbol of new life.

3. Practice of John the Baptist.

Early Christians saw the immediate antecedent to their practice of baptism in the activity of *John the Baptist. He is identified in the Gospels as John “the baptizer” (*ho baptizōn*, “the one who immerses” [Mk 6:14, 24]) or more commonly John “the baptist” (*ho baptistēs* [Mt 3:1; Mk 6:25; Lk 7:20]). This was a distinguishing title because unlike the Jewish washings, which were self-immersions, John administered baptism to others.

Mark’s account of John the Baptist is the briefest in the Gospels, but he gives the important information that John preached a “repentance baptism for the forgiveness of sins” (Mk 1:4), the people “were baptized by him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins” (Mk 1:5), and he declared, “I baptized you in water,” but that the one who coming after him “will baptize you in the Holy Spirit” (Mk 1:8).

Matthew adds to these points the necessity of repentance in view of the near approach of the *kingdom of heaven (Mt 3:2) and the coming wrath (Mt 3:7), and that the stronger one coming after John would baptize “in the Holy Spirit and fire” (Mt 3:11). This last phrase has been subject to a variety of interpretations. The context (Mt 3:10, 12 // Lk 3:9, 17) suggests that the fire refers to *judgment and punishment. Luke identifies the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the overwhelming power of the Holy Spirit resulting from his coming at Pentecost (Acts 1:5; 2:1-4) and to the household of Cornelius (Acts 10:44-48; 11:15-17). Since grammatically the two elements are linked, perhaps we can think of a baptism inaugurated in the Spirit and consummated in fire.

Luke’s account of John’s preaching is the fullest of the Synoptic Gospels, but he does not add to the description of his baptism (Lk 3:1-20). He does later add a strong endorsement of the divine authority behind John’s baptism: “And all the people and the tax collectors who heard this acknowledged the righteousness of God by being baptized with John’s baptism; but the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected God’s will for them by not being baptized by him” (Lk 7:29-30; cf. Lk 20:4).

The Fourth Gospel elaborates on John’s testimony to Jesus (Jn 1:19-37; cf. Jn 1:6-8; 3:27-30). Although it locates John’s baptizing on the east bank of

the Jordan (Jn 1:28; 3:26; 10:40), it identifies another place: “John was also baptizing at Aenon near Salim because there were abundant waters there” (Jn 3:23). The Fourth Gospel alone informs us that Jesus and his disciples also engaged in a baptizing ministry alongside John’s (Jn 3:22, 26; 4:1-2). The discussion between the disciples of John and a Jew (or Jews) concerning purification (Jn 3:25) suggests that the purpose of John’s baptism was a different kind of purification from that practiced by Jews.

Josephus’s account of John the Baptist complements the NT texts in most respects, but on one point he contradicts them: “[John, called the Baptist] was a good man and exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives, practice righteousness toward one another and piety toward God, and so to come together for baptism [*baptismos*]. In his view this was a necessary preliminary if baptism [*baptis*, ‘dipping’] was to be acceptable to God. They must not use it to gain pardon for whatever sins they committed, but for the purity of the body, since the soul was already thoroughly cleansed by right behavior” (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.116-17).

Josephus’s words imply that he knew the explanation given in the Gospels of the purpose of John’s baptism. He rather interprets John’s practice by what he knew of Jewish, and especially Essene, views of purity. The accounts in the Synoptic Gospels are to be preferred as earlier sources and as derived from those with firsthand contact with John’s ministry. Against the argument that their wording was conformed to Christian teaching, it may be replied that since there was competition between the disciples of John and the disciples of Jesus, the latter would more likely have exaggerated the differences than made them agree.

John’s baptism had in common with Jewish washings the practice of immersion, the motif of cleansing, and the application to Jews. It differed in being an administered immersion, a one-time act (like proselyte baptism except not for non-Jews), requiring repentance and offering forgiveness of sins, and providing eschatological rather than ceremonial cleansing. John’s baptism was like Christian baptism in these points, but it differed in being accompanied by a confession of sins rather than a confession of faith (he taught believing in one to come rather than in one who has come), not being done in the name of Jesus, and not offering the Holy Spirit (Acts 19:2-5).

4. Jesus’ Baptism.

The historicity of Jesus’ baptism by John is undeniable. The identification of the one proclaimed *Son of God with the movement led by a lesser figure would

not have been invented, and the submission by one claimed to be sinless to a rite associated with *forgiveness of sins could only be an embarrassment.

Mark's account is brief, conveying only the essential facts: "Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized into the Jordan by John. And immediately as he was coming up out of the water he saw the heavens split open and the Spirit descending as a dove into him. And a voice came out of heaven, 'You are my beloved son, in you I am well pleased'" (Mk 1:9-11). The descent of the Spirit may recall creation (Gen 1:2) or the return of the dove to Noah's ark (Gen 8:8-11). The words from heaven echo Genesis 22:2; Psalm 2:7; Isaiah 42:1.

Luke is even briefer on Jesus' baptism (Lk 3:21-22), but he adds three details: Jesus praying at his baptism, the addition of "Holy" to "Spirit," and the Spirit's coming "in bodily form." For Luke, the coming of the Holy Spirit was Jesus' anointing as the Messiah (Lk 4:16-21; Acts 10:38) (*see* Christ).

Matthew has the fullest account of the baptism of Jesus (Mt 3:13-17). His distinctive concern is the problem posed by Jesus coming for baptism by John, who protests that he needs to be baptized by Jesus, to which Jesus replies, "It is fitting for us to fulfill all righteousness." With these words, Jesus accepted his mission to bring the *righteousness of God by submitting in obedience to the divine will. Hence, later patristic interpreters saw the baptism as Jesus' identification with sinful humanity (also reflected in early Christian art by showing Jesus as a smaller figure than John, in reverse of their respective importance) and his offering himself as an example of obedience.

The Gospel of John only alludes to the baptism of Jesus and indicates that the baptism was to reveal Jesus to *Israel (Jn 1:29-34). The declaration that Jesus "takes away the sin of the world" and will baptize "in the Holy Spirit" brings together two basic characteristics of the Christian age.

The indications are that the baptism of Jesus was by immersion. This accords with the meaning of the words, the contemporary Jewish practice, and the circumstantial details in the narratives. The Synoptic accounts bring together the voice of God, the descent of the Spirit, and the sonship of Jesus (a trinitarian dimension represented in early Christian art by the hand of God in the sky, the dove of the Holy Spirit, and Jesus in the water). That Jesus himself was baptized and that he and his disciples practiced baptism readily accounts for the disciples in the post-resurrection period administering baptism to converts to Jesus.

5. Metaphorical Use of the Language of Baptism.

Words from the *bapt-* root had several metaphorical uses in reference to being overwhelmed by something. Jesus makes an important metaphorical use of baptism in reference to his death: "Jesus said to them [James and John], . . . 'Are you able to drink the cup which I drink or to be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized?'" They said to him, 'We are able.' And Jesus said to them, "The cup which I drink you will drink, and the baptism with which I am baptized you will be baptized'" (Mk 10:38-39 [cf. Lk 12:50]). He was referring to being overwhelmed, submerged in suffering. This saying was the basis for later Christian writers referring to martyrdom as a baptism.

6. Two Texts Important for the Future.

Jesus, in explaining the begetting "from above" (or "anew") to Nicodemus (Jn 3:3), a ruler of the Jews, said, "Unless begotten of water and Spirit, a person is unable to enter the kingdom of God" (Jn 3:5). Many evangelical scholars deny that water here refers to water baptism, but the early church thought otherwise. Indeed, John 3:5 was the most frequently quoted baptismal text in the second century A.D., not to minimize the place of the Spirit, but rather understanding the Spirit to work in connection with the water of baptism.

The Great Commission, in Matthew 28:18-20, was the foundation text for early Christian baptismal practice: "All authority was given me in heaven and upon the earth. Go, therefore, and instruct all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe everything I commanded you" (cf. Mk 16:15-16, in the longer ending of that Gospel). Since the trinitarian words are absent from most (but not all) of the quotations of the passage in Eusebius of Caesarea, some have argued that it was a later addition to the Gospel. Its presence in all other witnesses to the text of Matthew make it likely that Eusebius abbreviated his quotation when his concern was with the universality of the gospel or the necessity of obedience to Jesus' teaching but included the words when explicitly concerned with the Trinity. "Into the name of" in Greek usage carried the idea of "into the ownership or possession" of someone, but the equivalent Hebrew phrase meant "with reference to," defining the purpose of the act. The phrase may have been descriptive of the nature of Christian baptism, but it soon became the framework of the candidate's baptismal confession of faith and/or a formula pronounced by the administrator of baptism.

See also JOHN THE BAPTIST.

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BAPTIST, JOHN THE. See JOHN THE BAPTIST.

BEATITUDES. See BLESSING AND WOE; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.

BELIEF. See FAITH.

BELOVED DISCIPLE

“Beloved Disciple” is the commonly used title for the *disciple referred to by the Johannine narrator as “the disciple [*mathētēs*] whom Jesus loved [*agapāō/phileō*]” (Jn 13:23; 19:26; 20:2; 21:7, 20).

1. The Appropriateness of the Title
2. The “Other Disciple”
3. The Johannine Contexts of Use
4. The Significance of the Apparent Ending at John 20:30-31
5. The Role of the Beloved Disciple in the Epilogue
6. Identifying the Beloved Disciple

1. The Appropriateness of the Title.

Although convenient, the title obscures the connection to people described as loved by Jesus: “him [Lazarus] whom you [Jesus] love [*phileis*]” (Jn 11:3);

“see how he [Jesus] loved [*ephilei*] him [Lazarus]” (Jn 11:36); “Jesus loved [*ēgapa*] Martha, her sister, and Lazarus” (Jn 11:5). The overlap in these references suggests that *phileō* and *agapāō* are used without distinction. This is important for the assessment of the reference to “the disciple whom Jesus loved” in John 20:2, where *phileō* is used. As in other contexts in John, these two verbs are used interchangeably of the Beloved Disciple. What distinguishes the Beloved Disciple from others said to be loved by Jesus is that this disciple is not named, while those said to be loved by Jesus are named but not called disciples. The narrator’s reference to Jesus “having loved [*agapēsas*] his own who were in the world, he loved [*ēgapēsen*] them to the end” (Jn 13:2) further complicates the issue. The use of *mathētēs* in John includes, but probably is not restricted to, the Twelve (see Jn 4:1; 6:60-61, 66). In John 13:2 Jesus’ love for “his own” appears to be a reference to the wider group of disciples. One specific disciple is identified as “the disciple whom Jesus loved.” Does this disciple belong to the narrow group or to the wider group? Is “disciple” a reference to those who leave all to follow Jesus, like the Twelve, but a slightly broader group? Are the “two other disciples,” not identified in John 21:2, numbered with the Twelve? Probably not, since otherwise they would have been identified. If the observation concerning disciples as “followers” is valid, it excludes those named, and said to be loved by Jesus, because they are not described as disciples but rather are portrayed as supporters whom Jesus visits. Because the Beloved Disciple cannot be Peter, he must be one of the other six disciples mentioned in John 21:2.

2. The “Other Disciple.”

In John 20:2 Mary Magdalene, finding the empty tomb, “runs and comes to Simon Peter and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved [*pros tonallon mathētēn hon ephilei ho Iēsous*].” The interchangeability of *hon ephilei* in John 20:2 and *hon ēgapa* in John 13:23 is confirmed by a broader study of John’s Gospel (cf., e.g., Jn 3:35 [*agapā*] with Jn 5:20 [*philei*]). With this variation, John 20:2 also introduces *tonallon mathētēn*, “the other disciple.” The definite article is made necessary because he is not just “another” disciple, but rather “the other disciple whom Jesus loved.” The reference marks a pairing of Peter and this other disciple.

Already in John 13:23 the Beloved Disciple is portrayed in dialogue with Peter. John 20:2 portrays a second appearance with Peter. The connection be-

tween the two is found also in John 21:7, 20. Peter is absent only from John 19:26, where the Beloved Disciple is paired with the mother of Jesus beside the cross. From the cross Jesus says to his mother, "Woman, behold your son," and to the Beloved Disciple, "Behold your mother." One might have supposed that in this reference the oldest son handed responsibility of care for his mother to Jacob (James), probably the oldest of his siblings (see Tabor), and there is some support for identifying Judah, another sibling. In each incident the Beloved Disciple appears as a foil for another character in the narrative.

Because the Beloved Disciple is called "the other disciple" in relation to Peter in John 20:2, it has been suggested that he is the unnamed disciple alongside Andrew (Jn 1:35-42). Although there he is not called "the other disciple," John 1:41 indicates that Andrew "first" (*prōton*) found his brother (Simon Peter), which might imply that the unnamed disciple then found his brother, making a comparable scene to the call of the two sets of brothers in the Synoptics (Mk 1:16-20 par.). While possible, the case is weak because the Beloved Disciple makes his first explicit appearance only in John 13:23.

Similarly, in John 18:15-16 Peter and "another disciple" (*allon mathētēn*) follow Jesus to the house of the high priest, and because "the other disciple" (*ho mathētēs ho allos*) was known to the high priest, they gain access. Two aspects of the narrative favor identification with the Beloved Disciple. First, there is the appearance alongside Peter. Second, there is an explicit reference to "the other disciple." Against the identification is the absence of reference to the Beloved Disciple and the initial reference to "another disciple" who is subsequently called "the other disciple" to distinguish him from Peter, not to identify the Beloved Disciple. In John 18:15 the reader has not been alerted to the relationship of this language to the reference to the Beloved Disciple in John 20:2. But at least here the reference occurs after the appearance of the Beloved Disciple and in a contexts where his continuing presence would not be surprising.

3. The Johannine Contexts of Use.

The Beloved Disciple first appears in John 13:23. Consequently, the role of the Beloved Disciple during the ministry of Jesus is restricted to *Jerusalem and the last week. This observation fits within the Judean/Jerusalem orientation of this Gospel in contrast to the Synoptics. The perspective is strengthened if the Beloved Disciple is identified with the other disciple with Peter in John 18:15-16.

This disciple seems to have been favorably known to the high priest, implying a Jerusalem base.

The Beloved Disciple is present in a privileged position at the meal (Jn 13:23), reclining in the same relation to Jesus as *monogenēs theos* to the Father (in Jn 1:18). In the next Beloved Disciple episode he is present with the mother of Jesus (not named in John) and, with her, is addressed by Jesus from the cross (Jn 19:26-27). Although not made explicit, it can only be the Beloved Disciple in John 19:35 who sees the spear thrust into the side of the already dead Jesus and the effusion of water and blood. This he has seen and borne witness to, "and his witness is true, and he knows that he speaks truth, that you [pl.] also may believe" (see the authorial conclusion at Jn 20:31, which shares the final words, *hina hymeis pisteu[s]ēte*, including the same textual variant on the tense of the verb). This might imply already that the Beloved Disciple has an authorial role in this Gospel.

The final reference to the Beloved Disciple before the epilogue (Jn 21) is in John 20:2-10. It is to Peter and the other disciple whom Jesus loved that Mary Magdalene runs upon finding the stone rolled away and the body of Jesus gone from the tomb (see Resurrection). Although the Beloved Disciple outruns Peter, he does not enter until Peter first goes in. Only then does "the other disciple" go in. He apparently sees what Peter saw, but it is said only of him that "he saw and believed." It is not said what he believed. It might be implied that he believed what Mary told them, "They have taken the body." But this meaning fits neither the singling out of the Beloved Disciple as one who believed nor the Johannine use of "believed" in this context. But the next verse notes that "they did not yet know the scripture that he must rise from the dead," which seems to rule out belief that Jesus was risen. However, it might mean that the event created belief that led to the finding of the scriptural foreshadowing/prediction. Some such meaning seems to be demanded by the contrast of the Beloved Disciple with Peter.

4. The Significance of the Apparent Ending at John 20:30-31.

If John's Gospel ended with John 20, readers probably would consider John 20:30-31 to be an appropriate conclusion. It expresses the message and purpose of John's Gospel in a memorable and compelling way. Nevertheless, there is no textual evidence that the book ever circulated without John 21. It is possible that John's Gospel was published/circulated only after the death of the Beloved Disciple. This may be

implied by John 21:23 in conjunction with John 21:24–25. First, the death of the Beloved Disciple made it necessary to clarify that Jesus had not said that the Beloved Disciple would survive until he returned. Then, the concluding words of those who eventually published John's Gospel attest the faithful witness of the Beloved Disciple embodied in it. It seems clear that these words are meant to identify the Beloved Disciple as the substantive author. If this is true, it may be that these "editors" added the reference to the Beloved Disciple to the body of this Gospel because, although not impossible, it seems unlikely an author would refer to himself in these terms. The overlap of John 19:35 with the wording of John 20:31 may imply that the Beloved Disciple is the author, and this becomes more or less explicit in John 21.

5. The Role of the Beloved Disciple in the Epilogue.

Inexplicably, after the two overwhelming appearances of the risen Jesus to the gathered disciples, John 21 returns to *Galilee and a fishing expedition with seven of the disciples on the Sea of Galilee. Three are named (Simon Peter, Thomas, Nathanael), two are identified as the sons of Zebedee, and another two are not identified. One of these, who cannot be Peter, is identified as the Beloved Disciple, who is the first to recognize Jesus on the seashore and announce it to the others in the boat (John 21:7). Later, the Beloved Disciple becomes the subject of discussion between Jesus and Peter (Jn 21:20–23) in a way that clarifies a misunderstanding. If the Beloved Disciple was the author of John 1–20, that would account for the attestation of the reliability of his witness in John 21:23–24. But this is paradoxical in that anonymous witnesses attest the reliability of the Beloved Disciple, who is implicitly an authoritative witness, and may suggest that this authoritative figure within the Johannine narrative was as anonymous to its first readers as it is to readers today.

6. Identifying the Beloved Disciple.

John 21 implies that the Beloved Disciple is one of seven disciples. Peter is excluded, and of the other four who are known, only James the brother of John has not been proposed as Beloved Disciple. Because there were also two unidentified disciples, the list has been expanded to include other members of the Twelve and beyond. Among the Twelve are John, Philip, Nathanael, Andrew, Thomas and Matthias, who replaced Judas. Beyond the Twelve are, for example, Lazarus, Paul, John Mark, and John the El-

der. H. Waetjen thinks that the Beloved Disciple was *Lazarus in John 1–20, but John in John 21. The case for none of these can be considered strong, and it is made more complex by the uncertain status of John 21. Is it an integral part of John's Gospel, or is it an epilogue added by other hands to send it on its way after the death of the author? The latter seems probable because it is unlikely that the author would refer to himself as the "Beloved Disciple." That designation may have been added to the body of this Gospel at the same time as the epilogue, which explicitly identifies him as the author, though this may be implied by John 19:35; 20:31. Even this leaves the Beloved Disciple and the authorship of this Gospel anonymous.

This Gospel was published under the name of John (*kata Iōannēn*), though the date of the titles of the Gospels is uncertain. It is unclear whether the identification of the Beloved Disciple as John was influenced by the title, or whether the title is a consequence of the identification. John the son of Zebedee was one of the seven disciples of John 21. There might have been another John, one of the two unnamed disciples. Irenaeus was of the view that John the son of Zebedee was the Beloved Disciple and author of this Gospel (*Haer.* 3.1.1). This part of Irenaeus's view was not questioned, by Eusebius, but he used his reading of Papias (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39) to argue that a second John, John the Elder, wrote the book of Revelation. Some recent scholars reverse that judgment to argue that John the Elder wrote this Gospel, a view that has no ancient support. The anonymity of the Beloved Disciple has led to the treatment of this figure as an ideal or symbol (Bauckham, 73–92), but this case is weakened by the way the Beloved Disciple is a foil for Peter and the mother of Jesus. It is difficult to know what to make of this intentional anonymity.

See also APOSTLE; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHP; JOHN, GOSPEL OF.

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BENEDICTUS. See SONGS AND HYMNS.

BENEFACTION, BENEFACITOR. See ECONOMICS.

BETHANY. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BETHANY BEYOND THE JORDAN. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BETHESDA. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BETHLEHEM. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BETHPHAGE. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BETHSAIDA. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BIOGRAPHY, ANCIENT. See GOSPEL: GENRE.

BIRTH AND INFANCY GOSPELS. See GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL.

BIRTH OF JESUS

The NT contains two narratives of the birth and early childhood of Jesus, in Matthew 1:18–2:23 and Luke 1:5–2:40. Beginning in the late second century, writers sought to supplement the limited information in Matthew and Luke by composing “infancy gospels” such as the *Protevangelium of James*, the *Infancy Story of Thomas*, and, derived largely from the latter, the *Arabic Infancy Gospel* (Clivaz et al., 418-587; Cullmann; Elliott 1993, 46-122) (see Gospels: Apocryphal). These writings present Jesus the infant prodigy and (often vindictive) miracle worker, Mary the perpetual virgin and Joseph the widower who was father to other sons, among other things. As for their historical value, O. Cullmann writes, “The further away we move in time from the beginnings, the more unre-

strained becomes the application to Jesus of what is recounted about the birth and infancy of sons of gods and children of supernatural origin” (Cullmann, 416-17).

The retelling of the canonical birth stories in celebration of Christmas has tended to obscure the uniqueness of the story as presented in each Gospel, resulting in the loss of some of the richness of their contribution to each Gospel’s overall message. The differences between the two birth narratives should not be overemphasized, as they essentially tell the same story; P. MacDonald has compiled a list of twenty-three features common to both stories (MacDonald; see also Brown 1993, 34-35; Fitzmyer 1989, 35-36). Yet each birth story also contains many unique elements, which serve to communicate a distinct message. Matthew’s account focuses on Joseph, while Luke’s focuses on Mary. Matthew alone mentions the star, the magi, Herod plotting against Jesus, the slaughter of the children in Bethlehem and the family’s flight to Egypt; Luke alone reports the stories of Elizabeth and Zechariah, *John the Baptist’s birth, the census that brings Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, the visit of the shepherds, Jesus’ presentation in the temple and the hymns: the Benedictus, the Magnificat and the Nunc Dimittis.

These differences suggest that Luke and Matthew are based on different sources, and more importantly they highlight that each evangelist chose what material to include in his narrative, and how to edit and arrange it, in keeping with his own unique purposes. As the introductions to their respective Gospels, the birth stories provide the reader with privileged information for understanding the purpose of each narrative, including the seeds of the most important themes that they will develop and the key to understanding these themes (Hooker; Fitzmyer 1989, 29-30; Kahl, 88).

1. Matthew’s Birth Narrative
2. Luke’s Birth Narrative
3. The Date of Jesus’ Birth: Reconciling Luke 1 and Luke 2
4. The Virginal Conception

1. Matthew’s Birth Narrative.

1.1. *Matthew and the Scriptures of Israel.*

1.1.1. *Formula Quotations.* Matthew’s birth narrative seeks to tie Jesus’ story to the story of the OT, and a distinctive way that it does so is through the use of five formula quotations. Each quotation draws attention to the OT connection by a phrase such as “all this took place in order to fulfill.” The location of

these quotations in Matthew, and the OT text to which they refer, are set out in Table 1.

Table 1. Old Testament Quotations in Matthew 1–2

Event	Matthew	OT Scripture
Jesus' conception and naming	1:22–23	Isaiah 7:14
Jesus' birth in Bethlehem	2:5b–6	Micah 5:2; 2 Samuel 5:2
Flight to Egypt	2:15	Hosea 11:1
Slaughter of the innocents	2:17–18	Jeremiah 31:15
Return to Nazareth	2:23	Isaiah 11:1 (?)

By tying details of Jesus' birth and early childhood to the OT in this way, Matthew shows the unity of God's plan (Mayordomo, 279). Although the formula quotations may have also served a polemical function (i.e., to aid Jesus followers of Jewish descent to defend their faith before those who had remained in the synagogue), their primary function was didactic. Each communicates a distinct aspect of Jesus' identity in relation to God's promises found in the OT.

1.1.1.1. Jesus' Conception and Naming (Mt 1:22–23) and Isaiah 7:14. The MT of Isaiah 7:14 promises that a "young woman" (Heb. *almâ*) will conceive and bear a child named "Emmanuel," as a sign to King Ahaz of Judah that God would deliver him from his enemies. Reading the LXX translation of this text typologically, Matthew shows that Jesus' conception and birth follow the pattern of the events in Isaiah but give them a fuller expression (Hamilton, 241): (1) the Greek *parthenos* cited from the LXX points to Mary's being not just a young woman but a virgin, so that Jesus' conception implies God's miraculous intervention; (2) the child's name, "Jesus," means "savior," who will save his people not from a military threat but "from their sins" (Mt 1:21); (3) although his name is not "Emmanuel," meaning "God with us," Jesus is indeed God with us, so that what in Isaiah functioned as a sign in Matthew becomes reality. "God with us" is a central theme of Matthew's narrative (Viviano 2011a, 393), and its use here invites the reader to become a part of those who "call" Jesus "Emmanuel" (Mayordomo, 273).

1.1.1.2. Jesus' Birth in Bethlehem (Mt 2:5b–6) and Micah 5:2. Matthew has made some changes in citing his OT source. Bethlehem is no longer "of Ephratha" but "in the land of Judah," and it is no longer "one of the little clans" but the opposite: "by no means least among the rulers." Rather than simply

"ruling" in Israel, the citation in Matthew speaks of the coming ruler "shepherding" Israel. This may allude to other texts in which God speaks of David as the shepherd of his people (2 Sam 5:2; 1 Chron 11:3) in order to reinforce Matthew's presentation of Jesus as Davidic king (Muñoz Iglesias 1990b, 255–58).

1.1.1.3. Flight to Egypt (Mt 2:15) and Hosea 11:1. Matthew takes advantage of an opportunity to make a christological statement. His narrative has just placed Jesus in Egypt (Mt 2:13–15a) so that God could call him from there (Mt 2:19–21), and he is God's *Son in a more unique way than were the people of Israel in Hosea 11:1 (Muñoz Iglesias 1990b, 31–32, 282–87). This comparison between Jesus and *Israel begins a theme that will continue in Matthew's Gospel (e.g., Mt 4:1–11) (Mayordomo, 276). The quotation from Hosea also serves Matthew's aim of presenting Jesus as the new *Moses; the author expects the reader to set the story of Moses and the exodus next to the story of Jesus that he is narrating and work to find in what ways they are similar (Allison 1993, 140–41) (see further under 1.1.2 below).

1.1.1.4. Slaughter of the Innocents (Mt 2:17–18) and Jeremiah 31:15. The quotation in Matthew is related to Herod's having the male infants in and around Bethlehem put to death. The text in Jeremiah has to do with the absence of the exiles from Israel, who have marched off to Babylon (France, 245). Matthew's reader is probably meant to consider the wider context of Jeremiah 31:15, which has to do with hope and joy, promises of restoration from *exile and new covenant (Jer 31:1–40). Jeremiah 31:15 functions within Jeremiah 31 primarily as a contrasting prelude to the next lines: "Thus says the LORD: Keep your voice from weeping, and your eyes from tears; for there is a reward for your work, says the LORD: they shall come back from the land of the enemy; there is hope for your future, says the LORD: your children shall come back to their own country" (Jer 31:16–17 NRSV). In reading Matthew 2:18, perhaps one is meant to recognize the emphasis on comfort and joy, restoration and new covenant in the wider context of Jeremiah 31:15, and apply this to the story of the arrival of Jesus (France, 246). If so, this fulfillment quotation would serve a christological function: Jesus is the one through whom God is bringing about the fulfillment of his promises of comfort and joy, restoration and new covenant (Erickson).

1.1.1.5. Return to Nazareth (Mt 2:23) and Isaiah 11:1. The citation formula speaks of "prophets," in the plural rather than singular, and this may indicate that Matthew does not cite any specific prophet, or that he refers to the general witness of more than

one (Brown 1993, 208). Which OT text is alluded to here is much debated, as is the meaning of “Nazorean” applied to Jesus (*see Nazarene*). The most likely options are that “Nazorean” (1) is derived from the name “Nazareth”; (2) refers to one consecrated as a Nazirite; (3) signifies the promised messianic *nēšer* (“branch”) from Isaiah 11:1 (Brown 1993, 209–13). Possibly all of these meanings are to be combined in one’s reading of Matthew 2:23: Jesus dwelt in Nazareth prior to beginning his public ministry (Mt 4:15), he was consecrated to God from the womb (Mt 1:21; cf. Judg 13:3b, 5b), and he is “Emmanuel” (Mt 1:23), the very branch (*nēšer*) that, according to Isaiah 7:14, was to bloom from the root of Jesse in Isaiah 11:1 (Brown 1993, 212, 223–25). Matthew 2:23 is not just about the provenance of the Messiah (Stendahl), but about who the Messiah is (*see Christ*): Matthew appears to be playing on words to underline the central christological point that Jesus, as the rightful heir of David (the main point of Mt 1:1–17), is “God with us” (“Emmanuel”) (*see Son of David*).

1.1.2. Moses Typology. Matthew’s interest in tying his narrative to Israel’s Scriptures is also clear from its extensive use of Moses *typology (Allison 1993). For Matthew, God guides history for his redemptive ends, as evidenced in a pattern of type (Moses) followed by antitype (Jesus). This pattern comes to the fore in the birth story, which is “permeated by Mosaic motifs” (Allison 1993, 140): (1) The explicit citation in Matthew 2:15, “Out of Egypt have I called my son,” prepares the reader to interpret Matthew 1–2 in light of the story of Moses and Israel’s exodus from Egypt. (2) The circumstances surrounding the birth story of Jesus in Matthew 2 are strikingly similar to those of Moses’ birth story in Exodus 1; 4 and its interpretations in Jewish tradition (Josephus, Philo, and rabbinic literature), are strikingly similar: a king gives the order to kill all male children in the area where the child is born because he has learned of the birth of Israel’s liberator from chief priests, scribes and magi/scribes or chief magicians, as foretold by magi. Both kings are troubled at the announcement of the birth of a savior; both infants are providentially delivered from the rulers who seek to kill them; both are forced to leave their homeland. After the death of the rulers the Lord commands Moses and Joseph to return to their homeland, given that those seeking the death of Moses/Jesus have died, after which they return with their families. (3) Other considerations add to the pattern of type and antitype in the stories of Moses and Jesus: Matthew 1–2 and Exodus 2; 4 share several key words

and phrases; Matthew follows the basic narrative pattern of the Moses story common in Jewish sources such as Josephus and later rabbinic literature; the history of interpretation of Matthew 1–2 has used the parallelism between Jesus’ story and that of Moses and the exodus; and Matthew has arranged and edited the tradition behind Matthew 1–2 so as to enhance the parallel features (Allison 1993, 140–65).

By this use of Moses typology, Matthew provides his community with an identity rooted in the history of Israel and in the consistency of God’s work. By presenting Jesus as the new Moses, he shows that Jesus is in fundamental continuity with the Jewish tradition, so that “the new” found in Jesus is guided by “the old” found in Moses; “the old vindicates the new,” even while the new represents the completion of the old (Allison 1993, 272–74).

1.2. Anticipating Themes in the Remainder of the Gospel.

1.2.1. Jesus as Davidic King. Matthew’s birth narrative not only looks back to the OT to root the Gospel in God’s past work, but also introduces themes that will be important in the remainder of the Gospel. For example, a major theme in Matthew 2 that carries over into the remainder of the Gospel is Jesus as Davidic King (Mt 2:2, 6; also Mt 2:11 in light of Ps 45:7–9; 71:15) (*see Chae*). This theme is informed by two contrasts: between King *Herod and Jesus the king, and between Herod and the magi in their response to Jesus the king (Bauer; Chae, 187–88). Herod is portrayed as deceitful (Mt 2:8) and horribly violent (Mt 2:16) in asserting his power and yet powerless to thwart God’s purposes. In contrast, Jesus is both the legitimate heir to David’s throne, born to be king (Mt 2:2), and Son of God conceived by the Holy Spirit (Mt 1:18–25; 2:15). He is thus able to save his people not just from national enemies but from their sins, so that God establishes his kingship through Jesus. Unlike the violent Herod, Jesus will “shepherd [God’s] people Israel” (Mt 2:6), and unlike the arrogant Herod, Jesus is a humble king, referred to exclusively as “the child” (Mt 2:8, 9, 11, 13 [2x], 14, 20 [2x], 21) (Bauer, 309–11; Chae, 179, 244). The contrast between King Herod and the child Jesus serves to redefine the very nature of kingship: “Apparent weakness is demonstrated to be real power and demonstrable power demoted to real weakness” (Weaver, 381). The second contrast is set up between the Gentile magi, who know that one has been born “king of the Jews” (Mt 2:2), and a series of other characters: Herod and “all Jerusalem with him,” who are initially ignorant of the Messiah’s birth, and “ter-

rified” when they hear of it, and the “chief priests and scribes of the people,” who become complicit in Herod’s violent plans by informing him of where the Messiah was to be born (Mt 2:3-6) (Bauer, 319; Weaver, 381-82). In seeking to destroy Jesus, Herod ultimately sets himself against God’s kingship, thus becoming a representative of the Jewish religious leadership that will oppose Jesus in the remainder of the Gospel, climaxing with the crucifixion (Bauer, 314-18). In seeking to *worship Jesus (Mt 2:2, 8), the magi point to the inclusion of the *Gentiles in God’s people and become paradigmatic for how Matthew’s readers are to respond to his message (Bauer, 323).

1.2.2. *The Magi.* The history of popular interpretation on the identity of the magi in Matthew 2:1-12 could be described as a history of imagination: they have been given names and portrayed as wise kings, their number specified as three, their races as diverse and their origin as the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe. In reality, however, Matthew’s text provides none of this information (Fuller, 132). Against the idea of the magi as wise kings, M. Powell has argued that the Gospel’s implied readers would be expected to view the magi as lacking both royalty and wisdom, given Matthew’s implicit hostility toward both of these forms of power. What is more, reading these forms of power into the story amounts to making the magi worthy of God’s favor, which goes against the nature of the gospel itself (Powell, 136-56, 175). To this should be added that the star followed by the magi likely was neither a natural phenomenon such as a comet or a meteor (which could not “stop” over the house where Jesus was [Mt 2:9-10]) nor a celestial sign accessible to them because of their knowledge of astrology. Given that stars in antiquity were viewed as living beings, and associated closely with angels in many Jewish writings, it may be best to view the star in Matthew 2:9-10 as an angel (Allison 2005). The magi in Matthew thus represent the Gentiles with no knowledge of the Messiah who yet are drawn to him by a divine messenger, foreshadowing the important Matthean theme of the Gentile inclusion in the people of God. That they worship Jesus is also important, given the centrality of this theme to Matthew’s narrative. Found for the first time here (Mt 2:11; see also Mt 2:2, 8), worship of Jesus is also found at the conclusion of the Gospel (Mt 28:17; see also Mt 14:33; 28:9), forming an inclusio together with the identification of Jesus as “Emmanuel”/“God with us” (Mt 1:23; 28:20) that sets an example for the reader of the appropriate response to Jesus (Kim, 229-30).

2. Luke’s Birth Narrative.

2.1. *Continuity with God’s Plan.* Luke’s technique for bringing the OT to bear on his narrative is quite different from Matthew’s, in that it includes few explicit quotations. Instead, Luke uses an array of OT type stories, implicit allusions, echoes and motifs; even the very language of Luke 1:5—2:40 is reminiscent of Septuagintal Greek (on this last point, see Fitzmyer 1981, 114-16; Jung 2004). The three hymns—the Magnificat, the Benedictus and the Nunc Dimittis—are replete with OT allusions (Brown 1993, 358-60, 386-89, 458) (see Songs and Hymns). By these means Luke presents God personally orchestrating events to continue the one story that God has been writing, with a plot that leads through covenant promises and acts on behalf of Israel as narrated in the OT, to their culmination in the achievement of God’s purpose in the coming of the Savior Jesus (Luke) and the formation of a universal Christian movement (Acts) (Green 1994, 62-67, 82-83; Hays, 116).

2.1.1. *Abraham in Luke.* Luke shows great interest in how the story of Abraham sheds light on the events in his Gospel. Luke mentions *Abraham explicitly only in Mary’s Magnificat (Lk 1:55) and Zechariah’s Benedictus (Lk 1:79). As J. Green has shown, however, these two explicit mentions of the patriarch barely tap into the wealth of the use of Abraham’s story in Luke 1:5—2:52, which shows up implicitly in references to things such as Elizabeth’s barrenness (Lk 1:7 // Gen 11:30); the great age of the parents-to-be when receiving angelic visitation (Lk 1:7, 11 // Gen 17:1); the promise of a son, to be given a certain name and assigned a future role (Lk 1:13, 31 // Gen 17:16, 19); Mary’s presentation of herself as a “servant” (Lk 1:38, 48 // Gen 18:3-5); Zechariah’s questioning of the possibility of the angel’s message (Lk 1:18 // Gen 17:17; 18:11-12); the mention that nothing is impossible for God (Lk 1:37 // Gen 18:14); and the removal of Elizabeth’s disgrace together with the expression of the joy of her neighbors (Lk 1:25, 58 // Gen 21:6). In light of this multifaceted correspondence (given only partially here), and a series of linguistic overlaps between the Greek of Luke and the LXX of Genesis, one may detect an even wider series of correspondences between Luke 1—2 and Genesis 11—21 that reflects Luke’s interest in Abraham’s story (Green 1994, 67-76). “Luke has thus inscribed himself in a tradition, showing his debt to this *previous* story and inviting his auditors to hear in *this* story the reverberations and continuation of *that* story as he attempts to give significance to the *present* one. . . . As with Abraham, so now,

God is working graciously and mightily to bring his purpose to fruition” (Green 1994, 77, 85).

2.1.2. *Isaiah in Luke*. As with Abraham, so also with Isaiah; while explicit quotations from Isaiah in Luke-Acts are few, they are placed at key moments in the narrative: at the appearances of John the Baptist, Jesus, and Stephen, and in the final scene in Acts, in which Paul quotes from Isaiah (Koet, 80). More important than the explicit quotations, however, is the way Luke interweaves Isaianic motifs throughout his two-part work (Mallen; Mittmann-Richert). This shows up in the birth story in relation to the dominating literary feature of Luke 1:5–2:52, which is the multipointed parallelism between John and Jesus (Green 1995, 51–55) (see Table 2).

Table 2. Multipointed Parallelism Between John and Jesus

John		Jesus
1:5-7	Introduction of parents	1:26-27
1:8-23	Annunciation	1:28-38
1:24-25	Mother's response	1:39-56
1:57-58	Birth	2:1-20
1:59-66	Circumcision and naming	2:21-24
1:67-79	Prophetic response	2:25-39
1:80	Child's growth	2:40-52

This parallelism could be broken down further, as exemplified by the common literary structure of the annunciations to Zechariah and to Mary (Muñoz Iglesias 1986, 6-7) (see Table 3).

Table 3. Parallel Literary Structure Between Annunciations

John		Jesus
1:5-7	Presentation of characters	1:26-27
1:8-12	Appearance of archangel Gabriel	1:28
1:13	Character's emotional response	1:29
1:13	Angel's reassuring words	1:30
1:13	Angel announces conception and name of child	1:31
1:14-17	Description of child's future role	1:32-33
1:18	Objections by character	1:34
1:19	Angel's confirming response	1:35
1:20	Angel offers miraculous proof	1:36-37

These points of parallelism invite the reader to consider how closely the stories of these two children and their parents are intertwined, guided by the principle “The greater the first [John], the greater

still the second [Jesus]” (Verheyden, 160). The narrative makes clear that Jesus is primary by such devices as devoting twice as much space to Jesus as to John, the two prophetic responses to Jesus versus one to John, and the focus of attention on Mary when the two stories converge in Luke 1:39–56 (Green 1997, 51). The purpose of the parallelism, however, is not primarily to highlight Jesus’ superiority over John, but rather to show how the two figures together serve to fulfill the divine plan. The interweaving of their stories specifically serves to highlight John as Isaiah’s promised messenger who prepares the way, and Jesus as the one through whom God’s promise of *salvation is actualized, as shown later by the explicit quotations from Isaiah 40:3–5 in Luke 3:4–6 regarding John, and from Isaiah 61:1–2; 58:6 in Luke 4:18–19 regarding Jesus (Mallen, 69–78; cf. Kuhn). The Isaianic language of Simeon’s description of Jesus (Lk 2:32; see Is 42:6; 49:6) further underscores that Jesus is the one who fulfills God’s promises through Isaiah (Koet, 81–86). In this way, Luke shows that the missions of both John and Jesus are to be understood against the backdrop of salvation history found in the Scriptures and derive their significance from the ongoing story of God’s work of redemption (Green 1995, 25).

2.2. *Anticipating Themes in the Remainder of the Gospel*. Luke’s birth story contains most of the theological themes that will be important in the remainder of the Gospel, as well as some themes that anticipate aspects of the narrative that the reader will not encounter fully until Acts (Devillers; Turner, 140; Tyson, 109–16). For example, in Luke 2:25–35 Simeon declares that the salvation Jesus brings will be “a light of revelation for the Gentiles” (Lk 2:32), a theme fully actualized in the narrative only with the mission to the Gentiles in Acts. The birth story is no mere afterthought, however, added on in form of introduction (contra Conzelmann); rather, it is “full gospel,” showing that God’s story of salvation is taking concrete form in the here and now (Janssen and Lamb, 650; Richter Reimer, 33).

2.2.1. *God’s Aim as Criterion for Division*. God’s aim, and how it becomes actualized in history through the birth and ministry of Jesus, is one of the key themes that drives Luke’s narrative (Green 1995, 22–49). Given that God’s aim is accomplished through Jesus as his supreme agent, those who ally themselves with Jesus are on God’s side, while any who oppose him are against God. Seen in this light, the mention of representatives of Roman imperial power in Luke 1:5; 2:1 is not an innocuous chronological device, but rather introduces them implicitly

as Jesus' opponents. That the Lord will give Jesus "the throne of his ancestor David" to "reign over the house of Jacob forever" (Lk 1:32-33) places Jesus in opposition to "Herod king of Judea" (Lk 1:5), a client-king of *Rome hated by the Jewish population for his arrogance, brutality and heavy taxation policies (see Herodian Dynasty). Likewise, that the birth of Jesus the "savior" will bring *peace (Lk 2:11-14) puts Jesus in opposition to Caesar Augustus (Lk 2:1), hailed as "savior" by his subjects due to his institution of the *Pax Romana*. Caesar achieved the *Pax Romana*, however, though conquest, terror and subjection, and he maintained it on the basis of systemic subordination and taxation; peace and war were two sides of the same coin (Horsley, 25-33, 40-49). Luke's critique of the Roman Empire, implicit already in contrasting Jesus with these figures, is aimed not at the empire's pretensions to power over the land of Israel, but rather at its "oppressive politics, its arbitrary wielding of power, its ignorance of justice for the poor, for women, for the marginalized" (Míguez, 51).

2.2.2. *Salvation*. As presented paradigmatically in Luke 4:14-30 and worked out in the remainder of the Gospel, God's aim through Jesus is to bring about full salvation, especially for the "poor" (see Rich and Poor). The poor in Luke are a distinct category of people characterized by their dishonorable status, their position outside circles of power and prestige, those whom the social system has turned into outsiders (Green 1995, 79-84). The theme of *justice for the poor and freedom from oppression runs through the three hymns incorporated into Luke's birth account. For example, in the Magnificat *Mary proclaims that God "has scattered the arrogant" (Lk 1:51), "he has pulled down the powerful from their thrones and lifted up the lowly" (Lk 1:52), "those who hunger he has filled with good things, and those who prosper he has sent away empty" (Lk 1:53).

Luke is not, however, concerned with salvation only for the poor. A unifying theme of the entire narrative of Luke-Acts is "God's purpose to bring salvation in all of its fullness to all people" (Green 1997, 9). Luke's birth story looks forward to the fulfillment of this purpose, as when Simeon speaks of the meaning that Jesus will have for both Jews and Gentiles (Lk 2:29-32) (Tannehill, 108). This purpose is not fully realized until Acts, however, where God leads the early Christian movement to form "an egalitarian community composed of Jews, Samaritans, and Gentiles" (Green 1997, 9). Luke's narrative as a whole, with this theme of salvation at its center, extends an invitation to the reader to embrace an alternative worldview in which this age has already

been revolutionized by God's reign. Salvation for Luke "is neither ethereal nor merely future, but embraces life in the present, restoring the integrity of human life, revitalizing human communities, setting the cosmos in order, and commissioning the community of God's people to put God's grace into practice among themselves and toward ever-widening circles of others. . . . Salvation embraces the totality of embodied life, including its social, economic, and political concerns" (Green 1997, 24-25).

2.2.3. *Joy*. Closely related to the theme of salvation in Luke is that of *joy in response to God's salvation. The idea of joy appears numerous times in Luke 1—2: John's birth is to bring joy (Lk 1:14); the child John leaps for joy in his mother's womb in response to Mary's voice (Lk 1:44); Mary is filled with joy/rejoices in God her Savior (Lk 1:47); Elizabeth's neighbors and relatives rejoice with her (Lk 1:58); and the angel announces news of great joy to the *shepherds (Lk 2:1-11) (Muñoz Iglesias 1990a, 123; 1987, 125). This theme of joy and rejoicing in God's salvation continues on in the remainder of the Gospel and into the book of Acts (Cullen).

2.2.4. *Women*. Luke's interest in "the poor," understood as those outside circles of power and prestige, extends to his treatment of *women. The traditional view of Luke as a champion of women and their causes has been called into question in studies that focus on how he remains bound by certain patriarchal and androcentric biases of his culture (e.g., Schaberg and Ringe). However, although Luke does remain bound in certain respects to his culture, the extent to which he presents women in ways that positively redefine and reverse their status by subverting cultural norms is remarkable (Seim 1994; 2001).

Elizabeth appears initially as a passive character, while the action focuses on her husband Zechariah (Lk 1:8-23), but Zechariah soon becomes mute, after which Elizabeth gains her voice (Lk 1:21-25). Indeed, filled with the Spirit, Elizabeth speaks with a "loud voice" (Lk 1:41-45), and becomes the spokesperson, against cultural expectations, of what the angel Gabriel had told her husband (Lk 1:13, 59-64). During the nine months of Elizabeth's pregnancy, Luke's narrative subverts the patriarchal status quo of her household by silencing the man and giving initiative to speak and act exclusively to the two women, Elizabeth and Mary, and the unborn John (Lk 1:39-56) (Kahl, 79-80). Luke also subverts the cultural understanding that Elizabeth's sterility was due to God's curse on her blameworthy life, as she is portrayed (with Zechariah) as "righteous in God's sight, observing all the commandments and regula-

tions of the Lord blamelessly” (Lk 1:6) (Green 1995, 3-4; Janssen and Lamb, 650-51; Richter Reimer, 36-43). While Zechariah’s unbelief renders him mute (Lk 1:20), Elizabeth’s faith is indicated by her recognition that her pregnancy is a sign of the Lord’s favor, to remove her disgrace (Lk 1:25). Her stature rises further in the narrative when, inspired by the *Holy Spirit, she recognizes without a word from Mary that she too had conceived, that Mary’s child was her Lord, and that Mary had responded in faith to God (Lk 1:41-45). Finally, the important Lukan emphasis on the social aspects of salvation begins already with Elizabeth, when following John’s birth “her neighbors and relatives heard that the Lord had shown her great mercy, and they rejoiced with her” (Lk 1:58). Elizabeth’s story communicates a recurring Lukan theme: “God stands with women and will liberate the people from oppression and humiliation” (Janssen and Lamb, 650).

Mary in Luke 1—2 is portrayed not as God’s passive instrument, but rather as one who in saying yes to God becomes an active agent in God’s incarnation. As the central figure in Luke’s birth narrative, she is portrayed as meditating on the significance not only of the *mission of her son (Lk 2:19), but also of her own key role in the history of God’s work: “From now on all generations will consider me blessed, because the Mighty One has done great things for me” (Lk 1:48-49). By combining personal, active agency in cooperating with God’s work and by meditating upon the significance of God’s revolutionary actions, Mary “begins to become a theological agent in her own right” (Ruether, 32-34). While Jesus’ reading from and interpretation of Isaiah in Luke 4:16-30 is commonly recognized as programmatic for the whole Gospel, Mary’s Magnificat anticipates its themes of good news to the poor and social justice (Lk 1:51b-53). The placement of the Magnificat and its wider cotext of Luke 1:24-58 at the head of Luke’s two-part work makes it a “key” for reading the whole work in a manner that does justice to women and the poor (Kahl, 87-88).

What Luke says about Anna is brief but significant (Lk 2:36-38). Her old age implies matriarchal authority, her marriage of seven years may portray her as the ideal wife (seven viewed as the number of perfection), and she is a model of prophetic persistence, given that for many decades she “never left the temple, where she worshiped with fasting and prayer night and day” (Lk 2:37). Anna’s role as a prophet implies religious and political activity, and it is significant that she carries out this role in the *temple, the Jewish center not only of social, political and re-

ligious life, but also of eschatological expectations. It is in this light that one is to read that she “began to praise God and to speak about the child to all who were expecting the redemption of Jerusalem” (Lk 2:38). As the only person explicitly identified as a prophet in the birth story (Lk 2:36), Anna represents a model for prophetic activity in the remainder of Luke’s two-part narrative (Reid, 43-44; Janssen and Lamb, 653-54).

2.2.5. *God’s Faithfulness.* That God fulfills his promises is an important theme within Luke 1—2, discernible in the manner in which Luke has built hymns of praise into his narrative. Although certain influential studies have posited that the hymns fit awkwardly into their cotext (e.g., Brown 1993, 347), S. Farris has shown that they fit smoothly into the narrative as three interrelated stories that move from promise, to evidence of fulfillment, to praise response (Farris 1985, 101; cf. Dillon) (see table 4).

Table 4. Hymns as Praise Responses in Luke 1—2

	Promise	Evidence of Fulfillment	Praise Response
Zechariah	His wife will bear a son	John’s birth	Benedictus
Mary	She will conceive a special son	The unborn John bears witness to Jesus, and Elizabeth blesses Mary	Magnificat
Simeon	He will see the Messiah	He sees Jesus	Nunc Dimittis

Taken together, these hymns praise God for the evidence of his decisive intervention on behalf of his people in fulfillment of his promises. What is more, the hymns as expressions of “eschatological praise” are themselves part of the fulfillment of God’s promises (De Long, 152-78).

The Magnificat (Lk 1:46-55) speaks of the actions of God using a series of ten aorist verbs: “he has looked with favor” (Lk 1:48); “the Mighty One has done great things for me” (Lk 1:49); “he has shown might with his arm” (Lk 1:51); “he has scattered the arrogant” (Lk 1:51); “he has pulled down the powerful from their thrones and lifted up the lowly” (Lk 1:52); “those who hunger he has filled with good things, and those who prosper he has sent away empty” (Lk 1:53); and “he has helped Israel his child, remembering mercy” (Lk 1:54). It is possible to interpret these statements as reflecting prophetic confidence regarding what God will do in the eschato-

logical future (Talbert, 27-28), but it is better to view Mary as praising God for things that have already become a reality, given that they have begun to take place with the presence of the Messiah in her womb (Farris 2001, 102; Muñoz Iglesias 1990a, 161-62). The Magnificat's first-person address to God invites the reader who also recognizes the greatness of what God has done to join with Mary in her words of thanksgiving and praise (Becker, 70-73).

That God fulfills his promises is also woven into Luke's birth narrative in other ways. For example, the details of John's birth and infancy in Luke 1:57-80 fulfill the promises contained in the annunciation by Gabriel (Lk 1:5-25) (Muñoz Iglesias 1987, 9). As promised, Elizabeth bears Zechariah a son (Lk 1:13, 57); that many would rejoice at his birth is fulfilled when Elizabeth's neighbors and relatives rejoice with her (Lk 1:14, 58); the fulfillment of the announcement that the name of the boy would be "John" is described in detail (Lk 1:13, 59-63); that Zechariah would be mute until the things that he foretold took place is fulfilled, and he is then able to speak (Lk 1:20, 64); even the promise that these things would be "fulfilled in their time" finds echo in the statement "the time came for Elizabeth to give birth" (Lk 1:20, 57); John's predicted role as precursor is taken up in Zechariah's song about the newborn's future (Lk 1:17, 76-77), the narrative having already witnessed to the fulfillment of the promise that John would be full of the Spirit even before his birth via John's reaction to Mary's voice while still within Elizabeth's womb (Lk 1:15, 41).

2.2.6. The Holy Spirit. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the *Holy Spirit as the driving force behind the events of Luke's birth narrative. Many reliable spokespersons speak on God's behalf under the power of the Spirit of prophecy (Lk 1:41, 67; 2:25-27; implied also in Lk 2:36-38 ["a prophet"] and in Lk 1:46-55 in light of Lk 1:35) (Turner, 143-44; Menzies, 44). The Spirit empowers *John the Baptist for his prophetic role even from before birth (Lk 1:15, 17, 80; cf. Lk 1:44). The virginal conception of Jesus results from the Spirit's coming upon Mary, so that Jesus would be called "holy" and "Son of God" (Lk 1:35). The Spirit, then, is involved at many levels within Luke's birth narrative, empowering prophetic speech about what God is doing through his Messiah, preparing the Messiah's forerunner in a unique way from before his birth, and enabling the very conception of the Messiah in a virgin so that he is uniquely God's Son (and in the texts that follow, filling him to empower him for his unique mission [Lk 3:21-22; 4:1, 14, 16-21; see also Lk

3:16]). This is not only the Spirit of prophecy, but also the Spirit of mighty works of deliverance for the redemption of Israel (Turner, 147-65, 188-266).

3. The Date of Jesus' Birth:

Reconciling Luke 1 and Luke 2.

Both Matthew and Luke contain chronological markers for the year of Jesus' birth (see Chronology): Luke 1 dates the annunciation of John the Baptist's birth during "the days of Herod King of Judea" (Lk 1:5). Jesus would have been born fifteen to sixteen months after this, since Mary's pregnancy began about six months after Elizabeth's (Lk 1:36). Given that Herod died in March or April of 4 B.C., the date of Jesus' birth, according to Luke 1, would have been no later than 3 B.C. This date matches the information in Matthew 2:1, 15-16, where Jesus' birth is also dated during Herod's reign, and in Luke 3:1, 23, according to which Jesus was about thirty in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, A.D. 27-28. These time markers are not problematic on their own, but problems do arise when one takes into account Luke 2:1-7, which ties Jesus' birth to the time of Caesar Augustus's decree that the whole world should be registered and "the first census under Quirinius as governor of Syria" (Lk 2:2). Quirinius became governor of Syria in A.D. 6 and conducted a census of Judea in A.D. 6-7, so Luke 2:1-7 would date Jesus' birth to A.D. 6-7 (Brown 1993, 547-48). There is a discrepancy of about ten years, then, between the information in Luke 2 and that in Luke 1; 3 and Matthew 2. Solutions to this problem have followed three basic approaches.

3.1. Reinterpretations of Luke 1. Some seek to reinterpret the information in Luke 1 to match that in Luke 2 (A.D. 6-7). The end of Herod the Great's reign is too securely set in history at 4 B.C. to shift it to A.D. 6-7. One theory, however, is that the Herod of Luke 1 is not Herod the Great but rather Archelaus, sometimes referred to as "Herod" ("Herod the Ethnarch" was inscribed on his coins), who reigned until A.D. 5-6 (see Herodian Dynasty). This would date Jesus' birth to A.D. 6 or later (Derrett 1975, 82-85). Archelaus is never called "Herod" either by *Josephus or in the NT, however, and there are other difficulties involved in Luke's description of the census (Brown 1993, 548-54). Another theory is that Luke united the births of John and Jesus in Luke 1-2 for theological purposes, while in reality John was born in 4-3 B.C. during the time of Herod the Great (Lk 1:5), and Jesus in A.D. 6 during the time of Quirinius's census (Lk 2:2) (Sherwin-White, 167). Both of these attempted solutions solve one problem to raise another: positing that Luke 1 supports A.D. 6 as the year

of Jesus' birth brings Luke 1 into conflict with Luke 3 and Matthew 2. Given that Matthew and Luke derived their birth narratives from separate sources, one should value the independent witness of Luke 1 and Matthew 2 to Jesus' birth during the time of Herod the Great (Brown 1993, 548n3).

3.2. Reinterpretations of Luke 2. Another solution to the problem is to reinterpret the evidence of Luke 2 to match the information in Luke 1; 3 (and Mt 2:1). Quirinius's legateship in Syria in A.D. 6–7 is well enough attested to withstand any effort to move it to 3–4 B.C. (Fitzmyer 1981, 402–3). Some hold, however, that the word *prōtē* in Luke 2:2 should be read not in the sense of “first” but rather in the sense of “before.” Luke 2, then, would refer to a census that took place before Quirinius was governor of Syria—for example, perhaps under Herod in 7 B.C. as part of his vow of fealty to Augustus (Muñoz Iglesias 1987, 46–62). Although this meaning of the word *prōtē* is attested elsewhere, the grammar of the Greek of Luke 2:2 does not allow for this interpretation, and it also causes one to wonder why Luke would even mention Quirinius (Fitzmyer 1981, 401; Brown 1993, 552).

3.3. Appeals to Ancient Standards of Historiography. A third solution, and to be preferred, allows for the vagueness with which two important events in the history of Palestinian Jews would have been remembered: Herod's death in 4 B.C. and Rome's annexation of Judea in A.D. 6. This annexation followed the deposition of Archelaus and brought Quirinius to Judea “in order to make an assessment of the property of the Jews and to liquidate the estate of Archelaus” (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.1.2). In a time not as accustomed to exact documentation as our own, both events would serve as approximate dating for the events described in Luke. Another example of this is found in Acts 5:37, where Gamaliel speaks of “the days of the census,” referring to the well-known census under Quirinius (Syme, 600). This solution is to be preferred over the first two above because it does not impose today's standards of historiography on a first-century A.D. writer, and it avoids a forced harmonization of Luke's chronology (Syme is followed on this by Fitzmyer 1981, 404–5; Brown 1993, 554–55).

4. The Virginal Conception.

The expression “virginal conception” more accurately represents our subject matter in relation to the canonical Gospels than does “virgin birth.” Later veneration of Mary led to the idea of her perpetual virginity, as reflected in documents such as the *Protevangelium of James* (after A.D. 150), in which Mary

remained a virgin through the birth process (i.e., Jesus' birth did not rupture the hymen) (Cullmann, 423–25, 433–34). The fourth-century triad *virginitas ante partum, in partu, et post partum* (“virginity before, in, and after birth”) in reference to Mary's virginity also reflects this shift in focus from *Christology to Mariology (Brown 1993, 518). This idea of “virgin birth” has no scriptural basis, but one does find in the canonical Gospels the idea of Jesus' “virginal conception” (Fitzmyer 1998, 41–42). Matthew and Luke's birth stories communicate that Jesus was conceived not via sexual union between a man and Mary, but rather by the power of the Holy Spirit.

4.1. The Gospel of Matthew. Matthew prepares the reader by means of Jesus' *genealogy (Mt 1:2–16) for what his birth narrative will say regarding Jesus' virginal conception (Mt 1:18–2:23). He does so by breaking up the pattern of the genealogy in two ways at Matthew 1:16: (1) following the overarching pattern, one would expect to read, “and Jacob the father of Joseph, and Joseph the father of Jesus”; (2) following the pattern of other women's inclusion in the genealogy (Tamar, Rahab, Ruth and the wife of Uriah [Mt 1:3, 5–6]), at Mary's inclusion one would expect to read, “Joseph the father of Jesus by Mary.” One finds neither of these readings, however, but instead, “Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom Jesus was born” (Mt 1:16). That is, Matthew does not present Joseph as Jesus' biological parent, but Mary as such, and Joseph as her husband. The genealogy in Matthew 1:2–16 seeks to establish that Jesus is the legitimate heir of David by tracing his line through the Davidic Joseph, and what follows in Matthew 1:18–25 seeks to explain how this is so even though Jesus is not biologically descended from Joseph (Kingsbury, 163–64).

The explanation Matthew offers is this: “When his [Jesus'] mother Mary had been engaged [*mnēs-teuomai*] to Joseph, but before they lived together, she was found to be pregnant from the Holy Spirit” (Mt 1:18). Engagement in the Palestine of Matthew's day entailed a period of time in which the woman was legally bound to the man (a bill of divorce was required to dissolve the relationship) and yet continued to live in her father's home, not engaging in sexual relations with her future husband (Luz, 93). Although “before they lived together” is a legitimate translation of the Greek *prin ē synelthein autous*, given the context, the equally legitimate “before they had sexual relations” is also implied. What the reader is told already in Matthew 1:18, Joseph will learn from an angel only in Matthew 1:20: the child conceived in Mary is “from the Holy Spirit.” Mat-

thew then adds a citation from Isaiah 7:14: "All this happened in order to fulfill what had been spoken by the Lord through the prophet: 'Look! The virgin will become pregnant and give birth to a son, and they will name him Emmanuel,' which translated means, 'God is with us'" (Mt 1:22-23). As noted above, while the MT's *ʾalmâ* is best understood as referring to a "young woman," the LXX's *parthenos*, cited by Matthew, is most commonly used in the sense of "virgin," one who has never had sexual intercourse. Matthew has read the LXX of this verse typologically and found its fuller expression in God's miraculous intervention to bring about the conception of Jesus in a virgin—that is, without the participation of a male. Joseph's nonparticipation in Jesus' miraculous conception is further underscored in Matthew's conclusion to this section: Joseph, in obedience to the angel, "took [Mary] as his wife, but had no sexual relations with her until she had given birth to a son; and he named him Jesus" (Mt 1:24-25). This serves to answer the question left open by the genealogy in Matthew 1:2-16: how is Jesus the legitimate heir of David if he is not his biological descendant? The answer is that Jesus, though conceived by the power of the Spirit in a virgin not descended from David, is Son of David by adoption, given that the Davidic Joseph fulfilled what the law required for this by taking Jesus' mother as his wife and by naming her child (Brown 1993, 138-39).

4.2. The Gospel of Luke. Luke's birth narrative emphasizes the virginal conception even more than Matthew's, as can be seen already when it twice mentions that Mary is a virgin (*parthenos*) before giving her name (Lk 1:27). Like Matthew, Luke notes that Mary was engaged (*mnēsteuomai*) to Joseph (Lk 1:27), implying that they are legally bound to one another, but not yet living together or having sexual relations. Unlike Matthew (Mt 1:18), Luke does not begin with Jesus' conception as a past event, but instead has the angel Gabriel announce it to Mary as coming in the near future, "Look! You will conceive [*syllēmpsē*] in your womb and bear a son" (Lk 1:31). There is no place in Luke, then, for Joseph's initial uncertainty over Mary's pregnancy (Mt 1:18-20, which seems to imply that he suspected her of adultery). Mary's response to the angel again stresses her virginity: "How will this be possible, since I do not have sexual relations with a man [*epei andra ou ginōskō*]?" (Lk 1:34). The angel's explanation is that God will bring it about: "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you. Therefore the one to be born will be called holy, God's Son" (Lk 1:35). Jesus will be con-

ceived within Mary without the normal participation of a male (Turner, 153-62).

Luke's birth narrative and its following cotext contain three other probable allusions to the virginal conception: (1) Luke 2:7 refers to Mary giving birth to "her firstborn son" (*ton huion autēs ton prōtotokon*) rather than "their" or "his" firstborn son, which points to Joseph's nonparticipation in Jesus' conception. (That Luke makes no reference here to Jesus' miraculous conception is not strange [*pace* Freed, 63], given that the reader has just read about it in the previous chapter and would be expected to remember it.) (2) Upon finding the boy Jesus in the temple, Mary speaks of how she and his father have been searching for him, to which Jesus replies in part, "Did you not know that I must be in my Father's house?" (Lk 2:48-49). This emphasizes that God is Jesus' father, to whom he owes his primary allegiance (Green 1997, 156), while highlighting that he has no human, biological father. (3) Following the birth narrative, the genealogy of Jesus in Luke 3:23-38 begins, "Jesus . . . was the son (as was thought) of Joseph," and ends, "son of Adam, son of God" (Lk 3: 23b, 38b). The "as was thought" indicates that while the characters in the story might think that Jesus' relationship to God is one of ordinary human descent from Adam through Joseph, in reality it is a direct relationship by miraculous conception (Green 1997, 189-90). Finally, in view of the bigger picture of Luke's narrative, "the totality of the emphasis on Mary in ch. 1 of Luke is curious if Joseph was equally the parent of Jesus" (Brown 1993, 301).

4.3. Issues of History and Faith. Both Gospels that contain a birth narrative present Jesus as having been conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit in a virgin. Neither narrative is dependent on the other, so that apparently a Christology of divine sonship tied to a virginal conception by means of the Holy Spirit was essential to the birth story as transmitted in the early pre-Gospel period (Brown 1993, 308). The historicity of the Matthean account is bolstered by the oblique nature of its witness to the virginal conception: Matthew is not taking up the polemic of the virginal conception (*pace* Freed, 36), but rather simply presupposes it; his argument has to do rather with showing how Jesus is the legitimate heir of David despite the virginal conception (Daniélou, 41). In Luke 1:35 neither verb in Gabriel's announcement to Mary, "the Holy Spirit will come upon [*eperchomai*] you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow [*episkiazō*] you," connotes sexual intercourse, as if this were a story parallel to the myths of sexual encounters between humans and the gods

that led to the birth of ancient heroes (a perception already combated by, e.g., Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 33.3-4). Nor (*pace* Freed, 65) can one dispense with the virginal conception in Luke and hold that “the Holy Spirit’s action could have taken place through the normal sexual relations between Joseph and Mary.” This would make nonsense of Mary’s question “How will this be possible, since I do not have sexual relations with a man?” (Lk 1:34). That Mary’s question is found in the center of the annunciation portion of the narrative implies that the theme of absence of sexual intercourse must be taken into account in any explanation of the annunciation’s meaning.

In the final analysis, one’s decision on the historical reliability of the virginal conception as portrayed in Matthew and Luke will depend in large part on one’s starting point. If one holds that belief in Jesus’ virginal conception is harmful because it denies women their right to sexual and cultural self-determination, then one may seek a different road (e.g., Lüdemann); or if one approaches the Gospels with a historical explanation in hand that sidesteps the miraculous, then one will likely find support for that explanation (e.g., Schaberg). For the person, however, who approaches the Gospels with faith in a God who can and will work miraculously to bring about his saving purposes for all of humanity (including women!), the Gospels provide ample support for the confession that Jesus was conceived by the operation of the Holy Spirit on a virgin (who in accepting her role exercised her self-determination) (*see* Miracles and Miracle Stories). The person of faith can confidently appeal to the witness of the Gospels in affirming the statement of the Apostles’ Creed that Jesus “was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary.”

See also CHRISTOLOGY; CHRONOLOGY; GENEALOGY; HERODIAN DYNASTY; INCARNATION; JOHN THE BAPTIST; MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS; MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES; SON OF DAVID.

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S. Young

BLASPHEMY

The term *blasphemy* normally refers to verbal slander against God. However, acts of slander can also count as blasphemy.

1. Blasphemy in the Old Testament, Second Temple Judaism, and Among the Rabbis
2. Jesus and Blasphemy

1. Blasphemy in the Old Testament, Second Temple Judaism, and Among the Rabbis.

1.1. Terms. Those who claim that the concept of blasphemy appears in the OT connect it with the following terms: *hrp* (“to reproach, taunt, despise, scorn”), *n’s* (“to spurn, scorn, despise”), *gdp* (“to revile, affront”) and the Piel of *qll* (“to curse”). All of these words are used in the OT with both human

and divine objects, just as *blasphēmō* (“to commit blasphemy”) is used in Greek. LXX usage parallels the OT and is similar to that of ordinary Greek, where, for example, *blasphēmō* is used, but not as a technical term. This verb is used in the LXX to translate both *gdp* and *n’s*.

1.2. Words of Blasphemy. In Second Temple Judaism, blasphemy covered a wide range of activity. There is little discussion of trials of blasphemy, though *m. Sanhedrin* 7:5 does define a procedure for examining a charge. This passage limits the offense to speaking the very name of God. These ideas are rooted in the Torah. Leviticus 24:10-16 is discussed where blasphemy is presented (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.202). Its ambiguities made defining blasphemy, especially where euphemisms were used, a subject for rabbinic debate. Numbers 15:30-31 is often cited as an analogous situation to blasphemy with its Sabbath violation followed by a death penalty. To use the divine name in an inappropriate way is certainly blasphemy and is punishable by death (Lev 24:10-16; *m. Sanh.* 6.4; 7.5; Philo, *Mos.* 2.203-206). Behind these ideas about blasphemy lies the command in Exodus 22:27 to revile neither God nor the leaders whom he appointed for the nation.

Later rabbis debated whether the use of an alternative name qualifies as blasphemy, though some sentiment existed for including it (*m. Šebu.* 4:13; *b. Šebu.* 35a; *b. Sanh.* 55b-57a; 60a). Warnings were issued in such cases, but it does not appear, at least in the rabbinic period, to have carried an automatic death sentence. The case of the incorrigible son in *m. Sanhedrin* 8:4 gives us some indication of the results of an ignored warning. Apparently, second offenses carried especially severe consequences. The official rabbinic position was that the use of the divine name constituted the only clear case of capital blasphemy (*m. Sanh.* 7:5). One is even to avoid blaspheming foreign deities as a sign of respect for the name of God (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.207; Philo, *Mos.* 2.205; *Spec.* 1.53).

1.3. Acts of Blasphemy. Acts of blasphemy involve the use of substitute titles and a whole range of actions offensive to God. Their existence suggests a category of cultural blasphemy (as opposed to legal blasphemy) as an offense against God.

Acts of blasphemy concentrate on idolatry, a show of arrogant disrespect toward God, or the insulting of his chosen leaders. Often those who blasphemed verbally also acted on these dispositions. God judges such offenses. Examples in Jewish exposition are Sisera (Judg 4:3; *Num. Rab.* 10:2 [disrespect toward God’s people]), Goliath (1 Sam 17; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.183 [disrespect toward God’s people and wor-

ship of Dagon]), Sennacherib (2 Kings 18-19; cf. Is 37:6, 23 [disrespect for God’s power]), Belshazzar (Dan 3:29 Theod. [3:96]; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.233, 242 [disrespect for God’s presence in the use of temple utensils at a party]), Manasseh (*Sipre* 112 [acting against the Torah]) and the Roman general Titus (*b. Giṭ.* 56b; *Abot R. Nat.* B 7 [entering, defaming the temple, slicing open the curtain, and taking the utensils away]). Acting against the *temple is also blasphemy (1 Macc 2:6; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.406). Significantly, comparing oneself to God constitutes blasphemy because it reflects arrogance, according to Philo (Philo, *Somn.* 2.130-31; *Decal.* 61-64). At Qumran, immoral action by those who pretend to lead the people (CD-A V, 12) or the act of speaking against God’s people (1QpHab X, 13) is blasphemous. Within Israel, the outstanding example of an act of blasphemy is the incident of the golden calf (Philo, *Mos.* 2.159-66).

1.4. Summary. When applied to God as object, blasphemy represents an offense against God and a violation of a fundamental principle of the faith that gives glory to him. Sometimes God alone punishes the blasphemer (e.g., Pharaoh, Korah, Titus), while at other times the community executes judgment (the Israelite woman’s son). Attacking God’s people verbally is a second class of blasphemy (Goliath, Sennacherib). Those who challenge the leadership that God has put in place for his people are seen as attacking God himself. So blasphemy refers to a wide range of insulting speech or activity. All of this serves as crucial background to how blasphemy relates to Jesus.

2. Jesus and Blasphemy.

2.1. Blasphemy and Forgiveness of Sins. The first major controversy surrounding Jesus appears in Mark 2:7, where he is charged with blasphemy for *forgiving *sin (// Mt 9:3; Lk 5:21). All three Synoptics use the passage the same way. The charge seems to revolve around Jesus’ directly exercising an exclusively divine prerogative that his accusers argue is not in his authority to execute (cf. Ex 34:7). Here Jesus gives forgiveness without any cultic requirements, an approach that points to Jesus’ own *authority. So forgiveness on his authority did not require priests, sacrifices or rabbis (Ellis). The implications for religious authority structures are significant, since these authorities would believe that they bestowed forgiveness in line with divine instruction. A similar remark appears in Luke 7:49, but here we read of shock at forgiving sin rather than blasphemy.

2.2. Blasphemy of the Spirit. Two other relevant texts appear in Mark. In both cases it is others who

blaspheme or risk blaspheming. In Mark 3:28-29 Jesus warns about blaspheming the Spirit (see Holy Spirit), as opposed to the other sins and blasphemies that people might perform (// Mt 12:31-32). Those who blaspheme the Spirit are guilty of a sin that cannot be forgiven, an “eternal sin.” Matthew speaks of no forgiveness in this age or in the age to come. The remark in both Mark and Matthew comes in response to the claim that Jesus casts out “demons by Beelzebul (Mk 3:22 // Mt 12:24) or by an unclean spirit (Mk 3:30), texts that form an *inclusio* for Mark around the remark. The combination of Mark 2:7 with Mark 3:29 sets up a “battle of the blasphemies” in Mark, with each side accusing the other of offending *God by their claims. Jesus meets the blasphemy accusation of the Jewish leadership in Mark 2:7 and Mark 3:22 with his warning about blaspheming the Spirit. The fact that Jewish materials accuse Jesus of being a deceiver or sorcerer means that this “dispute” has a credible claim to be authentic (Justin, *1 Apol.* 30; 108; *Dial.* 69.7; Origen, *Cels.* 1:28, 71; *b. Sanh.* 43a; 107b) (Stanton). This “blasphemy of the Spirit” passage refers to making a settled judgment against Jesus despite the testimony and activity of the Spirit on Jesus’ behalf. Blaspheming the *Son of Man, in contrast, refers to a single act of rejection versus a permanent decision against Jesus.

2.3. Jesus Charged with Blasphemy at His Trial.

A final crucial passage involves Jesus’ examination before the Jewish leadership and his reply, which appeals to a combination of Psalm 110:1 and Daniel 7:13-14 (Mk 14:53-65) (see Trial of Jesus). The charge of blasphemy also shows up explicitly in Matthew 26:65; Luke 22:66-71 reports a similar exchange but lacks a direct reference to blasphemy. It sometimes is argued that this scene is too christological to go back to Jesus, or that the scene would lack witnesses to report on it (e.g., Marcus). However, many witnesses could exist, including a sympathizer like Joseph of Arimathea, someone like Paul who would have known the Jewish position on Jesus, or even assorted bystanders who were familiar with the public debate about Jesus and the circumstances surrounding his death. The scene as a summary of trial events has a strong claim to authenticity and is unlikely to have been created by Mark or by the early church. Its authenticity follows on (1) the use of indirect references to God in line with Jewish expression by referring to God as “the Blessed One and the Power,” (2) the likelihood that the Jewish position about Jesus would have widely circulated in Jerusalem after his death, and (3) the way in which Jesus’ response fits the background for what constitutes blasphemy.

The charge of blasphemy as outlined by Mark also provides historical explanation for the Jewish leadership taking Jesus to *Pilate (on the debate concerning the authenticity of the passage, see Bock).

Jesus’ perceived blasphemy likely operated at two levels. First, Jesus claimed that he would exercise comprehensive authority from God’s side. Although some in Judaism might contemplate such a position for a few (*1 En.* 62; Ezek. Trag. 69-82), the leaders did not think that this teacher from Galilee could be such a candidate. As a result, his remark would have been seen by the leadership as an arrogant self-claim that was an affront to God’s presence. For Jesus, the claim to sit at God’s right hand was also a prediction of God’s coming vindication of him regardless of what the Jewish leadership did to him. Second, Jesus also attacked the leadership by implicitly claiming to be their future judge (or by claiming a vindication by God of him). They held him in violation of Exodus 22:28, which states that God’s leaders are not to be cursed. Jesus’ claim that their authority was nonexistent and that they would be accounted among the wicked is a total rejection of their authority. To the leadership, this primarily was an affront to God, since they were, in their own view, God’s chosen leaders who had a responsibility to defend their monotheistic faith, a position seemingly compromised if Jesus’ claim is accepted. So Jesus’ twofold claim constituted a religious offense worthy of death; it led to his being taken before *Rome on a sociopolitical charge. In the leadership’s view, there was also a sociopolitical threat to the Jewish people’s stability if an independent figure could emerge whom Rome did not appoint. This political factor was a second reason why this claim had to be handled (R. H. Gundry argues that Jesus did pronounce the divine name, violating *m. Sanh.* 7:5, a view that is less likely).

2.4. Jesus Charged with Blasphemy at the Temple. In John 10:33 Jesus is confronted at the temple and charged with blasphemy because he equates God and his own activity. Jesus’ reply is that the judges call humans “gods,” so why complain if he makes such a claim and has the support of divine activity to sustain the claim in his miraculous activity. This helps explain why John’s Gospel calls the “miracles” “signs.” In a strange way, these blasphemy texts point to what was at stake around Jesus: a claim to possess divine connections and authority that derived from and made him equal to God.

2.5 Summary. The only blasphemy that Jesus discussed involved an individual speaking or acting against the testimony of God’s Spirit to Jesus. However, the Jewish leadership charged Jesus with blas-

phemy for his declaration to forgive sin, his claim to sit directly in God's presence, and his assertion that he worked in equal conjunction with God. Jesus' counterclaim was that God's vindication of him in receiving him at the divine right hand showed what God thought of the charge—and of Jesus.

See also HOLY SPIRIT; TRIAL OF JESUS.

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D. L. Bock

BLESSING AND WOE

Blessing and woe are paired here because, to some degree, they are natural opposites, but also and especially because in Luke 6:20-26 Jesus declares blessing upon four categories of people and woes upon four matched but contrasting categories of people. The language of blessing and woe, however, when not linked as opposites, has a much wider currency, even within the Gospels.

1. Terminology
2. Blessing
3. Woe
4. Conclusion

1. Terminology.

There are two word groups relevant to this discussion of blessing in the Gospels. One involves the Greek root *makar-*, a term of happiness; the other involves the root *eulog-*, a positive speech term. In the wider Greek world that sets the background for biblical use *makar-* was used of the gods, who were above all the vicissitudes of life, of the dead, who had left it all behind, and of people who were thought to be in a good situation and were deemed to have reason for being happy: wealthy, having family, being wise or famous or an honored citizen, and so on. In this wider frame *eulog-* is used in language of praise but also of the good reputation that might arise from or lead to such praise—praiseworthiness.

For woe, there is only one Greek term used in the Gospels, *ouai*. The word is rare in wider Greek (some suggestion that it may be a Latinism) but common in the LXX. It is an imprecise interjection, marking how bad in some respect something is (as in English "Oh, dear!" "Bad!" "How awful!" etc.).

2. Blessing.

2.1. In the Old Testament.

2.1.1. Using makar-. In the LXX the *makar*-root consistently renders the Hebrew root *šr*, a term of happiness and good fortune. Closest to the Gospel use and represented more than forty times is a use in the OT of the plural construct, literally "good fortunes of . . ." The LXX does not take us significantly away from the Greek of the wider framing world, except insofar as happiness in connection with trust in God frequently has an anticipatory dimension to it and was consistent with needing to cope with difficulty in the present (e.g., Is 30:8).

The beatitude form ("blessed is/are . . . [or] the one(s) who . . .") is prominent in OT use of *makar-*. In wisdom texts they commend a proposed path of goodness; in prophetic and eschatological texts they express confidence in God's intervention to put right the problems of the present situation; in historical texts they mark God's blessing of the king or the people. Beatitudes verge on the congratulatory: a category of persons is singled out, and their good fortune is proclaimed.

2.1.2. Using eulog-. The use of the *eulog-* root in the LXX is rather different from its use in the wider framing world. In the LXX it regularly represents the Hebrew root *brk*, which is essentially a religious word concerned with blessing. It is against this OT background that the Gospel uses of *eulog-* are to be set.

A blessing is a word believed to have power to define a situation and make things happen (e.g., Gen

1:21); it imparts a blessing. God is mainly one who blesses, but others do so who could act for God, such as the temple priests (e.g., Num 6:23-24). But blessings were also given by people of seniority and importance (e.g., Gen 47:7); their blessing was weighty because of their personal significance. Even ordinary people pronounced blessings on special occasions, such as important leave-taking moments (e.g., Gen 24:60). Characteristically, the act of blessing would be understood as invoking God's blessing upon the one blessed (e.g., Gen 48:20). At a lower level, blessing could also be quite a casual matter, nothing more than a positive word of greeting (e.g., 1 Sam 25:14).

To bless somebody is at times more about expressing gratitude than invoking a blessing on them (e.g., 2 Sam 14:22), but clearly it could be both at the same time. But when the language is used of blessing God, invoking a blessing has quite disappeared from sight, and what remains is the expression of gratitude and appreciation (e.g., Deut 8:10).

Blessing is not just the word of blessing but also, derivatively but very commonly, the good that has been received from the hands of God (e.g., Deut 15:14); the good that God makes happen is his blessing. To be blessed is, therefore, to be in a privileged, perhaps even an elevated situation. Sometimes, saying to God "You are blessed" seems not to be about expressing gratitude (as above) but rather about recognizing the greatness of God (e.g., 1 Chron 29:10); no doubt the two merge.

Finally, there is an occasional use of "bless" to mean something like "consecrate." God blesses the seventh day in Exodus 20:11, and Samuel blesses the sacrifice in 1 Samuel 9:13. Here the blessing received would seem to be capacity to fulfill a distinctive role.

2.2. In the Gospels.

2.2.1. *Using makar-*. The majority of the Gospel uses of *makar-* are in the beatitudes found in Matthew 5 and Luke 6. Nearly all of the other uses have a more or less beatitude form; furthest from the form is Luke 1:48, where Mary anticipates a future beatitude. Our interest must be in what identifies one as having the happy prospects celebrated by beatitudes.

The beatitudes in Matthew 5:3-10 can be seen as an expanded restatement of Matthew 4:17. This is what it means for the *kingdom of God to have drawn near. There is good news now for those who find themselves in these identified situations. The list seems to have been designed to echo key elements of the historical experience of God's people: chastened by the humiliation of *exile and beyond; longing for *God to finally put things to rights; *peacemakers, not after vengeance because they

have recognized their own need for *mercy; well conscious of past failure, now seeking to be pure in heart; and ready to suffer, as needs be, out of their freshly affirmed loyalty to God. Such people will recognize God's purposes as moving forward in connection with Jesus and will find blessing as they pay the cost of loyalty to him (Mt 5:11-12).

For his equivalent, Luke has only four beatitudes (Lk 6:20-23), but they are matched by four woes (Lk 6:24-26 [see 3.2. below]). There are important differences, but the overall thrust is quite similar to that in Matthew. Some scholarly attention has focused on the fact that Luke has "the poor" where Matthew has "the poor in spirit." An interest in material poverty in Luke is guaranteed by the balancing woe being in relation to the rich (*see* Rich and Poor). Because, however, Luke includes quite a bit of material on wealth, it is easy to discern that it is not wealth as such that attracts the woe but rather the warped attitude that it has created toward God and one's fellows. Similarly, it will not be the poverty as such that commends. In the kingdom *justice will come for the poor, but in relation to the kingdom their poverty benefits them inasmuch as it has nurtured within them qualities of the opposite kind to the self-sufficiency of the rich over against God and one's fellow.

Elsewhere good fortune is declared for those who take no offense at Jesus (Mt 11:6; Lk 7:23), those who see with insight what Jesus is doing in his ministry (Mt 13:16; Lk 10:23), those ready for the return of the master (Mt 24:46; Lk 12:37-38, 43), those who hear the word of God and obey it (Lk 11:28), those who act on what they have learned from Jesus (Jn 13:17), future believers who believe without seeing the resurrected Jesus (20:29), and those who invite to their celebratory meals the needy and disabled (Lk 14:13-14) (*see* Table Fellowship). Jesus marks the good fortune of Peter as the one whom God granted to perceive Jesus' true identity (Mt 16:17), and Elizabeth marks the good fortune of Mary for her expectant faith in relation to the word spoken to her (Lk 1:45). Mary in turn recognizes that future generations will consider her to have been specially favored (Lk 1:48). The only other beatitude on the lips of Jesus is an ironic one: in the final crisis period childlessness is a blessing because one is spared the responsibility of taking *children into a terrible situation (Lk 23:29). Finally, conventional but not well connected up piety is expressed on two occasions and made a foil for Jesus: the privilege of Jesus' birth mother (Lk 1:27) and of dining in the kingdom of God (Lk 14:15).

2.2.2. *Using eulog-*. All the uses of *eulog-* in connection with an act of blessing come in Luke's Gospel. Simeon, the godly senior, blesses the infant Jesus' parents (Lk 2:34); Jesus blesses his disciples in a farewell gesture as he ascends from them (Lk 24:50-51); Jesus calls for the blessing of enemies (Lk 6:28). Also distinctive to Luke is the blessing of God. In Luke 1:68 Zechariah expresses his gratitude to God for what is coming in connection with his own newborn son and the yet-to-be-born Jesus; in Luke 24:53 it is the disciples, freshly commissioned by the risen Lord, who in great joy acknowledge what God has done in Jesus.

In the so-called *triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem blessing is used positively in relation to Jesus being appreciated and welcomed (Mt 21:9; Mk 11:9-10; Lk 19:38; Jn 12:13), perhaps being recognized as blessed by God, and again negatively in Matthew 23:39; Luke 13:35 in relation to Jerusalem's need to make good on its failure to offer a welcoming greeting to Jesus.

"Blessed" stands as a designation for God in Mark 14:61. Whether this is a proper Jewish usage has been debated, but it would be a natural development out of the frequent OT use of "blessed be the LORD": he is "the Blessed" as the one supremely worthy of receiving our blessing. Job 1:21, "blessed be the name of the LORD," is suggestive.

In Matthew 25:34 those who have come to the aid of the needy are termed by Jesus as "blessed by my Father," indicating God's committed intention to provide well for them; they are marked out for blessing.

The final set of uses of *eulog-* in the Gospels is in connection with the saying of grace over meals (Mt 14:19; 26:26; Mk 6:41; 8:7; 14:22; Lk 9:16; 24:30). As such, this use is not found in the OT, but it is built upon the OT blessing of God as expressing gratitude and appreciation and marking his greatness. Jesus adopted the regular Jewish habit of recognizing in a blessing the goodness of God in the provision of the food needed for our lives. In some of these texts, however, there may be a different usage. God is normally the one blessed, but in Mark 8:7; Luke 9:16 a pronoun referring to the food follows "blessed." Here it is the food that seems to be being blessed. In relation to Sabbath and sacrifice, a comparable use in the OT has been noted above. Since the Gospel feeding account involves a deliberate anticipation of the *Last Supper and therefore the Lord's Supper, language of consecration might seem particularly appropriate. However, it is also possible that the sense is "say a blessing with respect to the food."

3. Woe.

3.1. *In the Old Testament*. In the LXX *ouai* translates the Hebrew interjections of woe, *hōy* and *'ōy*. These are used to announce the prospect of evil or to express the direness of an existing awful situation, and they can be used to indicate powerful feelings of distress about something. They are found predominantly in prophetic contexts and call to mind the judgment of God (e.g., Is 5:8; Jer 48:1; Zech 11:17).

3.2. *In the Gospels*. Gospel woes are designed to make a powerful but imprecise statement about the (unrecognized) unhappy situation of the target of the woe. The woe form almost always identifies the reason for the negative attitude involved, but unlike the beatitude, it does not identify what the unhappiness in prospect is. The larger context must be left to supply this lack.

A large proportion of the uses of woe language in the Gospels is found in a series of seven woes against the *scribes and *Pharisees in Matthew 23:13-23, which is partially paralleled in Luke 11:42-52. These people are being castigated for being bad leaders and models for the people, blocking the way to the kingdom rather than illuminating it. The vague but threatening tone of the woe language gives way in Matthew 23:33-36 (cf. Lk 11:50-51) to language of coming *judgment.

Luke also has a series of four woes in Luke 6:24-26, corresponding to his four beatitudes. To be rich, full, laughing and popular now is quite a problem, for it almost certainly means that one is compromised with the world and out of touch with the values of the kingdom of God. Matching the corresponding beatitudes, these woes do specify what there is to be unhappy about: it is a future stripped of what one has at present, and then to experience quite the opposite.

The failure of Chorazin and Bethsaida to respond to Jesus' ministry is marked with a woe in Matthew 11:21; a woe upon Jesus' betrayer is found in Matthew 26:24; Mark 14:21; Luke 22:22; a sympathetic woe in relation to those who are pregnant or breast feeding in the coming time of crisis comes in Matthew 24:19; Mark 13:17; Luke 21:23. Finally, a woe is declared in Matthew 18:7 // Luke 17:1 upon those who cause others to stumble.

4. Conclusion.

Blessing characterizes Jesus' good news of the kingdom, but for those who will not align themselves with the new move of God that is underway, the good news becomes bad news.

See also JUDGMENT; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN;

RICH AND POOR; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.

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J. Nolland

BLINDNESS AND DEAFNESS

Blindness and deafness appear frequently in the Gospels in both literal and metaphorical senses. Readers encounter persons who lack the ability to see or hear, and who typically are healed by Jesus. On a figurative level, however, seeing and hearing are used as metaphors for spiritual acuity or lack thereof (see, e.g., Mt 23, where Jesus five times labels the Pharisees "blind"; or note Jesus' frequent plea "Let the one with ears to hear, hear," wherein hearing implies proper understanding). It is also the case that the literal and the figurative can be used together, such that someone who is physically blind or deaf is also presumed to be blind or deaf in a spiritual sense.

Physiognomy, the idea that a person's moral character can be known from his or her outward physical appearance, was common in the larger cultural world in which the Gospels were written. Few modern scholars have read the Gospels using physiognomics, but recently some have called attention to it (e.g., Parsons; Hartsock). While some debate exists as to whether or not the gospel writers are aware of physiognomy (Luke and John seem more aware than Mark and Matthew), and while there is some debate about whether a particular gospel writer undermines or deconstructs the assumptions of physiognomy or simply reflects what is in the larger culture, what seems clear is that physical features such as blindness and deafness do mean more than simply the disability itself. Read in this way, many of the *healing stories of the Gospels not only would tell of

Jesus healing a physical ailment but also would speak to him healing a spiritual defect; that is, Jesus brings understanding to those who previously lacked it.

1. Blindness
2. Deafness

1. Blindness.

The ancient world had multiple theories of how vision worked (see Betz). One view, called "intramission," assumes that light comes into the eye from outside, and the eye is the first step in processing that light. This is more or less our modern understanding. More common in the ancient world, however, was the view called "extramission." In this view, the eye is the source of light, or at least channels that light as it originates from within the body. In this way, the eye functions more like a flashlight, emitting light rather than receiving it. When Jesus claims, "The eye is the lamp of the body. If your eyes are good, your whole body will be full of light. But if your eyes are bad, your whole body will be full of darkness" (Mt 6:22-23; Lk 11:33-34), extramission is assumed. The eye emits light, and a good eye emits good light, whereas a dark eye emits bad light or no light at all. In this worldview, one who is blind has no inner light to emit; the inner light has gone out, as reflected by the lack of eyesight.

Multiple significant examples of blindness can be noted in the Gospels. Mark makes use of blindness in a way that implies that the disciples are the ones who lack understanding. Two notable blind healings occur in Mark (Mk 8:22-26; 10:46-52). In the first scene, which is unique to Mark, an unnamed blind man is brought to Jesus, and it takes Jesus two attempts to fully heal his sight. The second story involves Bartimaeus crying out to Jesus from the side of the road. These stories form an inclusio around the trip to *Jerusalem in which the primary focus is on the *disciples and discipleship, and in which Jesus three times predicts his death, predictions that the disciples fail to comprehend. In this way, the stories of the two blind men can be read not only as healing stories, but also as metaphors for the disciples, whose spiritual blindness still awaits a cure. In their case, they will need a second touch, as it were, for Jesus to open their eyes fully to his identity and mission.

Matthew does not include the story found in Mark 8, but he does include the healing of Bartimaeus. In addition, Matthew frequently uses blindness in a purely metaphorical sense, referring to "blind guides" (Mt 15:14) and using "blind" five

times in the woes to the Pharisees (Mt 23). Matthew, like Mark and Luke, appears to be heavily influenced by the use of blindness in the writings of the prophets as well, Isaiah in particular. The Synoptics will, for example, invoke Isaiah 6:9-10 to make sense of the *parables (Mt 13:14-15; Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10). Isaiah, of course, links blindness and deafness to the *hardening of the heart, the idolatry of the people of *Israel, and the refusal to follow the covenant, and Isaiah's use of blindness as a metaphor for these things has clearly made its way into the narratives of the Gospel writers.

Luke uses blindness and its healing as a kind of interpretive key to the Gospel. In Jesus' self-introduction in Luke 4:17-21 he reads from the scroll of Isaiah and announces the coming of the *gospel to the poor, the prisoner, the blind and the oppressed. Jesus will heal the physically blind, but certainly he has in mind spiritual blindness as well. Acts continues this trajectory, especially in Paul's encounter on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:1-22).

John uses seeing and believing together frequently, often interchangeably. Here the signature example is John 9, where Jesus encounters a man born blind. The man is healed, both in a physical and spiritual sense. This is evident in his interview by the religious leaders as he mocks and evades, ultimately claiming, "One thing I know: I once was blind but now I see" (Jn 9:25). Numerous commentators have noted that this story can be read on both a literal level as a healing miracle and on a figurative level as a story of spiritual enlightenment and *salvation. Such two-level reading is indeed possible, perhaps even preferable, throughout the Gospels.

2. Deafness.

Deafness is used less frequently in healing stories in the Gospels, but it communicates much the same thing as blindness. The most frequent use of deafness in the Gospels is in conjunction with the parable of the sower (Mk 4:1-20; Mt 13:1-17; Lk 8:4-15). In the explanation for this parable Jesus invokes Isaiah 6:9-10 to explain why so many fail to understand the gospel. Hearing and deafness clearly speak of one's inner spiritual state. Hearing is used to speak of obedience (cf. Jas 1:22-25), and deafness is used to imply spiritual dullness or hardness of heart. One might also compare Mark 8:17, in which Jesus asks his disciples, following the multiplication of the loaves, "Do you still not see or understand? Are your hearts hardened? Do you have eyes but fail to see, and ears but fail to hear?"

A key question with respect to these texts has to

do with causation. Is God causing the hearts of some to be hardened, such that God is making people deaf? Or are people deaf on their own account, failing to properly understand the gospel when confronted with it? On this issue no clear consensus has yet emerged in biblical scholarship.

See also **HARDNESS OF HEART**; **HEALING**.

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BORN AGAIN/FROM ABOVE. See **NEW BIRTH**.

BREAD

"Bread" (*artos*) was a foodstuff baked from barley or wheat flour, usually with the addition of yeast. It was the staple food of the ancient Mediterranean diet, and thus its production, preparation and consumption were important aspects of everyday life. In the Gospels *artos* generally refers to this staple (Mt 7:9; 14:17; Mk 6:37-38; 6:38; Lk 9:13; Jn 21:9, 13). "Bread" is also used in the Gospels to refer to food in general. This idiom is particularly evident in the phrase "to eat bread" (*esthiō artōn*), meaning simply "to eat a meal" (Mt 15:26; Mk 3:20; 7:2; 7:27; Lk 14:1; 15:17). In these instances *artos* is synonymous with *brōsis* and *trophē* ("nourishment" or "food"). This makes "bread" (*artos*) a ready-made term for extended metaphorical, symbolic and theological uses.

“Bread” (*artos*) is used fifty-seven times in the Synoptic Gospels and twenty-four times in the Fourth Gospel. The term “leaven” or “yeast” (*zymē*), used in the preparation of bread, features in Jesus’ warning against the “leaven [*zymē*] of the Pharisees/Sadducees/Herod” (Mt 16:6, 11; Mk 8:15; Lk 12:1). In its negated form, this term is used as an adjective to refer to bread that is free from yeast, “unleavened bread” (*azyma*), and almost always refers to the “feast of unleavened bread” (Mt 26:17; Mk 14:1, 12; Lk 22:1, 7).

1. Mark
2. Matthew
3. Luke
4. John
5. Conclusion

1. Mark.

The first occurrence of bread in Mark is in the Sabbath controversy (Mk 2:23–28). The Pharisees object to Jesus and his disciples eating heads of grain and interpret this as a transgression of the Sabbath. Jesus defends himself by drawing an analogy with David and his companions’ action of eating “the bread of presence” (*ho artoi tēs prothēsēs*) when in need of food (cf. 1 Sam 21:1–6). But this bread was reserved for priests (Mk 2:26; cf. Lev 24:5–9), since it was uniquely “set before” (*prothesis*) the Lord (LXX Ex 40:23). Mark 2:28 makes the point that Jesus has authority to meet needs on the Sabbath because he is “Lord of the Sabbath.”

In the feedings of the five thousand (Mk 6:32–44) and of the four thousand (Mk 8:1–10) Jesus miraculously provides bread for the crowds. The first feeding story clearly draws upon exodus imagery. First, the setting is a “desolate” place (Mk 6:32), evoking the exodus-wilderness wanderings (cf. Ex 3:1, 18; 4:27; 5:3; 8:27). Second, Mark notes that the crowd “sat down in groups by hundreds and fifties” (Mk 6:40), recalling the ordering of Israel in Exodus 18:21. Third, Mark describes the crowd as “sheep without a shepherd” (Mk 6:34), perhaps echoing Numbers 27:17; Ezekiel 34:5. Jesus, as Israel’s Messiah, meets the need of the crowd by miraculously multiplying the available food so that it was able to “satisfy” all who were present (Mk 6:42). Mark’s account of the feeding of the four thousand (Mk 8:1–10) seems to make the same basic point: Jesus’ followers can trust him to “satisfy” human need (Mk 6:42; 8:8). The literary setting of the four thousand suggests a Gentile context (Mk 7:26, 31) as opposed to the feeding of five thousand, and this may mean that the feeding of the five thousand represents sal-

vific provision for Israel, and the feeding of the four thousand provision for the nations (Guelich, 403; Witherington, 235; Hagner, 450; contra Keener, 418–19). The two feeding stories are mentioned again at Mark 8:14–21. Jesus’ phrase “beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod” (Mk 8:15) suggests that leaven refers to the general opposition against him and his ministry (cf. Mk 3:6). The disciples’ response to Jesus’ warning, “we have no bread” (Mk 8:16), reveals that they are still not exemplifying faith in Jesus’ power to provide for the people’s needs, and thus they have not learned from the previous feeding stories (Mk 8:17; cf. Mk 6:32–44; 8:1–10).

In Mark 7:27 Jesus responds to a Syrophoenician woman’s request as follows: “Let the children be satisfied first, for it is not good to take the children’s bread and throw it to the dogs.” This encounter is couched between the two feeding stories (Mk 6:32–44; 8:1–10) and occurs in a Gentile territory (Tyre) and with a Gentile woman. Jesus’ response indicates a salvation-historical priority for Israel (the “children”) in that Israel is first to receive bread, or spiritual sustenance, from Jesus the Messiah. In light of the context, in which Jesus himself offers deliverance and sustenance (“bread” [Mk 7:4]) in a *Gentile region (Mk 7:31–37; 8:1–10), Jesus’ saying in Mark 7:27 seems to be aimed at provoking a response from the woman. She passes the test in Mark 7:28, and Jesus rewards her by providing deliverance for her Gentile daughter (Mark 7:29). Thus, Jesus’ freeing the girl from *demonic bondage is comparable to his provision of spiritual sustenance (“bread”); both flow out of Jesus’ ministry of extending the blessings of God’s kingdom to Jew and Gentile.

The Passover meal shared by Jesus and his disciples happened “on the day of unleavened bread,” and Mark makes it clear that this was the day when the Passover lamb was sacrificed (Mk 14:12). The link between the Feast of Unleavened Bread and the Feast of Passover (*see* Feasts) is based on Exodus 12. The Passover celebration recalls God’s deliverance of his people from the bondage of Egypt (Ex 12:17), and the eating of bread without yeast recalls the hurried nature of Israel’s departure from Egypt (Deut 16:3). In Jesus’ eucharistic words (Mk 14:22–25) bread represents his body given in death, and the cup (of wine) represents his blood, which recalls the blood of the Passover lamb (Ex 12:13, 22–27).

2. Matthew.

Matthew shares the following references to “bread” with Mark: the Sabbath controversy (Mt 12:1–8; Mk

2:23-28), the feeding of the five thousand (Mt 14:13-21; Mk 6:32-44), the feeding of the four thousand (Mt 15:32-39; Mk 8:1-10), the “leaven of the Pharisees” (Mt 16:5-12; Mk 8:14-21), the preparation for the Passover “on the day of unleavened bread” (Mt 26:17; Mk 14:1, 12) and the “bread” saying at the Last Supper (Mt 26:26; Mk 14:22). But there are some important differences in these shared passages. In Matthew’s feeding stories and Last Supper he maintains the strong exodus overtones observed in Mark. However, the Gentile setting evident in Mark’s feeding of the four thousand (“the region of the Decapolis” [Mk 7:31]) is less clear for Matthew’s story, since Matthew does not carry over the reference to the Decapolis (Mt 15:29). In Matthew 16:6 Jesus says, “Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees.” “Leaven” here is not the “leaven of bread” (*zymē tōn artōn*), but rather a metaphor for the corrupting “teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees” (Mt 16:12) as well as their unified opposition against Jesus (Mt 16:1).

After Jesus had fasted for forty days and nights, Satan takes advantage of Jesus’ weakened condition by attempting to “tempt” or “test” (*peirazō*) him (Mt 4:1). The first *temptation (Mt 4:1-11) appeals to Jesus as God’s Son: if Jesus is God’s Son, surely he can miraculously provide bread (i.e., food) for himself in his hour of need (Mt 4:3). Jesus responds by quoting Deuteronomy 8:3: “One does live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God” (Mt 4:4). The exodus allusions suggest that Jesus, as God’s true Son, trusts God for his needs as opposed to the Israelites in the Sinai wilderness, who failed their time of “testing” (Deut 8:2, 16).

An important occurrence of “bread” in Matthew comes in the context of the Lord’s Prayer (Mt 6:7-15): “give us this day our daily bread” (Mt 6:11). The sense of the adjective *epiousion* (“daily”) is debated. There are at least three interpretive options: (1) bread necessary for today’s existence; (2) bread for the current day; (3) bread for the coming or following day. The third option often leads to an eschatological reading: “bread for the age to come” (Jeremias; Brown; Davies and Allison). However, J. Nolland (2005; 1993) argues against an eschatological interpretation of bread in Matthew 6:11, since “daily bread” connotes bread for day-to-day sustenance. But a prayer for daily food need not be at odds with an eschatological interpretation of the phrase (Marshall; Davies and Allison), especially given the immediate eschatological context of the prayer (“your kingdom come” [Mt 6:10]) and Jesus’ promise of an eschatological meal “in the kingdom of heaven” (Mt 8:11).

Last, Matthew has a unique reference to bread in Matthew 7:9: “Is there anyone among you who, if your child asks for bread, will give a stone?” By a series of comparisons, Matthew 7:8-11 provides assurance to disciples who pray to the Father in the overlapping of the ages that God will hear and answer their prayers (Mt 7:7-8).

3. Luke.

Luke shares the following references to bread with Matthew and Mark: the Sabbath controversy (Lk 8:4-5; Mt 12:1-8; Mk 2:23-28), the feeding of the five thousand (Lk 9:10-17; Mt 14:13-21; Mk 6:32-44), the “leaven of the Pharisees” (Lk 12:1; Mt 16:5-12; Mk 8:14-21), the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Lk 22:1; Mt 26:17; Mk 14:1, 12), and the “bread” saying at the *Last Supper (Lk 22:19; Mt 26:26; Mk 14:22); and with Matthew Luke shares the temptation narrative (Lk 4:1-13; Mt 4:1-11) and the Lord’s *Prayer (Lk 11:1-4; Mt 6:7-15), both of which refer to bread.

A few differences in Luke’s Gospel regarding two of these passages should be mentioned. (1) In Luke’s phrase “leaven of the Pharisees” (Lk 12:1) he further defines the Pharisees’ “leaven” as “hypocrisy” (*hypokrisis*), which sums up the description of the Pharisees in the preceding section (Lk 11:37-54). (2) In Luke’s Lord’s Prayer we read, “Give us each day our daily bread” (Lk 11:3), instead of Matthew’s “Give us this day our daily bread” (Mt 6:11). Luke’s “each day” (*to kath’ hēmeran*) may demand a less eschatological interpretation of the verse than Matthew 6:11. But, as in Matthew, the line in the previous verse, “your kingdom come” (Lk 11:2), and Luke’s eschatological use of “bread” later (Lk 14:15; 22:19) in the context of the “eating and drinking at my table in the kingdom” (Lk 22:29-30) seem to point us in the direction of an eschatological orientation of the prayer in Luke 11:3.

Immediately after the Lord’s Prayer is Luke’s parable of the friend at midnight (Lk 11:5-8). In this parable a friend comes to a householder at midnight asking for three loaves of bread (Lk 11:5). The true friend, despite the inconvenience, will rise and meet the needs of the other (Lk 11:8). How much more, then, will the Father give the spirit to those who ask him (Lk 11:13)? In Luke 14:1-24 food (“bread”) and meals are dominant. The section begins with Jesus sharing a meal (lit., “to eat bread,” *esthiō artōn*) with a ruler of the *Pharisees on the *Sabbath (Lk 14:1). The parable of the marriage feast follows (Lk 14:7-14) and deals with the issue of to whom should be given places of honor “at the table” (Lk 14:10). In Luke 14:15 Jesus pronounces a *blessing on those who seek the

honor of others, thereby revealing that they are living under God's righteous reign (see Kingdom of God/Heaven). These are the ones who will "eat bread in the kingdom of God" (Lk 14:15)—that is, have a place at the eschatological messianic banquet.

Luke uniquely narrates Jesus' postresurrection encounter with the two disciples on the road to Emmaus. The disciples "recognized" Jesus only when he "took the bread, blessed and broke it, and gave it to them" (Lk 24:30-31 [reiterated in Lk 24:35]), an action that recalls the feeding of the five thousand (Lk 9:16) and the Last Supper (Lk 22:19).

4. John.

References to bread are clustered in John 6. John's version of the feeding of the five thousand (Jn 6:10-13) is followed by the bread of *life discourse (Jn 6:25-50), in which John draws out the christological and soteriological significance of the feeding account. This christological significance is couched in exodus symbolism, which emphasizes the analogy between God's final saving action in Jesus and God's saving action of Israel in the exodus. A "great crowd" follows Jesus as the Passover draws near (Jn 6:3-4). After Jesus distributes the bread and fish to the crowd, he commands his disciples to "gather the leftover pieces so that nothing is lost" (Jn 6:12). Then they "gathered" the fragments of barley loaves (*artōn tōn krithinōn*) into "twelve" baskets (Lk 6:13), which may symbolize the restoration of the twelve tribes of Israel (Dennis; Brunson) (see Restoration of Israel). The people rightly connect the sign of the feeding *miracle with the eschatological "prophet like Moses" (Jn 6:14; cf. Deut 18:18). Jesus rejects the crowd's desire to make him a king (Jn 6:15) or political deliverer, for Jesus' kingship is not "of this world" (Jn 18:36).

Jesus and the disciples cross the sea (Jn 6:16-21), an act that may suggest Moses/exodus imagery (Dennis). Jesus now presses the true significance of the feeding miracle: the crowd should seek not merely for "food" (*brōsis*) that perishes, but rather for the "food" (*brōsis*) that lasts unto eternal life (Jn 6:27), which only Jesus can provide. The rest of the narrative spells out this central truth by identifying Jesus as God's ultimate provision for his people. God had promised Israel that he would "rain bread down from heaven for you" (Ex 16:4). Now, Jesus is, metaphorically, the "true bread [*artos*] from heaven" that the Father has given (Jn 6:32). The metaphorical use of bread now reaches its apex in Jesus' statements "I am the bread of life" (Jn 6:35) and "I am the living bread" (Jn 6:51). The metaphor is stretched even fur-

ther when Jesus speaks of his "flesh" (*sarx*) given in death as "bread" that brings life (Jn 6:51). Thus, it is not Moses or the Torah that provides true life, but Jesus; he is the eschatological "food" (*brōsis*) or "bread" (*artos*) / "manna" (*manna*) that creates and sustains true salvific life.

After John's very short account of the Last Supper (Jn 13:1-3) Jesus predicts Judas's betrayal by citing Psalm 41:9: "He who eats my bread has lifted up his heel against me" (Jn 13:18). Thus, the one who has shared an intimate meal with Jesus will be the one who betrays him. Later, after Jesus' resurrection, when the disciples arrive on the shore, Jesus had already prepared breakfast, complete with fish and bread (Jn 21:9). Jesus' actions of taking and giving bread and fish (Jn 21:13) may echo his actions with the bread and fish in the feeding of the five thousand (Jn 6:11) and again emphasizes Jesus as the one who provides sustenance for his people (Jn 21:3-6; cf. Jn 6:7-8).

5. Conclusion.

As the staple of Mediterranean life, bread was an obvious substance that could be used to communicate spiritual realities and life. In the Gospels Jesus miraculously provides physical sustenance ("bread") for his people that foreshadows the "bread" that he will share with his people at the end of the age. Jesus' giving of his body in death is identified as the bread given for the spiritual sustenance of believers. It is then left to John's Gospel to make explicit what the Synoptics imply: Jesus does not only provide bread for his people; he himself is the bread that creates and sustains the life of the age to come.

See also FASTING; LAST SUPPER; LIFE, ETERNAL; LIFE; TABLE FELLOWSHIP; WATER; WINE.

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J. Dennis

BRIDE, BRIDEGROOM

Eight Gospel passages use the terms *nymphē* or *nymphios*. In six of these passages the semantic range of the terms is clearly limited to “bride” or “bridegroom.” These six passages derive from four independent traditions: Jesus’ saying about the wedding guests (Mk 2:18-20), his *parable about the ten bridesmaids (Mt 25:1-10), the Cana wedding story (Jn 2:1-11) and *John the Baptist’s pronouncement about the bridegroom’s voice (Jn 3:25-30). The terms serve two main purposes. In the Cana wedding story the “bridegroom” (Jn 2:9) is one of the characters. In the other three instances the terms function metaphorically, illustrating some aspect of Jesus’ ministry. Significantly, Jesus himself is identified with a bridegroom in Mark 2:18-20 and parallels as well as in Matthew 25:1-10; John 3:28-30, and perhaps implicitly in Matthew 22:1-14; John 2:9; 4:1-42; 12:1-3; 20:1-18. In John’s Gospel Jesus’ followers assume the role of the bride.

1. The Bridegroom in Mark
2. The Bridegroom in Matthew
3. Bride and Bridegroom in John
4. Conclusion

1. The Bridegroom in Mark.

If the two-source theory is correct (see Synoptic Problem), Mark 2:18-20 contains the earliest Gospel bridegroom metaphor. It constitutes part of the central episode of a series of five confrontations that pit the halakah of Jesus against that of the religious authorities (Mk 2:1—3:6). Mark 2:18-20 concerns *fasting. Other pious Jews fast, perhaps as often as twice a week. Jesus’ disciples, however, do not fast. Jesus explains, “The wedding guests cannot fast while the bridegroom is with them, can they? As long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast” (Mk 2:19 NRSV).

The saying evokes the atmosphere of a Jewish

wedding in Jesus’ time. The bridegroom’s family prepared a feast, gathering their relatives and other guests to greet the betrothed couple. The bride arrived first, decked in finery and accompanied by her friends and relations. Then, upon the subsequent arrival of the bridegroom, the celebration began (Malina and Rohrbaugh, 70). Mark 2:19 compares Jesus to the bridegroom and his *disciples to the wedding guests. Just as the wedding guests feast when the bridegroom arrives, so the disciples eat and drink in Jesus’ presence. They simply cannot fast while God’s Son (Mk 1:11) is with them (see Table Fellowship).

There is no way for a historian to be sure that any of the Synoptic Gospels bridegroom sayings originated with Jesus. In the case of Mark 2:19, however, attribution to Jesus is the easiest way to explain the use of this simple but elegant metaphor to illustrate the disciples’ halakah. The case with Mark 2:20 is more complex. Certainly Jesus could have anticipated a time when his followers would have to carry on without him. He might therefore have spoken of such a time when they would find it appropriate to fast. Since Mark 2:20 is more relevant for Mark’s audience than for Jesus’, however, it makes more sense to suppose that Mark added the sentence as a logical corollary of Jesus’ original pronouncement, as, apparently, in the divorce prohibition of Mark 10:11-12 (Hultgren, 81).

It is more difficult to determine whether “bridegroom” is more than just a handy metaphor—that is, whether it bears christological significance. Mark never indicates that it does. He does not elaborate on the bridegroom metaphor, nor does he link it to messianic expectations of any kind. He gives it no more significance than the physician metaphor in the previous episode (Mk 2:17). The comparison of Jesus to a physician illustrates how he can mend human weakness. In the same way, the comparison of Jesus to a bridegroom simply designates him as an honored figure whose presence is celebrated and whose absence is mourned.

On the other hand, a christological interpretation enriches the metaphor, and it could easily have done so for Mark as well as for Jesus. Although there is no precedent in extant early Jewish literature for portraying the Messiah, God’s anointed one, as a bridegroom (see, however, the later rabbinic saying in *Pesiq. Rab.* 149a), many OT passages place God in the role of a husband (e.g., Is 54:4-8; Jer 31:32; Ezek 16:8-14; Hos 2:1-23). Perhaps more pertinent is Psalm 45, which celebrates the wedding of a king whom God “has anointed” (Ps 45:7) (O’Neill, 485). If Jesus believed that he was the Messiah (see Christ), he

might well have identified himself with the royal bridegroom of Psalm 45. Paul, writing about twenty-five years after Jesus' death and as many as fifteen years before Mark, adopts the metaphor easily enough (2 Cor 11:2). Mark too might have made this connection, either independently or in light of previous tradition (Hultgren, 79). This may be reflected in his designation of Jesus as "the Beloved" (Mk 1:11; 9:7), the subject of Psalm 45 according to its Greek inscription (LXX Ps 44:1). In any case, the metaphor in Mark 2:19 could offer more than a general excuse for the disciples' lack of fasting. It could imply, for Mark and perhaps also for Jesus, that the honored individual whose presence they celebrate is none other than the Messiah.

2. The Bridegroom in Matthew.

Both Matthew (Mt 9:14-15) and Luke (Lk 5:33-35) include the saying from Mark 2:18-20. Nowhere else does Luke compare Jesus to a bridegroom. The situation is different for Matthew, however. Two parables near the end of Matthew's Gospel cast Jesus in the bridegroom role: the parable of the wedding banquet (Mt 22:1-14) and the parable of the ten bridesmaids (Mt 25:1-13). Like Mark, Matthew portrays Jesus' followers as wedding guests. Unlike Mark, Matthew shifts from describing their behavior (Mt 9:14-15) to prescribing it (Mt 22:1-14; 25:1-13).

The parable of the wedding banquet is the last in a series of three parables concerning the Jewish authorities' rejection of Jesus (Mt 21:28—22:13). It does not include the terms "bride" or "bridegroom." The first sentence, however, indicates that a king has prepared the wedding banquet for his son (Mt 22:2). If the king represents God, then the son represents Jesus. Matthew thus portrays God's Son, the Messiah (Mt 16:16), as a bridegroom.

Although Matthew continues to identify the feast as a wedding banquet (Mt 22:4, 8-10) and uses the wedding as a premise for the sequel concerning an improperly clothed guest (Mt 22:11-14), the king's son is never mentioned again. The parable itself does not emphasize the bridegroom so much as the outrageous behavior of the invitees. Matthew's emphasis on the royal bridegroom lies more in the fact that he includes the metaphor in the first place, since it is absent from the parallel account in Luke 14:16-24. If Matthew and Luke drew from the same tradition, then Matthew intentionally describes the dinner as a wedding banquet for a king's son. This detail, whether preserved from or added to the original, allows the dinner to represent more than just inclusion among God's people: it is an eschatological

event, the consummation of the messianic age.

In the parable of the ten bridesmaids (Mt 25:1-13) Matthew casts Jesus in the role of the bridegroom for a third time. Once more, Jesus' followers are portrayed as wedding guests, this time as friends of the bride. Here, however, there is no Markan or Lukan parallel. This parable appears only in Matthew. Some scholars think that Matthew draws it from tradition, others from his imagination. Either way, his inclusion of this third wedding illustration indicates his affinity for the metaphor of bridegroom and wedding guests.

Matthew places the parable toward the end of Jesus' final discourse (Mt 24:3—25:46). This eschatological discourse ends with a series of warnings for Jesus' followers to prepare for his imminent, unexpected return (Mt 24:32—25:46). Matthew again reaches for the wedding banquet illustration. As usual, he equates Jesus with the honored bridegroom and implicitly compares the feast to the rejoicing inspired by Jesus' presence. In this instance, however, the bridegroom arrives late—a detail that clearly evokes Jesus' delayed parousia. Matthew also portrays ten bridesmaids, whose wise or foolish behavior sets an example for Jesus' followers. Those who are prepared will enter God's kingdom, but those who are unprepared will be shut out.

3. Bride and Bridegroom in John.

The Fourth Gospel handles the metaphor somewhat differently. John 3:28-30 contains the most straightforward example. This bridegroom saying is attributed not to Jesus but rather to John the Baptist. It clearly delineates the roles of the Messiah and the Messiah's forerunner by comparing them to a bridegroom and his friend. In addition, it implies that Jesus' popularity with the people is like a bridegroom's relationship with his bride. It also implies that just as a bridegroom stands to increase his family, so Jesus will keep gaining followers. This causes John the Baptist to rejoice. As the bridegroom's friend, he is pleased about the prospects for the newly married couple.

This saying is unique among the Gospels in that it explicitly likens "the Messiah" (Jn 3:28) to a bridegroom. In addition, it portrays Jesus' current followers not as wedding guests but rather as the bride, with his future followers as the anticipated children. Having made such a strong statement on this theme, however, John seems to let it die out. His only other use of the noun "bridegroom" is found at John 2:9 in the Cana wedding story.

Although this bridegroom is an independent char-

acter, several scholars have argued that the remark in John 2:9 hints that Jesus is also a bridegroom. After all, Jesus has just performed the bridegroom's duty of supplying wine (Jn 2:10). And this is not the only story in John where the bridegroom metaphor seems to lurk. Soon after John the Baptist says, "He must increase" (Jn 3:30), Jesus meets a Samaritan woman at a well (Jn 4:1-42). In a scene reminiscent of the betrothal scenes in Genesis 24:1-67; 29:1-20; Exodus 2:15-22, the woman runs off and tells the citizens of Sychar. They come to the well and become Jesus' followers. Jesus and the woman have started a family of sorts. Then, toward the end of John's story, two scenes seem to evoke passages from Song of Songs. In John 12:1-3 Jesus plays the part of the reclining, perfumed king of Song of Songs 1:12. In John 20:1-18 he is like the missing beloved of Song of Songs 3:1-4; 5:6. In each case, one of Jesus' female followers assumes the role of the bride in Song of Songs.

It is possible, then, that the bridegroom metaphor in John accomplishes more than just contrasting the relationship between Jesus and John the Baptist, setting a joyful tone and establishing that Jesus will continue to gain followers. It is possible that, having likened the Messiah to a bridegroom, John then shows that he is *anointed for *burial and raised from death in a manner reminiscent of Song of Songs, the Scripture's tribute to a royal bride and bridegroom.

4. Conclusion.

Although it appears infrequently, the bridegroom metaphor significantly enriches the Gospels' portrayal of Jesus. As Mark, Matthew, John and perhaps even Jesus himself realized, the utility of the bridegroom metaphor for describing Jesus lies in its ability to exploit multiple parallels. A bridegroom is ending a period of betrothal. Bridegroom and bride enter into a new relationship that usually leads to the birth of children. Friends and family celebrate this joyful occasion with feasting, especially when the newly married couple is present. Wedding guests are expected to behave appropriately. It seems natural to apply this metaphor to Jesus, the Messiah, whose advent inaugurates God's joyfully anticipated reign.

See also ESCHATOLOGY; PARABLES.

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BRIDEGROOM. See BRIDE, BRIDEGROOM.

BURIAL OF JESUS

The Gospels and early church tradition affirm that Jesus, subsequent to his crucifixion and prior to his *resurrection, was buried in a rock-cut tomb just outside *Jerusalem. Such an interment conforms to common first-century A.D. Jewish burial procedure.

1. Burial in the Greco-Roman World
2. Burial in Palestine
3. Burial and the Jesus of History
4. Burial in the Gospels
5. Location of Jesus' Burial

1. Burial in the Greco-Roman World.

Both Greek and Roman funerary practices varied over the centuries, vacillating between inhumation (burial of complete bodies) and cremation (incineration of bodies to ashes), with both procedures at times in vogue simultaneously. However, in the first century A.D., generally cremation was performed in the Latin West and inhumation in the Greek East (Hope, 80-85). Burials in the East were commonly entombments outside town or city and could involve a variety of forms, such as individual trench graves, tile graves, chamber tombs and rock-cut cave tombs. Preferences for the kind of interment varied regionally, but there exists substantive first-century A.D. archeological evidence for rock-cut tombs in Egypt and in the Levant (including Palestine and the Transjordan). In all forms of Roman burial the bodies normally were washed, anointed with perfume, and wrapped in cloth. Eulogies were delivered. Corpses frequently were interred with burial goods (especially jewelry, glass vessels and pottery). Afterward, mourners often celebrated feasts in honor of the dead.

2. Burial in Palestine.

In first-century A.D. Judea burial also followed var-

ious types. Shallow trench graves (or shaft graves), dug in the soil for one person, are found outside Jerusalem (especially at Beit Zafafa) and at Qumran and Wadi Ghweir. Some consider trench graves to reflect a sectarian practice (plausibly *Essene in light of Qumran examples [see Hachlili, 475-79]), though it is likely that it was also a common method of burial among the poorer members of society (Kloner and Zissu, 95-99). In addition, many examples of rock-cut tombs (hewn as caves into slopes) have been discovered near Jerusalem, as well as at Jericho and Ein-Gedi. Wooden coffins might be employed in both trench graves and rock-cut tombs, as witnessed in Ein-Gedi, Jericho and Qumran (Hachlili, 75-94). Although some stone sarcophagi have been recovered, very little archaeological evidence exists for coffins being used in Jerusalem (Kloner and Zissu, 104).

Rock-cut tombs in Jerusalem typically functioned as family tombs, holding multiple bodies. These were closed with heavy stone slabs, which very occasionally were round but more often were rectangular. A. Kloner suggests Jesus' tomb would have been closed with a rectangular stone that was "dislodged" or "moved" rather than "rolled" like a wheel (Kloner and Zissu, 53-56). In such tombs mourners generally laid the bodies either on *loculi* (also called *kokhim*), which were horizontal surfaces hewn into the cave that allowed bodies to be inserted, or on *arcosolia*, which were bench shelves cut sideways along a wall underneath an arch. In order to make space for further burials, families could engage in secondary burial, in which decomposed skeletons were removed from the *loculus* or *arcosolium* and were either piled together or placed in ossuaries (cf. *m. Sanh.* 6:6; *Sem.* 12:6-9).

Ossuaries are lidded boxes, most often carved from chalk or limestone. Archeological evidence suggests that these were employed in the Jerusalem area from the late first century B.C. to around A.D. 70 (with some scattered use into the second or third century A.D.). Ossuaries for individual adults usually measure around 42-65 cm long, 23-28 cm wide, and 30-39 cm high, although ossuaries could be constructed smaller for children or larger to hold multiple skeletons (Rahmani, 6). Decoration of these boxes could range from plain surfaces to elaborately detailed geometric patterns. Into ossuaries families placed the decomposed bones of one, two or three bodies (occasionally bones from various bodies seem to have been confused). Sometimes inscriptions on ossuary exteriors identified the deceased. Given Christian tradition and the frequency of the

names Jesus and Joseph in antiquity (regularly found inscribed on ossuaries), it is highly improbable that any of the currently known "Jesus son of Joseph" ossuaries ever contained the remains of Jesus of Nazareth (see further Meyers et al., and Quarles). Scholars debate the origins of ossuary reburial, with some arguing that such a careful collecting of the deceased implies a hope in resurrection, though it is then difficult to understand why multiple bodies could be found in a single ossuary and why *Sadducees (who did not believe in a bodily resurrection) practiced such procedures. Other possibilities for the origins of ossuaries include the availability of skilled workers and supplies in the Herodian period (Evans, 26-30) or an attempt to emulate Roman cinerary urns (Magness, 129-40).

Prior to burial in a rock-cut tomb, the body was washed and then wrapped in a cloth shroud (e.g., *In* 11:44; *m. Kil.* 9:4; *Sem.* 12:10), though the decay of such cloth makes it a rare archeological discovery (Kloner and Zissu, 103). Mourners applied ointments and aromatic spices to the corpse, not as a preservative (the body was expected to decay within a year for possible reburial), but in order to reduce the unpleasant smell in the tomb (e.g., Josephus, *J.W.* 1.673; *m. Ber.* 8:6). In rabbinic tradition, movement of corpses and some other burial procedures are forbidden on the Sabbath (*m. Šabb.* 23:4-5). Purity laws labeled the corpse and the items that it touched unclean (e.g., *Num* 19:11-19; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.81; *m. 'Ohal.* 1:1-2:7, 3:1-6; *m. Kel.* 23:4), though such uncleanness did not prevent one from celebrating Passover (*Num* 9:10) (see Clean and Unclean).

Reports of burial, and the need to bury the dead, are often emphasized in the OT (e.g., *Gen* 23:1-20; 25:9-10; 47:30; 49:29-32; *Josh* 24:32; 2 *Sam* 2:4-5). The importance of burial continued into Second Temple Judaism (e.g., *Tob* 1:17-18; 2:7; 6:14; 14:10; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.205, 211), even concerning those judicially condemned to death (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.265). The disciples of *John the Baptist, possibly with some risk, carefully buried the corpse of their leader (*Mt* 14:12), as did the church in the Lukan account of Stephen's stoning (*Acts* 8:2). In contrast, Jesus' declaration "Let the dead bury the dead" (*Lk* 9:60) must have sounded quite shocking in its time.

3. Burial and the Jesus of History.

Early Christian traditions widely testify to Jesus' burial, including some very early creedal formulations (e.g., 1 *Cor* 15:4, with pre-Pauline implications). Paul, among others, discusses the theological import of Jesus' burial (*Rom* 6:4; *Col* 2:12). Passing mention

of Jesus' entombment appears in Acts 13:29 (with an ambiguous reference to "they laid him in the tomb"). The Gospels anticipate Jesus' interment when a woman *anoints him with costly perfume (Mt 26:12; Mk 14:8; Jn 12:7; cf. Lk 7:36-50). Moreover, the canonical Gospels provide fairly detailed reports about Jesus' burial by Joseph of Arimathea in a rock-cut tomb (Mt 27:57-61; Mk 15:42-47; Lk 23:50-56; Jn 19:38-42), and later traditions concur (e.g., *Gos. Pet.* 6:23-24). The burial of Jesus is thus firmly entrenched in our earliest witnesses.

Although Roman crucifixion typically involved prolonged suspension of the body (e.g., Petronius, *Sat.* 112), at the decision of the local Roman legate victims of Roman crucifixion could indeed be buried before significant religious/cultural festivals (such as Caesar's birthday [see Philo, *Flacc.* 83])(see further Cook, 193-213). Pilate likely was aware that such an exception to Roman practice would be especially important in light of the religious sensibilities in Judea during Passover. As previously noted, burial was viewed as a religious mandate in Judaism. Furthermore, some Jewish texts specifically require the burial of the crucified in compliance with Deuteronomy 21:22-23 (Philo, *Spec.* 3.151-152; Josephus, *J.W.* 4.317) (see Chapman, 117-49). The religious desire of a family to bury a crucified person was so ingrained in Jewish consciousness that later rabbinic texts were obliged to state that such burial should not be obligatory when the Roman government outlaws it (*Sem.* 2:9, 11) (see Chapman, 199-202). At least one crucified body has been found reburied in an inscribed ossuary in the vicinity of Jerusalem (at Givat ha-Mivtar); such an ossuary likely implies family involvement in the funeral rituals.

Some have pointed to rabbinic texts that signal a separate burial place for criminals condemned by the *Sanhedrin (*m. Sanh.* 6:5; *t. Sanh.* 9:8; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.202) in order to insist that Jesus could not have been buried in a rock-cut family tomb. Others, in defense of Jesus' burial, have suggested that the figure of Joseph of Arimathea must actually have represented the Sanhedrin's desire to produce a shameful criminal interment (Brown, 2:1213-19; McCane, 89-108) rather than having acted as a disciple of Jesus (despite Mt 27:57; Jn 19:38). However, it makes sense that a man of Joseph's Sanhedrin rank could request Jesus' body from Pilate—doing so as a "secret disciple" (Jn 19:38) who had not concurred with the Sanhedrin's decision (Lk 23:51)—with the intent of burying Jesus honorably in his own new and unused family tomb. By doing this Joseph also interred Jesus apart from other corpses, thus partly

complying with rabbinic law to bury condemned criminals separately. Other details in the Gospel texts fit their Jewish context well (such as the concern not to bury on the Sabbath, the use of spices and the sealing stone). All of this supports the general contention that Jesus was buried as the Gospels report (Keener, 2:1157-66; Magness, 140-49).

4. Burial in the Gospels.

The four canonical Gospels broadly agree concerning most central matters. Joseph, from the town of Arimathea, employed a rock-cut tomb to bury Jesus. Joseph is called a "disciple of Jesus" in Matthew and John, while Mark and Luke describe him as a man "waiting for the kingdom of God." Joseph receives permission from Pilate to bury Jesus that day, noting that it was the day of preparation for the Sabbath, and that no burial could occur on the Sabbath. Joseph takes Jesus' body, wraps it in linen, places it in the grave, and seals the tomb with a stone.

Some specific details should be noted. Three Gospel accounts remark that Joseph's tomb was previously unused (Mt 27:60; Lk 23:53; Jn 19:41). According to the Synoptic Gospels, at least two women (Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses) were there to witness the burial, and their names are explicitly mentioned in Matthew and Mark. In all four Gospels the women later returned to an empty tomb (in Mark and Luke this was in order to bring spices for continued burial rituals). The Synoptic Gospels also record that the tomb was "hewn in the rock."

Only Matthew explicitly states that the tomb itself actually belonged to Joseph of Arimathea (Mt 27:60; cf. *Gos. Pet.* 6:24). This appears reasonable, since otherwise it is unlikely that he would have quick access to a rock-cut family tomb (Magness, 145-49). John adds the detail that the tomb was in a garden near the place of Jesus' crucifixion (Jn 19:41). Joseph is variously described among the Gospels as "rich" (Matthew), "a prominent member of the council" (Mark and Luke), a "good and righteous man" who had not consented to Jesus' execution (Luke), and a "secret" disciple "for fear of the Jews" (John). Mark carefully testifies that prior to permitting the burial, Pilate inquired of the centurion to verify that Jesus had died (Mk 15:44-45).

Matthew emphasizes that Pilate, at the behest of the chief priests and Pharisees, permitted a guard and a seal to be placed on the tomb (Mt 27:62-66; cf. *Gos. Pet.* 8:28-33; 11:43-49). In Matthew's Gospel this ultimately serves as apologetic evidence for the resurrection as well as providing further narrative of

the continued opposition of Jewish leaders to Jesus and to the church.

Joseph of Arimathea would certainly have required assistance in transporting Jesus' body; yet, only John records that Joseph was accompanied by the same Nicodemus encountered earlier in his Gospel (Jn 19:39; cf. Jn 3:1ff.; 7:50). Joseph and Nicodemus brought spices (a mixture of myrrh and aloes) weighing a hundred Roman pounds (approximately 75 lbs. = 34 kg). They included these spices in the linen wrappings. This excessively large quantity (and its immense cost) has been variously interpreted either as a faithless procedure by people who did not anticipate Jesus' resurrection or, as seems more likely, as a faithful act of secret disciples who were now willing to take a public stand while the apostles themselves cowered in hiding (Keener, 2:1157-62). Immense quantities of spices are known from a few famous funerals (such as Herod [Josephus, *Ant.* 17.199]); John thus implies a regal burial by true disciples.

Clearly, the most important dimension of Jesus' burial in all four Gospels concerns their insistence that his tomb was empty when the women and others came to visit. Thus the tomb of Jesus in the Gospels principally serves as testimony to Jesus' resurrection.

5. Location of Jesus' Burial.

Currently, two different locales in Jerusalem compete for visitors seeking Jesus' empty tomb. However, the Garden Tomb (Gordon's Calvary), chosen in the nineteenth century by Charles George Gordon because it was outside the medieval walls of Jerusalem and near a cranial-shaped outcropping, is most credibly identified as an Iron Age tomb (i.e., OT era) reused in the Byzantine period (Barkay).

Although we cannot be certain, a more plausible location is found in the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The strength of early Byzantine Christian tradition, manifest in Constantine building a basilica church at the behest of his mother, Helena,

supports this. In the early first century A.D. this area, though later incorporated into the city, was located outside the walls of Jerusalem and was used for tombs. The rotunda (or Anastasis) surrounds a former hill that had been leveled, except for the cave that contained a single burial niche in antiquity (Bahat).

See also DEATH OF JESUS; RESURRECTION.

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C

CAESAREA PHILIPPI. *See* ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

CALL OF DISCIPLES. *See* APOSTLE.

CANA. *See* ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

CANON

The word *canon*, in Christian thought, pertains first of all to the list of writings deemed by the church to belong to the divinely given, Holy Scriptures. More precise definitions of the term vary somewhat within different Christian traditions, and considerably so among present-day scholars. When, beginning in the middle of the fourth century, the term is first used for Christian writings, no explicit definition is given. One may deduce that words such as *canon*, *canonical* and *canonize* denoted the normativity of certain books that were received by the church as being of divine origin, and as belonging to an exclusive set of Scriptures permanently given for the life of the church. Some today insist that the notion of exclusivity must be present for any legitimate application of the word *canon*, while others maintain that the word is justifiably used when normativity is in view. Despite a diversity of opinion today on this and other matters related to the rise of the NT canon, there is widespread agreement on two fronts: (1) some books of the NT were recognized as Scripture very early (even by the end of the first century), at least by some churches, but (2) the expressed agreement of the majority of churches on the scriptural (i.e., canonical) status of all twenty-seven books of the NT was not achieved until late in the fourth century. When it comes to the *Gospels specifically, however, we have the benefit of clearer and more abundant attestation even in the early period. A robust confession of a canon of four Gospels is indisputably present in the 180s in Irenaeus of Lyons,

who spoke of the four Gospels—Matthew, Mark, Luke, John—as “handed down to us from the apostles,” as alone “true and reliable,” and as admitting of “neither an increase nor diminution” of their number (*Haer.* 3.11.9; cf. 3.1.1; 3.11.8). Opinions are polarized, however, over the question of how representative Irenaeus’s views were at the time. Some believe that Irenaeus’s view of the exclusivity of the four Gospels was his own innovation and was out of step with his contemporaries even in the “Great Church.” A number of roughly contemporary sources, however, evince virtually the same view as that held by Irenaeus, and by his time there had been a long history of the use of these four Gospels, some sources even disclosing a perception of a limited “canon” of four.

1. Foundations
2. The Fourfold Gospel: Literary Attestation
3. The Fourfold Gospel: Artifactual Attestation
4. Conclusion

1. Foundations.

By the early first century A.D. many Jews found in the converging strands of epic narrative, poetry, wisdom and prophecy in their Scriptures the promise of a final prophet/deliverer, a messiah, who would save them from God’s enemies and establish righteousness on earth (Lk 2:25, 38; Acts 5:36–37; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4–9, 23). Some of these same passages also predicted a message of good news to accompany this final deliverance—a new “law” and “word of the Lord” to go forth from Jerusalem to the ends of the earth (e.g., Deut 18:15–19; Ps 2:8; Is 2:2–3; 49:6; 52:7), to make both Israel and the nations glad. When Jesus of Nazareth was manifested to Israel as the Messiah (Jn 1:31), he brought the promised “good news” of the nearness of the *kingdom of God in his own person. As integral to his mission, he authorized a chosen group of disciples to carry his *gospel message—the new law and

word of the Lord—further to the lost sheep of the house of *Israel and to the nations (Mt 28:16-20; Lk 24:44-49; Jn 20:21-23; Gal 2:7-9).

In the course of the early mission of Jesus' apostles and their associates, while their *oral proclamation was still being heard and remembered, written accounts of Jesus' words and works began to be drawn up for the benefit of the communities of Christians that had formed. We do not know how many such attempts were made (cf. Lk 1:1), but four books in particular survived the first century through relatively wide distribution and use by Christians around the empire.

2. The Fourfold Gospel: Literary Attestation.

2.1. Witnesses to the Four. Each of the four Gospels individually can boast of some form of early attestation, even from our quite limited literary sources. It appears that Luke's Gospel is known as Scripture already by the time it is cited in 1 Timothy 5:18 (cf. Luke 10:7). The author of the *Didache*, perhaps before the end of the first century, seems to know at least Matthew as a "Gospel" (e.g., *Did.* 8:2; 9:5; 11:2-4) and possibly Luke (e.g., *Did.* 1:3). By the early years of the second century Papias of Hierapolis was learning traditions, probably passed along by John the presbyter, about the origins of Gospels used in Asia Minor. From quotations preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15-16), we know these included Gospels attributed to Mark (as based on Peter's teaching) and Matthew. From references to Papias's work in other writers, it is apparent that he also knew Luke and John. If (as has been argued) Eusebius's anonymous source in *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.24.6-13 is also Papias, then Papias knew these four Gospels as an exclusive group. The letters of Ignatius, written probably before 110, almost certainly reveal his knowledge of at least Matthew (Ign. *Smyrn.* 1:1) and John (e.g., Ign. *Rom.* 7:2-3; Ign. *Phld.* 7:1), and perhaps Luke as well (Ign. *Smyrn.* 1:1, 3). The apologist Aristides, in the 120s or 130s, mentions a written Gospel, and he seems to reflect knowledge of at least Luke and John, and perhaps Matthew and Mark as well. It appears that the *Epistula Apostolorum* (ca. 140s) knows all four Gospels and may presume the existence of the four-Gospel canon.

Writing just after the midpoint of the second century, Justin in Rome uses all four Gospels in his extant writings, and apparently only these four. In them Justin found the words of Jesus, "filled with the Spirit of God, and big with power, and flourishing with grace" (*Dial.* 9). This must have mirrored the experience of the churches as well, for Justin reports

that Gospels, which he also calls "Memoirs of the Apostles," were being read and expounded as Scripture in Sunday services, alongside the Prophets (1 *Apol.* 67). Probably in the 160s or 170s Celsus, a critic of Christianity, used all four Gospels in his broadside against the Christian church (Origen, *Cels.* 2.16, 34; 5.59, cf. 5.61).

Despite recent efforts to redate it to the late fourth century, the Muratorian Fragment's several strong links to the late second or early third century justify its traditional position there. This document, probably originating from somewhere in Italy, gives a discursive list of the books that "the catholic church" receives. Although its first lines are missing, the surviving text names Luke as the third of the Gospels and John as the fourth. It is clear that in the view of this author the church catholic receives four, and only four, Gospels.

Clement of Alexandria wrote only slightly later than Irenaeus and in a place far removed from the frontier city of Lyons. Despite the fact that Clement knows other Gospels, occasionally cites them, and at times even seems to accept something in them at face value, he displays a clear notion of a canon of only four. Clement not only uses each of the four as Scripture, he also specifically refers to them as "the four Gospels that have been handed down to us," contrasting them in this regard to the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (*Strom.* 3.13.93). He casually mentions that Mark and other Gospels were *homologomenoi*—that is, "confessed" or "acknowledged" in the church (*Quis div.* 1.5). This terminology would also be used by Origen and Eusebius in their catalogues of scriptural books. In his *Hypotyposes* Clement preserves a tradition about the origins of the Gospels, probably from his mentor Pantaenus, purporting to come from a much earlier time. This tradition refers to John as the "last of all," denoting another early perception that there were four and only four authentic Gospels (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.14.5-7).

In the 190s Serapion of Antioch too had a body of Christian books received by tradition. Serapion is of particular interest because he once approved the reading of the *Gospel of Peter* before later retracting that permission after learning that the book had heretical tendencies. This is often claimed as disproving the existence of a four-Gospel canon at the end of the second century. It is most likely, however, that Serapion at first regarded the book as a harmless, popular digest of the stories of Jesus recorded in the church's Gospels; his initial approval evidently was for supplementary reading in nonliturgical contexts. For Serapion had this to say about

the church's reception of authoritative writings: "For we ourselves, brothers, receive both Peter and the other apostles as Christ, but, as having experience in such matters, we reject the pseudepigrapha written in their name, knowing that we did not receive such writings by tradition [*ou parelabomen*]" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.12.3-6). Almost certainly, these received writings included the four Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John), which his episcopal predecessor Theophilus had incorporated into a Gospel harmony (see 3.3. below) and had used as Scripture in his *Ad Autolyicum*.

Matthew and John are most frequently cited, but each of the canonical Gospels is used or named in ecclesiastical authors from a very early time, and the attestation for each far outstrips that of any other Gospel. Moreover, by the last two decades of the second century, testimonies to a fourfold Gospel converge from widely divergent geographical areas: Alexandria, Antioch, Italy and Gaul. From this time on, the fourfold Gospel seems to be standard among Greek and Latin churches (though Syriac-speaking churches primarily knew them only in the form of the Gospel harmony known as the *Diatessaron*), so that by the 240s Origen could say that these Gospels were "the only indisputable ones in the Church of God under heaven" (*Commentary on Matthew* in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.4).

2.2. Four Gospels or Many? Christians in the second and third centuries, of course, were well aware that other Gospels were circulating, each of which must have had at least some readers (see Gospels: Apocryphal). Attitudes toward these books varied to some extent among leaders of the apostolic churches. Irenaeus seems to have known only heretical alternatives (such as the Valentinian *Gospel of Truth*), which he regarded as worthless fabrications. Others, such as the Alexandrians Clement and Origen, Serapion of Antioch, and perhaps the anonymous author of *2 Clement*, while they might condemn some Gospels out of hand, also believed that they could critically discern what was genuine or valuable in certain "unacknowledged" books and used them accordingly. Origen viewed such books as "mixed," containing both truth and falsehood. Such discriminative and selective procedures, however, these authors did not employ with the four Gospels, which the church regarded as given by God in their fullness and entirety.

Nearly all, if not all, of the other Gospels that we now know to have been in circulation in the second century were reliant to one degree or another on one or more of the four. The *Gospel of Peter*, the *Gospel of*

the Ebionites and the *Egerton Gospel* (possibly the so-called *Fayum Gospel* as well) have even been called "harmonizing Gospels," telling the story of Jesus in part by combining the accounts in one or more of the four Gospels with the addition of materials of various kinds. Even those Gospels that diverge most radically from the four, such as the *Gospel of Judas* and the *Gospel of Mary*, knew them as sources. To be sure, some scholars have argued that certain noncanonical Gospels (e.g., *Gospel of Thomas*, *Gospel of Peter*, *Egerton Gospel*) once existed in a (now lost) version more primitive than any of the four. Yet none of these arguments has won the assent of the majority of scholars, and it remains the case that the earliest known forms of these Gospels appear to be dependent on one or more of the canonical Gospels.

Some Gospel-like books, promoted today as real rivals of the four, apparently were never intended to compete with other books that functioned as Scripture. For instance, the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* and the *Protevangelium of James*, two works from the middle or late second century, neither of which was known as a "Gospel" in antiquity, dealt with time frames essentially outside the main chronologies of the four. Church leaders may not have liked them, but presumably they could be read without prejudice to a Gospel such as Matthew or John. The *Protevangelium of James*, in fact, eventually became quite popular precisely among Christians who held only the four Gospels to be canonical. The *Epistula Apostolorum* borrowed the fictional construct of the postresurrection dialogue between Jesus and his disciples in order to advance an orthodox agenda and witness indirectly to the church's Gospels. It is probably also the case that some "Gospel literature," such as Marcion's Gospel (a "corrected" version of Luke [ca. 150]) and the Valentinian *Gospel of Truth* (ca. 150), were not viewed, even by the groups who used them, as "sacred Scripture" in the same way as other Christians considered their books to be.

All of this is a reminder that Gospels and other like materials were written for a variety of purposes and were put to a variety of uses. The mere existence of more than four Gospels, even their occasional use by church writers, is not necessarily disruptive to the notion of a four-Gospel canon.

3. The Fourfold Gospel:

Artifactual Attestation.

Some scholars would mitigate the importance of the literary sources of the first three centuries because most of these sources are biased on the orthodox

and elite side. Thus, they are not believed to represent the breadth and diversity of opinion among early Christians. The survival of relatively fewer “nonorthodox” and “nonelite” sources of the period is attributed to the successful suppression of these writings on the part of the victorious orthodox, after the Christianization of the empire under Constantine. In the meantime, exciting archeological discoveries of early Christian papyri in Egypt purportedly offer a more impartial fund of evidence. This evidence, some claim, puts the lie to the declarations of bishops such as Irenaeus, showing that in the early period several noncanonical Gospels were at least as popular as the four. There are, for example, currently more early manuscripts of the *Gospel of Thomas* (three) than of the *Gospel of Mark* (one). But as we will see in the next section, when all the data are assessed, it appears that the manuscript evidence as it presently exists complements the literary sources very nicely and exhibits their common witness in tangible form.

3.1. Physical Format: Codex Versus Roll. First, there is the elementary matter of the book form. In the time of Jesus the customary form of a book, whether secular or sacred, was the roll. But our earliest discoveries of Christian manuscripts reveal that Christians from a very early time and in virtually every known example adopted the more novel, but also more labor-intensive, format of the codex (like the modern book) for their copies of scriptural books. This was the case for both OT and NT books, including the Gospels. At the present time, the four Gospels—Matthew, Mark, Luke or John—are represented forty times in thirty-five second- or third-century manuscripts retrieved from the Egyptian sands. Not a single one of these is an unused roll, and only one is an opisthograph (a text written on the outside of a used roll, presumably when no other materials were available). The remaining thirty-nine instances are in codex form.

By contrast, there are now ten pre-fourth-century papyrus fragments containing Gospel texts other than Matthew, Mark, Luke or John. This numerical disparity (thirty-nine versus ten) hardly shows an equivalence of popularity, despite Mark’s current underrepresentation. But more importantly, of these ten only five are codices (including just one copy of the *Gospel of Thomas*), four are copied onto unused rolls, and one is an opisthograph. This means that just five of the ten earliest fragments of noncanonical Gospels have even the basic physical form that would have made them appear analogous to the thirty-nine contemporary copies of one of the ca-

nonical Gospels. And even these five fragments show certain irregularities (in codex size, formality of the scribal hand, use of *nomina sacra* abbreviations, etc.) when compared to contemporary manuscripts containing Matthew, Mark, Luke or John.

Our earliest evidence, as it now stands, thus indicates that distinctions between the Gospels were often being made even at the production stage, as they were being prepared and copied as physical objects. These distinctions should not be interpreted to mean that no one ever considered Gospels other than the four to be authoritative, inspired or scriptural; however, they do suggest that any who might have regarded them in these ways probably stood apart from what appears to be the Christian mainstream, if judged by the scribal tradition. Our manuscript evidence suggests that works such as the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Gospel of Mary* and the *Gospel of Peter* either tended to be regarded differently from the four canonical Gospels, even by those who copied them, or else those who copied them tended to belong to different scribal networks from those who copied the canonical Gospels.

3.2. Multiple-Gospel Codices. The fourfold Gospel was not a mere idea; it was taking material shape in various ways. Probably the most consequential of these was the attempt to bind two or more of these Gospels together into one physical format in the codices produced by Christian scribes. Binding originally distinct books together in this way only increased the impression that such books, in some sense, belonged together. Our first surviving codex containing all four Gospels is the third-century P⁴⁵, which holds all four Gospels and Acts. From somewhat earlier is P⁷⁵, a codex that contains Luke and John together, which some speculate may have had a companion volume containing Matthew and Mark. The fragments known as P⁴⁺⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ date to the late second or early third century and contain parts of Matthew and Luke from the same codex, a codex that probably contained more Gospels. Our evidence of Gospel codices from the first three centuries shows so far only combinations of the four—that is, no combinations of, say, Matthew, Mark and *Thomas*, or John, *Peter* and *Mary*.

3.3. Gospel Synopses and Harmonies. Codices made to contain two or all four of the church’s Gospels were not the only physical expression of the four-Gospel canon. Some time in the third century Ammonius of Alexandria constructed the first known Gospel synopsis, which laid out in one book the three parallel accounts alongside Matthew’s as the base text. An even earlier effect of a perceived

fourfold Gospel has already been mentioned. The Gospel harmony composed by Theophilus of Antioch, and the better-known *Diatessaron* made by Tatian the Syrian, a former student of Justin, were harmonies of the same four Gospels, the ones that Irenaeus and Clement said were already traditional in their day. It has been confidently claimed that Tatian used other Gospels, but the evidence for this is tenuous. If any other written sources were used, they were not used programmatically like the four. That at least two Gospel harmonies combining the accounts of the same four Gospels should appear by the 170s seems to attest a previous recognition of these four as set apart, in at least some Christian circles in Rome and Antioch. One Greek parchment fragment (P. Dura 10 [on a roll, not a codex]) of the *Diatessaron*, dating to the mid-third century or before, was discovered at Dura-Europos in Syria in 1933.

A significant point about this artifactual evidence is that all of it comes from the time before Constantine and cannot be explained away as the result of an alleged orthodox suppression. The statistics, of course, will change as new discoveries are made. But unless they change quite dramatically from the way they are trending, they will continue to support and fill out the picture of the early reception of Gospels and other Christian writings gained from literary sources.

4. Conclusion.

Our present data do not permit a clear conclusion as to when the perception of a four-Gospel canon first arose or took hold of the mind of the church. From the last half of the second century, however, descend lines of evidence pointing to an earlier recognition in the first half: (1) the widespread use of each of these Gospels as Scripture and the common appeal by late-second-century authors to a more ancient tradition of the grouping of the four; (2) the appearance of at least two four-Gospel harmonies; (3) the tendency to bind two or all four of these Gospels together into codices. If one were to conjecture that the perception of a four-Gospel canon arose not many years after the last of the four Gospels was distributed to a number of churches, this would at least account for a great deal of what was to come. In any case, it was not long before the church's adherence to its fourfold witness to Jesus seemed so natural and so vital that it inspired comparisons between the Gospels and the four winds (Irenaeus), the four elements of creation (Origen), the four living creatures beneath the throne of God (Irenaeus), and the four rivers that water the church, the paradise of God (Hippolytus).

See also CANONICAL CRITICISM; GOSPEL: GENRE; GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL; TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

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CANONICAL CRITICISM

Unlike other interpretive models, which often are defined by a distinctive set of methodological interests, the canonical approach is cued by the theological commitments of the canonical process and the aesthetic excellence of its final literary product, the biblical canon. In particular, the canonical approach to the Gospels is oriented by a study of the church's reception of four different narratives of Jesus' life and by the subsequent shaping of these four into a single canonical collection, the fourfold Gospel (*see* Canon). Both process and product are mined for their exegetical and theological deposits that guide the contemporary performances of the Gospel as sacred Scripture within its ecclesial setting. This article addresses four orienting concerns and related interpretive practices of canonical criticism.

1. The Four Gospels Within Their Canonical Context
2. The Four Gospels as a Canonical Collection
3. The Four Gospels a Fourfold Whole
4. The Four Gospels Within an Ecclesial Setting as Their Principal Address

1. The Four Gospels Within Their Canonical Context.

A persistent objection to the canonical approach is that it refuses to read biblical texts as historically conditioned. But the consideration of the church's reception, formation and ongoing practices of its biblical canon shares all aspects in the study of any cultural phenomenon; in the same way that Paul portrayed the apostolicity of his gospel and mission, Scripture too may be regarded as “treasure in earthen vessels” (2 Cor 4:7). All those complexities that shaped the writing and editing of individual biblical compositions at their diverse points of their origins—language, date and location, religious experience, spiritual or social struggle—also inform the exegete's understanding of the intentions of a text's canonical editing/shaping and its postbiblical reception as Scripture, even if for different reasons than they were written.

Consider, for example, the standard chronology of critical orthodoxy, which rearranges the sequence of the fourfold Gospel according to date of composi-

tion rather than canonization. Accordingly, Mark is typically granted priority and studied first because most historians judge it to be the first Gospel written and so used as a source by the other Synoptic evangelists (*see* Synoptic Problem). Virtually every modern introduction to the Gospels avers from their canonical order to begin with a study of Mark as the critical norm, not only in the quest of the historical *Jesus but also for reading the narrative of the canonical Christ. The effect of Mark's chronological priority is to narrow the reading of Matthew or Luke's redactions as add-ons to Mark's normative Gospel, and to marginalize John's Gospel because of its dissimilarity when compared to Mark's narrative of Jesus.

Little is known, however, about the compositional history of the Gospels; they are anonymous narratives composed without an address or clear statement of purpose. What does seem sufficiently clear from the available evidence is that the church had come to recognize four discrete yet integral “gospels of the apostles” by the time Irenaeus wrote *Against Heresies* (ca. A.D. 180). Before then, the manuscript evidence already suggests that the four Gospels were copied on single codices for wide use (Stanton); and every extant canon list thereafter includes this same fourfold Gospel, even if in different sequences. In any case, the church's final redaction and reception of this fourfold Gospel canon occurred sometime during the second century A.D., the end result of an extended organic process based upon its variegated and effective use in worship and mission. The assumption that each Gospel was composed for a particular community and circulated independently prior to the production and canonization of a fourfold Gospel is based upon little hard evidence. As B. S. Childs puts it, “The major formal sign of canonical shaping of the collection is the juxtaposition of the four books with titles which introduce the books as witnesses to the one gospel” (Childs, 155).

Significantly, the history of the Gospel's canonization prioritizes Matthew, not Mark (even if written before Matthew). Manuscript and citational materials from the second century A.D. (Massaux) used to reconstruct the Gospel's earliest postbiblical reception evince that Matthew was by far the most popular Gospel in the second century, having more parallels in second-century writings than do Mark, Luke or John (McDonald, 255). This evidence commends its priority for Christian worship and instruction at the very moment the oral traditions about the church's Jesus were being written down and fixed into a fourfold Gospel canon. In fact, in sharp contrast to modern criticism, Augustine referred to Mark as Mat-

thew's "epitomizer"—a kind of "Reader's Digest" version of Matthew's normative rendering of Jesus. Without developing the implications of this move, the canonical hermeneutics of Matthew's priority suggests a different sequence for studying the four Gospels than is proposed by criticism's presumptive solution of the so-called Synoptic Problem.

2. The Four Gospels as a Canonical Collection.

The canonical approach is a species of theological interpretation that recognizes the simultaneity of Scripture. This unity should not be misunderstood as the protest against modern biblical criticism, which explains the theological and literary diversity of the Gospels by the historical and linguistic particularity of each. Rather, the formation of the fourfold Gospel, if under the direction of one Spirit for one church catholic, forges the critical recognition that the formation of a canonical collection of Gospels delineates a new textual setting in which a range of diverse apostolic witnesses to Jesus sing with each other in lyrical refrain. That is, the formation of a single Gospel sung in four parts creates a chorus that makes this music possible.

Much has been made in recent years of Scripture's intertextuality, which clearly means different things to different scholars. Literary studies of intertextuality argue that the very polyvalence of texts opens their interpretation to an ever-unfolding meaning. That is, a Gospel narrative is not fixed by its individual literary or theological shape, by its evangelist's intentions, or by the cultural context of its first auditors/readers; rather, the canonization of that Gospel within a fourfold collection and its subsequent placement within the church's biblical canon occasion a new context for reading and appropriating it. No one redaction of a Gospel pericope can be read in isolation of other recensions of the same episode in any of the other three; neither can that same Gospel text be read in isolation of other canonical texts that are cued by similar linguistic or thematic elements. The shift from authorial to canonical context alters the nature of a text's intentionality. The reader assumes not only that canonical intertexts bring different texts together that both relativize and thicken the meaning of any single text, but also that this thickened meaning, when aimed at new questions and concerns raised by a faithful reader, will more adequately disclose God's word for a new day "according to the Scripture."

For example, the declaration of Luke's centurion that the crucified Jesus was *dikaïos* ("innocent" [Lk 23:47]), when heard afresh within its canonical set-

ting, reverberates with a loud echo from Isaiah's prophecy that envisages a "servant" who is *dikaïos*, "a righteous one," and who will thereby "acquit" (*dikaioō*) the sins of many (LXX Is 53:11). What might be initially understood as Rome's verdict of Jesus' criminal guilt—not guilty—the church understands also to offer a theological judgment that this faithful messianic servant of God, Jesus, is crucified to acquit the sins of those who believe in him (cf. Rom 3:21-31).

3. The Four Gospels a Fourfold Whole.

An exegetical interest in the final literary form of the fourfold Gospel assumes that it is complete and provides the church with the fullest witness to Jesus, in whom the apostles observed the truth about God. Understood theologically, the church, led by the Spirit, recognized when the process of collection building had ended. To explain this phenomenon is more difficult. N. Wolterstorff advances a philosophical conception of "aesthetic excellence" that posits ultimate importance on the salutary effects of a work of art that enriches the public good. If the purpose of an art form is self-interested or trivial rather than to inspire its audiences to do good or to live more virtuously, then the aesthetic of its form is of lesser quality.

This conception of aesthetic excellence provides a useful typology for explaining why the church came to valorize a particular shape and size of the canonical Gospel over other possible forms. Those inherent properties of shape, size, texture and color that naturally draw readers to an artistic work of higher quality also draw people to Scripture. As a literary achievement, the biblical canon is a genre of collections made up of artfully told stories, memorable lyrics, vivid poetry, exacting law codes, practical letters and even apocalypses, all of which aim readers at ultimate meaning. And these well-told parts are nicely fitted together into a complete and sufficient whole in order to perform its authorized roles effectively in the formation of Christian disciples.

The canonical approach assumes, for instance, a kind of canon logic: what is placed first should be read first as the most effective articulation of Scripture's textual word. Thus, the OT is necessary reading before one turns to the NT; the fourfold Gospel stages a reading of Acts, and Acts is read before the Epistles to introduce them, and Revelation is read last to sound Scripture's concluding note.

This observation may also suggest the importance of the textual seams that are created as a result of canonization. The placement of Matthew as the

first narration of the fourfold Gospel, for example, may be viewed as strategic because its opening comments introduce Jesus in a way that links his story with the biblical promises that God makes to Israel according to the OT. Likewise, the placement of John as the final narration of the fourfold Gospel may also be viewed as strategic because it frames the previous, more “human” telling of the so-called Synoptic Gospels in incarnational terms (Calvin). Furthermore, the Fourth Gospel’s concluding episodes introduce the risen Lord’s apostles and God’s Spirit in a way that links the fourfold Gospel with Acts as the continuation of its plotline.

4. The Four Gospels Within an Ecclesial Setting as Their Principal Address.

It should come as no surprise that the canonical approach recognizes the importance of congregational worship in forming the believer’s capacity for faithful interpretation. The liturgical practice of concluding the public reading of Scripture with the Gospel lection envisages an interpretive strategy for worship that prioritizes the canonical narrative of Jesus. Not only is Scripture read by the Gospel, but also the virtues necessary to read sacred texts after the mind of Christ are formed in imitation of his canonical portrait drawn by the fourfold Gospel.

Moreover, biblical interpretation that forms Christian disciples is decided not by its coherence to the conclusions of critical orthodoxy but rather by its agreement in content and effect with the church’s apostolic rule of faith. Insofar as the core beliefs and theological grammar of this rule have been disclosed in the life of Jesus as remembered and rendered by his apostles, the canonical deposit of their witness in the fourfold Gospel carries with it decisive hermeneutical and practical importance within the biblical canon for its faithful readers. Simply put, the content and effect of every faithful interpretation of Scripture will cohere with the Gospel’s portrait of Jesus precisely because it is the gravitas of the apostolic rule of faith that orders the church’s reading of its canonical heritage for holy ends (Wall).

Matthew 2:1-12 is the church’s Gospel reading for Epiphany, when Christians celebrate the “appearance” of the Messiah with God’s *salvation for the nations. The story tells of the magis’ visitation of Jesus, and it forms a jarring juxtaposition with the NT’s opening chapter, which introduces Jesus as Israel’s Messiah according to the Scripture (see Mt 1:21) (see Birth of Jesus). Perhaps the strangest element of this arresting story is the star that guides those guileless Gentiles to the savior not only of Is-

rael but also of the nations. There is no indication in the text that God sent the star to guide the magi; the star simply “appeared” (*phainō* [Mt 2:7]) and was observed by the magi (Mt 2:10). In fact, the narrative is severely gapped and provides no details about the manner by which the magi observed the star’s location or why they responded in joy and in worship of Jesus upon seeing it. What is the reader to make of this textual element?

The theocentric grammar of the apostolic rule of faith is concentrated by what the church confesses first of all: there is “one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them” (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.4.1-2). In a church whose faith and life are ordered by its core beliefs about God’s salvation, it is God’s work in and with creation that tracks and interprets God’s redemptive action in the world. If the meaning of the star in Matthew’s telling of salvation’s epiphany is rendered by the church’s confession that God is the almighty “maker of heaven . . . and all that is in it,” then we should assume that it is the Creator’s (rather than an astrologist’s) star that is providentially guiding Gentiles to the place of their Lord. While criticism’s concern is to reconstruct the background of the magi’s interest in the star or even to test its historicity, whether it is real or a redactor’s trope, such concerns are misplaced if motivated by apologetics rather than by theological illumination. The plain sense of the text is that the star is a celestial compass that serves as a heavenly agent of natural revelation for those who do not have Scripture. What the text suggests, of course, is that the triune Maker of heavenly creatures, such as stars, can use them all to achieve God’s redemptive purpose for all things made.

See also CANON; GOSPELS: HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION; NARRATIVE INTERPRETATION; THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPELS.

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CAPERNAUM. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

CHILD, CHILDREN

In the Gospels children are healed by Jesus, they are left behind by disciples, and Jesus predicts that they will turn against the disciples. Children are used as examples in Jesus’ teachings, and the followers of Jesus are also consistently called “children.” When one approaches these texts, it is misguided to have a sentimental, romanticized understanding of childhood. Childhood in antiquity was difficult and dangerous. It is estimated that only fifty percent of children lived past age ten (Bakke 2005, 23), a fact of life represented in the stories of sick and dying children in the Gospels. Common childhood experiences included hard work and abuse along with play and education. Although children could be valued and loved by their parents, in general they were seen as unfinished adults, prey to vices that they could not control and subject to strict discipline. The understanding of childhood and the expectations of children in Greco-Roman and Jewish antiquity are key to the interpretation of texts concerning children in the Gospels.

1. A Child’s Life
2. Exploitation of Children
3. The Value of a Child
4. Jesus and the Children in the Gospels

1. A Child’s Life.

Across the ancient world, parents were expected to care for, provide for, and raise their (freeborn) children to be contributing members of society (an expectation disrupted by the call to discipleship [Mk 10:28-30]). In turn, children were expected to respect, obey and honor their parents (e.g., Seneca, *Ben.* 3.11; 4.27; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.204; Philo, *Spec.* 2.224-231; cf. Mt 7:9-11; Mk 7:10; Lk 2:51). A child was

considered the spitting image of the parent, reflecting the parent’s (more precisely, the father’s) character (cf. Sir 30:4-6; Jn 8:39-47), and thus a child’s behavior could positively or negatively influence the parent’s social standing. Beyond these basic expectations, children’s daily experience in antiquity was determined to a great extent by gender, wealth, social status (freeborn or slave) and stage of life, and its corresponding abilities.

Disparity based on wealth and social status was present for children even in infancy. Babies born to *slave parents were, of course, slaves, and parental rights over them were thus nonexistent; the owners could dispose of the infant as they saw fit. Slave mothers continued to work despite the needs of the infant, as did mothers in poor households. Because of their responsibilities to the household and society, wealthy mothers had little to do with their infants, who were cared for and nursed by slaves or professional wet nurses (interestingly, slave babies could also be raised by nurses, allowing their mothers to work without distraction). Freeborn Roman babies who survived to eight to nine days of life were given a celebration that included sacrifices and naming the baby. For Jewish boys, the comparable ceremony centered on circumcision (cf. Lk 2:21; Phil 3:5).

The first stage of childhood (Lat. *infans* [“one who does not speak”], Gk. *paidion* [“little child”]) lasted from birth to age seven. For freeborn children, this stage of life was associated with physical development, learning social traditions, and play; the only children pictured at play in the canonical Gospels are little children (Mt 11:16-17; Lk 7:32). Wealthy children’s toys included rattles, dolls, balls and even miniature chariots. All children played dice games, board games and physical games such as hide-and-seek and ball. They also played at being adults, pretending to be judges, priests, soldiers, orators and other professionals.

Wealthy freeborn children were able to enjoy their privilege. Their slaves fed, bathed, entertained and played with them. Poor freeborn and slave children did not have these luxuries. Most slave children began working in the household or in agriculture and training for their future responsibilities at a very young age. Young children in poor families likewise began helping to support the family economically as soon as they were able.

The second stage of childhood (Lat. *impuberes*, Gk. *pais* [“child”]) lasted from age seven to puberty. Wealthy Roman girls and boys began schooling with parents or private tutors at home or in a school run by a professional teacher. They had a *paedagogus*, usually

a slave, to accompany them, carry their school supplies, and ensure their attentiveness to their studies. Education in the Roman world, largely a matter of rote memorization, was primarily concerned with literacy and arithmetic and, nearing the end of education, with grammar and rhetoric. Education was accompanied by discipline; learning was beaten into Roman schoolchildren (see Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 20.4; Martial, *Epig.* 9.68; Suetonius, *Gramm.* 9). Jewish children's education began at home with the law and the stories of Israel (Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.204). There may have been schools outside the home, possibly in synagogues, in Roman Palestine, though the question is debated. In any case, only boys could have attended these schools, which would have provided more formal education in the Torah, the prophets, and their interpretation (cf. Lk 2:46-47).

In poorer families across the Roman world school might still be an option, but children also worked in the household or family business. Slave children would begin to work longer periods at more advanced tasks, and both slave and freeborn children might be apprenticed to learn a trade such as weaving (see P.Oxy. 1647). Like their Roman counterparts, Jewish children worked with the family to support the household (as reflected in Mt 21:28-31; Mk 1:19-20; Lk 15:25-29).

Childhood ended at puberty. Roman and Jewish daughters were married off by their parents, usually at age twelve to fourteen. Young Roman men went through a ceremony in which they assumed the toga, and thus adult stature, when they were fifteen to seventeen years old. Young Jewish men and women became independently responsible for keeping the Torah (e.g., *m. Nid.* 5:6; *m. 'Abot* 5:21).

2. Exploitation of Children.

Children in Greco-Roman antiquity faced the likelihood of violence and sexual abuse. Infancy was a particularly dangerous period of life due to the threat of exposure in the Roman Empire (though not, according to numerous sources, for Jewish children [see, e.g., Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.202]). The child's father or, if unmarried, the mother had the legal right to choose to raise a child or abandon it in a public space (a temple, garbage dump, doorway, etc. [cf. P.Oxy. 744]). The possibility of exposure increased if the infant was female or malformed or if the parents were poor. An exposed child would die or potentially be raised as a slave in another household (the status of exposed infants who survived to adulthood was of frequent legal concern).

Slave children, like slave adults, could expect in-

discriminate physical abuse. Reports of freeborn children's education also include frequent mention of being beaten by teachers. The potential for physical discipline in the home is less certain (though see Seneca, *Const. sap.* 12.2; Philo, *Spec.* 2.232). The traditional *patria potestas*, the power of the male head of the family over the household, gave fathers the right to kill their children with cause, although the stories in which this power is enacted relate to young women caught in sexual immorality or young men in political rebellion (e.g., Livy, *Hist.* 3.48.5-8; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 2.26-27; Valerius Maximus, *Fact. dict.* 5.8.1). There are no stories in which fathers severely abuse or kill younger children.

Children in Greco-Roman societies were also subject to sexual abuse. Wealthy freeborn girls were protected to some extent because they were expected to be virgins at marriage, but boys faced the potential of sexual abuse from older men in the household and out (Martial, *Epig.* 3.73; Catullus, *Carm.* 15; Suetonius, *Gramm.* 23). Sexual abuse was practically a certainty for male and female slave children, who, like slave adults, were sexually available to any male in the household (Martial, *Epig.* 1.58; Petronius, *Sat.* 24-25; 75). *Delicia* ("pets") were young slave or (rarely) freeborn children who held a special, often affectionate relationship with the owner. In addition to entertaining the adults and providing companionship for the freeborn children of the household, the *delicia* could also be subject to sexual abuse. Slave children sometimes were put into prostitution, and there are reports of a sex trade involving very young freeborn and slave children in the Roman world (Suetonius, *Cal.* 41; also Justinian, *Nov.* 14 [fifth century A.D.]).

The extent to which this sexual abuse was present in Jewish society is debatable. One example of the potential for the sexual abuse of children in the Gospels is the story of Herod's birthday party in Mark 6:21-22 (// Mt 14:6), in which a young girl (Gk. *kora-sion*) dances for the king and his male guests. Such entertainment traditionally was eroticized. A less certain example may be found in Mark 9:42-48 (// Mt 18:6-9). The hands, feet and eyes in this text can be sexually charged euphemisms (cf. Mt 5:27-30), and a later rabbinic text (*b. Nid.* 13b) with strong resemblance to Mark 9:42-48 directly addresses the sexual abuse of children. W. Deming suggests that the same is true in Mark 9:42-48: if the "little ones who believe" are children, the text speaks against the sexual abuse of children. However, the little ones may be disciples, which makes this interpretation less certain.

3. The Value of a Child.

For Philo, young children are innocent (cf. Deut 1:39; Is 7:15-16; 1 Cor 14:20), but after the age of seven children learn evil and are overcome by passions (Philo, *Her.* 294). Likewise in Greco-Roman thought, a child was seen as an unfinished or imperfect adult, lacking self-control and reason (e.g., Seneca, *Const. sap.* 12.2; cf. 1 Cor 13:11; Heb 5:11-14). The value of a child thus lay not in being a child but rather in practical contributions to the household. Poor children and slaves were valuable for their work and, in the case of free-born children, for their potential to care for elderly parents; wealthy children had value in terms of the political connections of a daughter's marriage or a son's position as heir and future head of household. This valuation of children is apparent even in Judaism (see, e.g., Sir 30:4-6; Philo, *Spec.* 2.129).

A strictly utilitarian view of children is not the end of the story, however. Second Temple Judaism inherited the idea of children as a gift of God from texts such as Deuteronomy 28:4; Psalm 127:3-5; 128:3-4. Language used of children in Greco-Roman texts and funerary inscriptions is also indicative of parental affection (e.g., *ILS* 8473; *CIL* 6.22972; Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 5.16). This affection is represented in the Gospels in the lamentation for the babies of Bethlehem (Mt 2:16-18) and in stories of parents begging for *healing for their children (Mk 5:22-23; 7:25-26; 9:17-18; Jn 4:47).

4. Jesus and the Children in the Gospels.

Children's lives and the understanding of childhood in Greco-Roman antiquity form an important background for interpreting the texts concerning children in the canonical Gospels. Several issues require further consideration: (1) the recognition of Jesus by children; (2) Jesus' use of little children as an object lesson in discipleship; (3) the metaphor of the followers of Jesus as children of God.

4.1. Recognizing Jesus in Matthew. In Matthew 11:16-17 Jesus compares "this generation" to little children (*paidion*) in a marketplace, calling to each other because no one will play with them. The children here can be identified as Jesus and *John the Baptist, receiving no response to their messages from the other children (their audiences). Alternatively, Jesus' audience may be the "little children," rejecting both Jesus and John the Baptist for refusing to do and say what the audience wants (see Davies and Allison, 261-62). Read in the context of ancient expectations and understandings of children, the unflattering analogy in Matthew 11:16-17 condemns the adults for their lack of response to Jesus and John (cf. Lk 7:31-32).

"This generation" in Matthew 11:16-17 contrasts with the little children who accept Jesus in Matthew 11:25-27; 21:15-16. In Matthew 11:25-27 Jesus' audiences, the wise and intelligent from whom Jesus and his message are hidden, are unfavorably compared with infants to whom the Father reveals the Son. The infants make a second appearance in Matthew 21:15-16. When children (*pais*) in the *temple acclaim Jesus as the *Son of David, they are critiqued by the chief *priests and *scribes. Jesus defends these children as the infants and nursing babies from whom God prepares praise (cf. LXX Ps 8:3). Infants and babies in these texts act as literary foils. Although they are, in cultural context, the ignorant and uneducated (cf. 1 Cor 3:1-2), it is these infants who recognize and accept Jesus, not the educated, wise adults. As in the case of the tax collectors and prostitutes who enter the *kingdom before the chief priests and *elders (Mt 21:31-32), social expectations are disrupted by these precocious children. This message is furthered by Jesus' use of little children as models for *discipleship.

4.2. Children and the Kingdom of God. In Mark 9:33-37 Jesus teaches his disciples that to be first, they must be last and the servant of all (see Slave, Servant). As they are together in a house, Jesus places a young child (*paidion*) in the midst of the disciples, hugs the child, and tells his disciples that whoever receives a child like this in his name receives Jesus and thus the one who sent Jesus (cf. receiving the disciples in Mt 10:14; Mk 6:11; Lk 10:8-11). Young children are here likened to slaves and thus to Jesus himself (Mk 10:45; Lk 22:24-27). These children serve as a model for discipleship in terms of their helplessness and their low status in society (cf. Lk 9:47-48). The parallel story in Matthew 18:1-4 clarifies the message: to enter the kingdom, the disciples must become like a little child, and to be greatest in the kingdom, one must be humble like a little child.

In Mark, this scene is quickly followed by a second appearance of "little children." People, presumably parents, are bringing little children to Jesus to be blessed, a scene that reflects a concern with the neediness of children due to their physical and social vulnerability (cf. Lk 2:28). When the disciples stop them, possibly because of the social marginality of children, Jesus is angry. He tells the disciples to let the little children come because the kingdom of God belongs to children like these (Mk 10:14). Moreover, it is impossible to enter the kingdom unless it is received "as a little child" would receive it (Mk 10:15; cf. *b. Sanh.* 110b); this claim reflects the neediness of young children, those who must be cared for but can contribute

little to family or society. Luke 18:15 emphasizes this helplessness by identifying the children as infants. In Mark 10:16 Jesus again hugs the little children, and he also lays hands on them and blesses them (abbreviated in Mt 19:15, omitted in Lk 18:15-17).

These two stories have been used to portray Jesus as loving and accepting children, potentially even adopting children into his family (so Gundry, 154-58). But although these stories may be used to encourage adults to love and accept children, this message is not their primary aim. The elevation of the young child in these traditions is, rather, part of the Gospels' reversal of traditional social hierarchies. Like the poor, tax collectors or other marginalized groups, children are unexpectedly given precedence over their social superiors. In addition, the identification of children as models for the disciples supports the Gospels' overarching themes of servanthood and humility as the way of discipleship. In fact, there is great elision between actual children and the disciples as "little ones" and children of God (see Mt 18:10-14; Mk 9:42).

4.2. The Children of God. In Mark, immediately after blessing the little children, Jesus addresses the disciples as children (*tekna* [Mk 10:24]). This metaphor, drawn from the OT identification of *Israel as God's child, appears more frequently in Matthew and John. "Children" as a metaphor for Jesus' followers in these Gospels is a sign of identity and relationship.

4.2.1. Matthew. In Matthew, God is consistently identified as the Father in heaven (e.g., Mt 23:9), and thus the followers of Jesus are God's children. The metaphor brings ancient expectations for parents and children into the relationship of God with Jesus' followers. Parents should care and provide for children, and so God provides food, clothing and protection for God's children; the children can trust in this expectation (Mt 6:25-32; 7:9-11; 10:28-31). Children should obey their parents, and as children of God, the disciples are to obey God (Mt 6:10; 12:50; 21:31). Furthermore, as good children, they should imitate their heavenly Father in *love, *forgiveness and perfection (e.g., Mt 5:44-45, 48; 6:14-15). The metaphorical identification of the followers of Jesus as God's children in Matthew is thus formative for their character as disciples: they are to be the spitting image of their Father.

4.2.2. John. In John, the metaphor of being the children of God is focused on identity, as the extended analogy in John 8:39-47 makes clear. Jesus provides the ultimate model of the good child. As the Son, Jesus is unified with his Father (Jn 10:30; 17:21) (see Son of God). In accordance with ancient

expectations for a father's relationship with his son, Jesus is loved by God, sent by God, empowered by God and obedient to God (Jn 3:34-35; 5:19-23; 10:36-38): the Son is the Father's image and representative (cf. Jn 1:18; 14:7-11). Reflecting John's primary focus on Jesus himself, the disciples are "children" (*tekna*) rather than sons, and their relationship with the Father is contingent upon the Son (cf. Jn 1:12-13; 14:18-21). Through their relationship with the Son, the followers as children will also do God's work (Jn 13:33-35; 14:10-14; 20:21-23).

Jesus is not wholly revolutionary in his engagement with children, which happens, after all, rarely in the Gospels. However, the healing of children, the use of children as models of discipleship, and the identification of the followers of Jesus as "children" firmly place children within the ministry of Jesus and provide them with a place in the kingdom that Jesus brings.

See also DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; FAMILY; SLAVE, SERVANT.

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CHORAZIN. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

CHREIA/APHORISM

Scholars have long recognized the presence of aphorisms, or short, pithy sayings of Jesus, in the Gospels. However, the Hellenistic chreia, or brief anecdote conveying an action or saying, has more recently been employed as a means for analyzing the Jesus tradition.

1. Greco-Roman Background
2. Gospels Usage

1. Greco-Roman Background.

The peoples of the ancient Mediterranean world used several different Greek and Latin words to designate various memorable sayings, especially those of a short, pithy nature. One was *aphorismos*, from which the English word *aphorism* is derived. The Greek term was a cognate of the verb *aphorizō*, which has the basic sense of “to mark off.” Etymologically, therefore, it designated sayings that were “marked off” or “set apart” in at least two senses. First, an aphorism was a saying that was or could be set off from the social context in which it was first uttered as well as from any literary context in which it later appeared. It was detachable from these contexts because it expressed an independent idea or fundamental thought that existed in its own right, so that its veracity and relevance were not dependent on these contexts for meaning or persuasive power. Consequently, it could easily be quoted by others and applied to new situations. Second, an aphorism was also typically distinguished from normal, ordinary discourse by its concise, pointed wording. The speaker’s astute and sometimes provocative insights often were enhanced in aphorisms by rhetorical features such as antithesis, which made them even more striking. According to the physician-philosopher Galen, an aphorism was a form of teaching that was succinct yet comprehensive, briefly stating all of the specific distinguishing aspects of the topic under discussion (*Hipp. aph.* 17b, 351-52).

Two other terms commonly used in antiquity for memorable sayings of a short pithy nature were *gnōmē*, transliterated into English as “gnome” (see Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.20-21), and *sententia*, commonly translated as “sentence” (see *Rhetorica ad Herrenium* 4.24.5; Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.5). Although “apho-

rism,” “gnome” and “sentence” had various meanings, all three terms were different ancient words for the later term *maxim* (derived from the postclassical Latin term *maxima*) and played an important role in moral formation and exhortation. A related ancient term was *apophthegma* (pl. *apophthegmata*), which was used of a terse, pointed saying that was sometimes but not always sententious. Whereas aphorisms, gnomes and sentences circulated both anonymously and with names attached, most apophthegms, by contrast, retained their connection with the people who first uttered them. Some famous sayings, however, were attributed to several different individuals, with the name of the true author unknown or forgotten.

In addition to circulating independently and in clusters, memorable sayings also appear in brief narratives or anecdotes, which provide a setting for an action or saying that usually constitutes the culmination of the anecdote. The ancient term for “anecdote” was *chreia* (pl. *chreiai*), which received this name in view of its “usefulness” in addressing many situations in life. Aelius Theon, usually dated to the first century A.D., defined a chreia as “a concise saying or action, aptly attributed to some specified person or to something analogous to a person” (Kennedy, 15), and he distinguished it from both the gnome and the reminiscence (*apomnēmoneuma*), noting that when gnomes are attributed to a particular person, a chreia is produced. In addition, Theon proposed a basic threefold classification for chreiai: (1) sayings-chreia, where speakers make their point verbally, either by a statement or in response to a query; (2) action-chreia, where the individual’s point is made by some act rather than verbally; (3) mixed chreia, where there is both speech and action.

The chreia’s popularity as a literary form increased immensely in the Hellenistic period, when it became a standard part of the curriculum at all three educational levels. It was introduced at the primary level, where pupils used chreai in learning how to read and write. At the secondary level teachers used it to instruct pupils in how to decline nouns and conjugate verbs. It received extensive attention at the tertiary level, where students learned how to elaborate a chreia as one of the preliminary exercises (*progymnasmata*) in rhetoric. Training in how to use the chreia in argumentation and analysis was believed to create not only skill in speaking but also good character because the moral sayings of the wise comprised the content of most chreiai (Kennedy, 4). In the late Roman Republic and the early Roman Empire the *progymnasmata* were increasingly intro-

duced at the secondary level, and inasmuch as the chreia was usually the third of fourteen preliminary exercises to be taught, many students who never formally studied rhetoric at the tertiary level were given basic instructions in how to compose and elaborate a chreia. Later teachers of rhetoric continued to give great attention to the exercise in chreia and the other *progymnasmata*, with those of Aphthonius (late fourth century) being the most important.

2. Gospels Usage.

Biblical scholars' interest in the chreia began with the rise of *form criticism, which focused on the transmission of the Jesus tradition prior to the composition of the canonical Gospels. Form critics focused on the individual units of the tradition, not on the Gospels as a whole, with a distinction often made between the sayings of Jesus and narratives about him (such as the infancy and the *passion narratives). Although it was recognized that Jesus' words, many of them aphorisms (Crossan), sometimes were transmitted as independent logia devoid of any setting for the saying (e.g., Acts 20:35) and as collections of sayings with no narrative context (e.g., 1 *Clem.* 13:2), form critics were particularly interested in sayings contained in brief narratives, which were deemed to have circulated primarily as single units of tradition, and sometimes also as small collections of material that shared the same theme or topic. When attached to a brief narrative, the saying tended to provide the culminating point or climax of the narrative as a whole. Because of that feature, such stories often were deemed closer to the sayings tradition than to the more extended narrative tradition proper. Consequently, R. Bultmann used "apophthegm" to describe "sayings set in a brief context" (Bultmann, 11), and he distinguished three types of settings: those that were hostile ("controversy dialogues"), those that were friendly ("scholastic dialogues") and those occasioned by some incident in Jesus' life ("biographical sayings"). M. Dibelius, on the other hand, thought that such narratives typically were used in sermons to provide examples, and thus he called them "paradigms" (Dibelius, 37-69). V. Taylor used the term "pronouncement story" (Taylor, 63-87) because such stories "quickly reach their climax in a saying of Jesus which was of interest to the first Christians because it bore directly upon questions of faith and practice" (Taylor, 23).

Although these early form critics were well aware of the Hellenistic chreia, they either made scant use of it when analyzing the Jesus tradition (Bultmann,

25) or deemed it largely irrelevant (Dibelius, 152-64). One consequence of this neglect of the chreia's use in the Greco-Roman world was that only a limited number of stories in the Synoptic Gospels were identified as chreiai. Although the precise number varied among these critics, only eleven NT narratives were commonly viewed as chreiai. Ten of these are found in Mark: eating with tax collectors and sinners (Mk 2:15-17), the question about *fasting (Mk 2:18-22), plucking grain on the *Sabbath (Mk 2:23-28), the true kindred of Jesus (Mk 3:31-34), the blessing of the little children (Mk 10:13-16), the rich man and wealth (Mk 10:17-22), the request of James and John (Mk 10:35-40), the question about paying taxes to Caesar (Mk 12:13-17), the question about the resurrection (Mk 12:18-27) and the anointing at Bethany (Mk 14:3-9). The eleventh chreia is the healing of the man with dropsy (Lk 14:1-6) (Robbins, *ABD* 1:308).

The situation has changed dramatically in the last fifty years and is one of the results of the renewed interest in Greek and Roman rhetoric and in the rhetorical features of the NT. As ancient rhetoric began to be used extensively in analyzing early Christian texts, the chreia was thoroughly examined in its own right, with many of the key texts translated into English (Hock and O'Neil 1986; 2002; Hock). This has resulted in a better understanding of the chreia, which in turn has cast a new light on its use in the NT (Robbins 1993; Mack and Robbins). Among the more important implications for the study of the NT are the following: (1) The chreia was an *oral and literary compositional device that speakers and writers could manipulate in various ways. Depending on the situation, details of the story could be added or omitted, which meant that the chreia had an accordion-like quality. The presence or absence of certain details in a given chreia is thus not proof of its primary or secondary status. (2) At the core of a chreia was either a memorable saying or action, or both, which contained the point of the story and thus was never omitted. (3) Chreiai were not simply vehicles for the transmission of sayings. The existence of action-chreiai proves that form criticism's typical restriction of the chreia to the sayings tradition was unfounded. (4) The use of the chreia throughout the educational curriculum meant that anyone who had attended school, even for a short time at the primary level, was aware of the form. (5) The introduction of preliminary exercises at the secondary level of education meant that many literate individuals, including the authors of the canonical Gospels, would have received basic training in how to use the chreia.

(6) It therefore is not surprising that many of the shorter Synoptic chreiai have the same or similar form as many pagan chreiai (Butts). (7) Given the versatility of the chreia as a form, it could be elaborated in various ways and even serve as a thesis to be argued. The recognition of the enormous rhetorical potential of the chreia has led to the view that many more NT materials belong to the chreia tradition (Tannehill 1981a; 1981b). Instead of only eleven chreiai, now approximately one hundred units in the Gospels and Acts have been claimed as chreiai in certain circles of NT scholarship (Robbins, *ABD* 1:308). Not all of these claims are convincing, but it is sufficiently clear that the chreia was one of the chief compositional devices of the Greco-Roman world, and that it was used more extensively in the composition of the canonical Gospels and Acts than was previously thought.

See also FORM CRITICISM; ORALITY, ORAL TRADITION.

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CHRIST

The Greek word *christos* usually is translated as "Christ" in most English versions (though occasionally as "Messiah" [see, e.g., Mk 1:1 TNIV]), and it occurs over five hundred times in the Greek NT. It is a designation used of Jesus to indicate his status as the Messiah, and it is used frequently in relation to the name "Jesus" with "Jesus Christ," "Christ Jesus" or "Lord Jesus Christ" especially in Paul's letters. In some cases, it is possible that "Christ" has become a proper name rather than merely a title; however, a titular use of *christos* certainly is retained in the NT (e.g., Mt 1:1; Jn 20:31; Acts 18:5; Rom 9:5; Rev 11:15; 12:10). The designation "Jesus Christ" is really a shorthand way of saying "Jesus is the Christ" or "Jesus is the Messiah." The word *christos* and its cognate verb *chriō* are associated with anointing or smearing with oil or ointment. Thus, the designation "Jesus Christ" would sound peculiar to speakers of Greek as something like "Jesus the Smeared-One." The description is accordingly unpacked in the narrative of the Gospels whereby they explain exactly who Jesus is, what the appellation *christos* means, and why it is appropriately applied to Jesus.

Proclamation of Jesus as the Messiah was an important feature of early Christian preaching and teaching (e.g., Acts 2:36; 5:42; 8:5; 9:22; 18:28; Rom 1:3-4; 2 Tim 2:8). The NT accordingly presents Jesus as the Messiah of *Israel, who fulfills the Jewish Scriptures through his life, *death, *resurrection and exaltation. An important function of the canonical Gospels in this regard is to demonstrate the legitimacy, characteristics and impact of Jesus' messianic career.

In order to show the significance of "Christ/Messiah" in the Gospels, this article addresses the context and background of the term, discusses whether Jesus was a messianic claimant, and examines how Jesus' identity as the Messiah is variously portrayed by the evangelists.

1. Meaning and Background
2. Jesus as Messianic Claimant
3. Portrayal of Jesus as "Messiah" in the Four Gospels
4. Conclusion

1. Meaning and Background.

Christos is an adjective signifying "anointed [with oil]"; it is used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew word *māšīaḥ*, designating a person appointed by God for a specific role. The Israelite practice of *anointing a person with oil indicated installation in a special office such as that of king (2 Sam 23:1; Ps 2:2) or priest (Lev 6:15; 21:10, 12). A particular term used

in the OT is “the LORD’s anointed” (1 Sam 16:6; 24:7, 11; 26:9, 11, 16, 23), which carries specific religious connotations as it signifies the particular set-apartness of Israel’s king as consecrated to God and his commission to rule over God’s people. The verb *chriō* is also used in the LXX to designate the specific act of anointing someone for sacred offices. Examples include King Saul (1 Sam 9:16; 10:1), King David (1 Sam 16:3, 12–13), Aaron and his sons (Ex 28:41; 29:7), and in one case the prophet Elisha (1 Kings 19:16).

Although the fortunes of the Israelite monarchies changed during the united and divided kingdoms, hope remained that a Davidic descendant would take the throne as set out in the promises in 2 Samuel 7:12–16. Reflection on this promise is found in Psalms 72; 89; 132, which appeal to the inviolability and security of God’s covenant promises to the house of David to establish an everlasting Davidic kingdom. In the prophetic literature one observes that hopes for a renewed Davidic dynasty began to be infused into eschatological expectations about an Israelite ruler with grandiose qualities and superlative strengths. Hosea expected the exiled northern tribes to seek out “David their king” (Hos 3:5), Amos looked ahead to God raising up a “booth of David that is fallen,” Isaiah 9; 11 display an interest in a future Davidic king uniquely endowed with the Spirit of the Lord. Similar Davidic traditions are reinterpreted, expanded and intensified in the exilic prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The Lord intends to raise up a “righteous scion” to usher in the salvation of Judah and Israel (Jer 23:5–6) with a reinstitution of the Davidic throne and a rebuilt temple (Jer 33:17–22). The new Davidide will be a shepherd to the house of Israel (Ezek 34:22–24). In the Persian period, the return of the Davidic king is a sign that Israel’s day of liberation and cleansing has dawned (Zech 9:9–10; 12:7–13:1). Also in Zechariah we observe a focus on the dual figures of the anointed priest and the anointed king who are the “sons of oil,” and they act to hasten the process of national restoration (Zech 4:12–14; 6:11–12). Finally, in Daniel there is a vision for God’s kingdom to crush all human kingdoms (Dan 2:44–45). The “one like a son of man” in Daniel 7 had a formative effect upon the developing messianism of the Second Temple period with the vindication of the saints of the Most High over the pagan empires of the ancient Near East. Daniel 9:24–27 refers to the coming of an anointed leader and the advent of a wicked prince who is to desecrate the holy place. In sum, there is an incipient messianism in the OT through the idealization of Davidic kingship configured in light of

eschatological hopes for the restoration of Israel (see Exile and Restoration).

In the Second Temple period, belief in a coming messiah was not held by all Jews, and those Jews who did look for a messiah had diverse views on what kind of messiah would appear. For instance, in the Qumran scrolls (150 B.C.–A.D. 70) there appears to be an anticipation of two anointed figures: a “messiah of Israel” and a “messiah of Aaron” (e.g., CD-A XII, 23–XII, 1; 1QS IX, 10–11). These royal messiah and priestly messiahs are to reign over the congregation of Israel. Two particular documents from Qumran, the “Messianic Apocalypse” (4Q521) and the “Son of God” text (4Q246) show clear signs of influence from Isaiah and Daniel on the formation of a messianic narrative (see Dead Sea Scrolls). *Psalms of Solomon* looks ahead to a messiah who establishes the throne of David, destroys sinners, purges Jerusalem of Gentiles, regathers the twelve tribes of Israel, and inaugurates a period of holiness and covenant righteousness (*Pss. Sol.* 17–18). Even the Jewish Alexandrian philosopher Philo, who interpreted Israel’s Scriptures through a Platonic lens, remained committed to an eschatological story whereby Israel’s royal deliverer rescued the nation from its various travails. For Philo, the kingship of God is to be expressed through its messianic leader who will rule over the nations and extend the kingdom of Israel (e.g., Philo, *Mos.* 1.290–91). The *Similitudes of Enoch* (1 *En.* 37–71), though dated by some to after A.D. 70, designate an eschatological deliverer with several titles, including “Righteous One,” “Messiah,” “Elect One” and “Son of Man.” The document envisages a messiah built on a synthesis of royal images in Psalms, Isaiah and Daniel, where the Messiah is a superhuman and transcendent being.

The OT represented a wealth of images portraying a coming deliverer, and varied messianic exegesis of these texts led to a plethora of messianic images for a coming deliverer. Thus, the type of messiah depicted in this literature is richly varied. The Davidic messiah could be viewed as essentially a human figure in a royal office who has superlative qualities of leadership and military prowess, and whom God uses to liberate the nation. On other occasions, this messiah is a superhuman and transcendent figure sent from heaven to defeat God’s enemies on earth and to bring the nation of Israel to a utopian paradise. Furthermore, the messianic hopes found in these texts were also influenced by the cultural contexts of the authors. The sociopolitical context of Palestine in the first century A.D.—domination by the Roman Empire, threat of invasion from

the Parthian Empire in the east, several sporadic and unsuccessful revolts against Rome, turmoil within the Judean ruling class, sectarian rivalries over the proper way to observe the law of Moses, and speculation on prophetic oracles about Israel's deliverance in the Hebrew Scriptures—created a fertile context in which messianic hopes could flourish. This is the context in which Jesus began his ministry and is the setting that shaped the traditions contained in the canonical Gospels about a “messiah.”

2. Jesus as Messianic Claimant.

The notion that Jesus believed himself to be the Christ—that is, the Messiah of Israel—could be derived from a fairly straightforward reading of the canonical Gospels. However, historical authenticity of that the claim is disputed in scholarship. It is often believed that the early church regarded Jesus as the Messiah because of his *resurrection and then projected that belief into his pre-Easter ministry (e.g., W. Wrede, R. Bultmann, J. D. Crossan). Others suggest that Jesus was regarded as the Messiah during his lifetime, but Jesus himself either rejected the role or was at least ambivalent toward the title “Messiah” (e.g., N. A. Dahl, J. D. G. Dunn, P. Fredriksen). Still others have argued that Jesus did indeed see himself in messianic categories, and his career was designed to evoke royal hopes from Israel's Scriptures that the day of God's kingdom with its king had finally come to Israel (e.g., B. Meyer, M. Hengel, N. T. Wright, C. A. Evans, M. F. Bird). There is no denying the ambiguity of the evidence, as seen, for example, in the royal riddle of Mark 12:35-37, where it is unclear if Jesus is denying the Davidic lineage of the Messiah or claiming that he himself, though not a Davidide, can still be the Messiah—or perhaps something else entirely. In my judgment, postulating Jesus as a messianic claimant remains historically probable from a close historical reading of the Gospels, even if the evidence is more implicit than explicit. In any case, the evidence that needs consideration is discussed below.

(1) Jesus' characteristic designation of himself as the **“Son of Man”* was pregnant with messianic significance. If Jesus spoke Aramaic, then he probably used the expression *bar(e)nasha* for this designation (see *Languages of Palestine*). The Aramaic phrase was idiomatic for a generic description of “humanity” or “someone” (and this fits neatly with several of Jesus' sayings—e.g., Mt 8:20 // Lk 9:58, where “son of man” means “I” or “people like me,” and Mt 9:6-8, where the authority given to the Son of Man parallels the authority given to human beings concerning

the Sabbath). Yet “son of man” as self-designation, in Aramaic or Hebrew, could still take on an absolute or titular meaning. The self-reference as “son of man” obviously echoes the mysterious figure described in Daniel 7, the “one like a son of man,” who is given dominion over an everlasting kingdom. The precise identity of the “son of man” figure is disputed because the imagery is full of cryptic symbolism. Yet it remains highly plausible that the imagery is multi-layered, and the mysterious “son of man” is a multi-valent symbol for God's people, kingdom and appointed king. We know from Qumran, *1 Enoch* and the book of Revelation that Daniel 7 was read messianically, and it is likely that Jesus also understood Daniel 7 in a messianic sense, and this arguably informed his usage of the phrase. Indeed, when asked at his trial by the high priest if he was the Messiah (Mk 14:61-62 par.), Jesus seems to be providing an oblique affirmation by way of reference to the Son of Man being enthroned beside God.

(2) Many of the teachings and deeds of Jesus were straight out of Isaiah, and the “anointed one” of Isaiah 61 appears to have provided something of a script for much of Jesus' work. According to Luke 4:16-21, Jesus seems to have taken Isaiah 61:1-2 as programmatic for his ministry. This suggests that Jesus saw himself in a *prophetic role, but not necessarily a messianic one. However, in the accounts that narrate Jesus' answer to the question from *John the Baptist via his disciples as to whether or not Jesus is the “one to come” (Lk 7:18-23 // Mt 11:2-6), Jesus replies with a catena of texts drawn from Isaiah about the blind receiving sight, the lame walking, lepers being cleansed, the deaf hearing, the dead being raised, and good news being preached to the poor. Jesus' reply is, in effect, that the results speak for themselves. When Jesus is asked by followers of John the Baptist if he is the deliverer that everyone has been waiting for, his reply is an indirect affirmation that he is indeed fulfilling the role of a messianic deliverer. Moreover, it is interesting that the same range of activities is explicitly predicated of the Messiah in the Qumran text 4Q521 2 II, 1-14. Although many of Jesus' activities and sayings could be ascribed simply to a sense of prophetic calling, we see elsewhere that these deeds and sayings edge into royal messianic categories of a Davidic deliverer when compared to Jewish writings from the same period.

(3) If Jesus proclaimed the *kingdom of God, then the obvious question is this: what role did Jesus see himself having in the inauguration and consummation of that kingdom? Two passages in particular

indicate that Jesus had a royal role in the coming kingdom. Mark 10:35-45 depicts the two sons of Zebedee trying to secure for themselves choice places in the forthcoming reordering of power that they were expecting Jesus to establish in this new kingdom. The two brothers accordingly ask Jesus if they can sit at his left and at his right. Similarly, Jesus tells the disciples in Matthew 19:28-29 // Luke 22:28-30 that in the future kingdom they will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel, and Jesus' position appears to be in turn over them in the kingdom. To this we can add the observation that Jesus periodically compared himself to royal figures of Israel's ancient history, such as David and Solomon. Indeed, Jesus' roles as exorcist, prophet and sage can be connected to royal traditions in Israel's sacred writings and are perhaps allusive to his royal aspirations.

(4) Several of Jesus' "I have come" (Gk. *ēlthon*) sayings, distinguished by the formula "I have come [+ purpose]," can be coordinated with messianic aims. The sayings are ambiguous, and proposed referents include Jesus' preexistence, prophetic work or messianic task. In support of the messianic connotation are three particular sayings. The content of Mark 2:17, concerning Jesus coming to call not the righteous but sinners, corresponds to 1 *Enoch* 48, where the Messiah is the one in whom sinners find hope. The material in Matthew 10:34; Luke 12:49-51; *Gospel of Thomas* 10, 82 about Jesus coming to kindle a fire or bring a sword indicates that Jesus saw his role as inaugurating the final judgment through fire, a role sometimes attributed to Israel's messiah (e.g., Dan 7:10; 4 *Ezra* 13:10; 1 *En.* 63:11). In continuity with John the Baptist, Jesus seems to have believed that it was his role as the "coming one" to initiate the eschatological judgment. Lastly, Luke 19:10 depicts Jesus as coming to seek out and to save the lost, which coheres with other sayings about Jesus coming to restore Israel (e.g., Mt 10:5-6; 15:24; 25:31-34; Mk 6:34; Jn 10:14-16). The image of a Davidic king or the Messiah coming to regather Israel like they were lost sheep (e.g., *Pss. Sol.* 17:26; Ezek 34:11-14; Shemoneh Esreh 10, 15) is a motif that Jesus appears to have applied to his own ministry.

(5) It is reported that at Caesarea Philippi Peter confessed Jesus as the Messiah (Mt 16:13-20 // Mk 8:27-30). Theologically loaded as the account is by Mark and Matthew, in all probability it contains a genuine historical tradition, since Jesus' severe rebuke of Peter is unlikely to have been retained if fictitious. The confession by Peter that Jesus is the Messiah is not rejected by Jesus; it is met with an unexpected response as Jesus seeks to redefine the

meaning of "Messiah" in line with a different string of values and along the thread of a different messianic story related to the suffering of the "Son of Man."

Further evidence for Jesus as a messianic claimant can be seen in the unfolding events of his final week in Jerusalem with his arrest, trial and crucifixion.

(1) The story of the anonymous woman who anoints Jesus at a meal occurs in all four Gospels (Mt 26:6-13; Mk 14:3-9; Lk 7:36-50; Jn 12:1-8), and it likely makes a furtive connection between Jesus' death and his identity as the "anointed one." Although the *anointing was a preparation of Jesus' body for burial (Mt 26:12 // Mk 14:8), it may well have signified the messianic significance of his death, given earlier discussions of his messianic identity among his followers and the messianic themes embedded in his forthcoming activities in Jerusalem (see Evans 2001, 360; Bauckham 2006a, 191-92).

(2) Jesus' *triumphal entry into Jerusalem suggests a deliberate and provocative attempt to fulfill the words of Zechariah 9:9 about Israel's king returning to Zion on a donkey. The reference to Psalm 118 is neither secondary nor incidental to the messianic nature of the event. In fact, the targumic version of that psalm historicizes the thanksgiving liturgy into an acclamation of God's choice of David as king (Evans 2004, 84). The pilgrims celebrate Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem as the arrival of the Davidic deliverer, and Jesus makes no effort to censure them.

(3) Jesus' action in the temple was a demonstration of his messianic prerogatives (see Temple Act). There was an intimate link between Israel's king and Israel's temple since the time of David (2 Sam 7:12-16), and an association between a new king and a new temple continued in the Persian and Second Temple periods (Zech 6:12-13; 4Q174 1 I, 3:3-10). The Messiah was supposed to rebuild and/or cleanse the temple. Jesus' demonstration against the corruption of the temple and its role in fostering nationalistic sentiments must be seen as a critique by one who claims authority to determine its function and to condemn its operation. "The entry into Jerusalem and the cleansing of the temple constituted a messianic demonstration, a messianic critique, a messianic fulfillment event, and a sign of the messianic restoration of Israel" (Meyer, 199).

(4) Jesus appears to have deliberately inflamed messianic hopes through his engagement with Judean religious leaders. In one encounter (Mk 12:35-37 par.), Jesus asked the scribes how can the Messiah can be a son of David, since in Psalm 110 David calls the Messiah his "Lord"? The saying is genuinely enigmatic and has prompted a number of interpre-

tations. Is this an example of later Christian christological exegesis of the OT read into Jesus' life? Is Mark's Jesus teaching that the Messiah is not from David's line, or that Jesus himself, though in fact the Messiah, is not a Davidide? Most likely what Jesus is doing here is redefining the meaning of messiahship. The citation of Psalm 110 specifies both the priestly function of the Messiah (given the reference to Melchizedek in Ps 110:4) and intimates the exaltation of the Messiah to sharing in God's own throne (given the reference to the title "Lord" in Ps 110:1); both themes, priestly Messiah and exalted Messiah, were current in Second Temple Judaism.

(5) Messianic themes emerge most clearly in the accounts of Jesus' death to the extent that "we cannot ignore that *the Messiah questions runs through the Passion story of all the gospels like a red thread*" (Hengel, 45). The passion prediction in Mark 14:27-28 about the shepherd being struck down and the sheep being scattered reflects Jesus' own unique interpretation of Zechariah 13:7 as designating his suffering and subsequent vindication in terms of judgment and restoration or in terms of the scattering and regathering of Israel. In other words, what is going to happen to Jesus is a microcosm of what has happened or will happen to Jesus' disciples and to Israel. The time before the end was called the "messianic woes" or the "birth pangs of the Messiah." These woes included a dark period of trial and tribulation that was to fall upon God's people as a precursor to the final manifestation of God's kingdom. Jesus probably was thinking that such woes were destined to fall upon him, and that he, by his vicarious death, would shield his people from their punitive effect. As the messianic shepherd-king, Jesus is smitten with this divine judgment in order to preserve a remnant of the faithful from the full fury of the messianic woes. So when the messianic woes come and judgment is poured out, God's people emerge purified rather than destroyed by the eschatological ordeal. It seems to have been Jesus' intent that by his death and vindication as the messianic shepherd, he would effect the eschatological regathering of Israel in the aftermath. The judgment, issued in the striking of the shepherd, results in the reconstitution of a remnant of Israel. Importantly, this mix of midrash, messianism, *apocalypticism and atonement theology is truly unique in the NT and thus is all the more likely to be authentic.

What is more, the *trial of Jesus (Mt 26:57-68; Mk 14:53-64; Lk: 22.63-71) includes accusations about threats to destroy the temple and an explicit question as to whether or not Jesus is the Messiah.

Clearly, the priestly aristocracy understood Jesus' intentions as messianic and therefore as politically inflammatory. Jesus' reply to the high priest was brief, opaque and unanticipated. Jesus appears to have tacitly acknowledged his messianic status and then announced that he would be coenthroned with God like the "Son of Man" in Daniel 7:9, 13-14. An indubitable event of Jesus' life was that he was crucified by the Romans on the charge of being a messianic pretender and mocked with the *titulus* "King of the Jews" on the cross. The *titulus* was the final verdict of what his ministry meant to the Jerusalemites—a ministry that led to the charge of being a messianic pretender in his final week—and was elicited by the various themes of his teachings and activities.

Moving into the post-Easter period, we should take note of what impact or effect Jesus had on the early church as evidence of his messianic identity. The recurrent messianic motifs in early Christian sources such as Mark, the shared tradition of Luke and Matthew, Paul's letters, and primitive confessions such as Romans 1:3-4 seem to be derived from a belief that Jesus' career was performatively messianic. The resurrection faith did not create Messiah faith, but rather it took what should have been the debris of a messianic failure and turned it into a messianic movement based on the notion that God's Messiah, though rejected by the Judean populace, had come and done what was asked of him and then was vindicated by God. The deeper we dig into the historical tradition in the Gospels, the more concrete the evidence becomes that Jesus deliberately imparted messianic hopes to those that followed him because, and only because, he was convinced that he was the anointed one pointed to by Israel's Scriptures.

3. Portrayal of Jesus as "Messiah" in the Four Gospels.

3.1. Mark. The Gospel of Mark is the earliest Gospel, and it combines the centrality of the cross from Paul's preaching with the Jesus tradition according to Peter's testimony. Mark's incipit, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus the Messiah," includes the good news about Jesus and the good news announced by Jesus (Mk 1:1, 15).

The word *christos* is used several times in Mark. Peter confesses Jesus as "the Messiah" at Caesarea Philippi, and this marks a major turning point in the narrative as attention now turns more fully to the imminent events of Jesus' confrontation with the Judean leadership and his looming crucifixion (Mk

8:29). Later, *christos* is clearly used as a referent to Jesus when it is said that there will be a reward for anyone who gives the disciples a cup of water because “you belong to the Messiah” (Mk 9:41). The word appears again in the royal riddle in Mark 12:35–37, where Jesus is tantalizingly opaque on the question of the identity of the Messiah as a son of David. His answer is, in effect, that while the Messiah is a son of David, he is more than a son of David and has a preexistent quality and carries a priestly authority as well. The word *christos* can also be used of other aspiring messianic figures as in the Olivet discourse in Mark 13. There it is said that people will be directing the crowds to other messianic claimants by announcing, “Look, here is the Messiah” or “Look, there he is,” and Jesus urges his disciples to ignore such claims. That is because such persons are “false Messiahs” (*pseudochristoi*) who perform signs and even try to deceive the elect (Mk 13:21–22).

At Jesus’ trial, after several witnesses have testified against him for his announcement of the temple’s impending destruction, the high priest asks Jesus, “Are you the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed One?” (Mk 14:61). In many ways, the high priest aptly summarizes the christological focus of Mark’s Gospel: Jesus is the Messiah. Notably, “Blessed One” is a circumlocution for “God” that avoids pronouncing the divine name, and the high priest asks Jesus if he claims to be the “Son of God.” Hence the titles “Messiah” and “Son of God” are roughly equivalent. However, “Son of God” probably carries connotations of Jesus’ unique filial relationship to God and his heavenly commission that is revealed at key points of the narrative, including his *baptism (Mk 1:11) and *transfiguration (Mk 9:7). Interesting also is that Jesus responds to the high priest affirmatively by saying, “I am,” and retorts to the high priest, “You will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the Mighty One and coming on the clouds of heaven” (Mk 14:62). It is quite possible that Jesus’ response “I am” is a deliberate allusion to the Tetragrammaton, YHWH (“Yahweh”), the name of God (cf. Ex 3:14; Is 43:10, 13; Jn 8:58).

The mention of the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven is probably not a reference to Jesus’ second coming but rather denotes his enthronement beside God as the Almighty’s vice-regent. This is plausible on two fronts. First, the parallel versions in Matthew and Luke include the qualifying phrase “from now on” (*ap arti* [Mt 26:64]; *apo tou nyn* [Lk 22:69]) they will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the Mighty One. How can it be “from now”? Most likely, Jesus’ execution is the very means

of his enthronement beside God and achieves his elevation to royal status in the very efforts of Caiaphas and his cohorts to dispose of him. Second, the picture Jesus presents coheres with the rabbinic tradition, allegedly affirmed by Rabbi Akiba and denounced by Rabbi Yose, that the multiple thrones referred to in Daniel 7:9 included one for God and one for the Son of David (*b. Hag.* 14a; *b. Sanh.* 38b). Jesus’ audacity in making such a claim is no greater than the claim made in the Qumran text 11Q13 concerning a heavenly enthronement and deification of Melchizedek. In which case, the titles “Messiah,” “Son of the Blessed One” and “Son of Man” (Mk 14:61–62) are not synonymous, but mutually interpretive. Jesus’ identity as the messianic deliverer is defined with reference to his role as one appointed by God and invested with heavenly authority, and also with respect to the suffering and vindication pattern that he enters into as the Son of Man, who is to be gloriously enthroned beside God.

The final appearance of the word *christos* in Mark is in the crucifixion scene when Jesus is mocked on the cross by the chief priests and teachers of the law. They decry Jesus with the words “Let this Messiah, this king of Israel, come down now from the cross, that we may see and believe” (Mk 15:32). Together with the *titulus* (Mk 15:26), the titles “King of Israel” and “King of the Jews” are typical examples of Mark’s dramatic irony. Throughout the passion narrative Jesus is viciously mocked as a royal pretender, and yet the reality that Mark points his audience to is that the mockery is actually true. Jesus is the rightful king rejected by the Judean leadership and brutally murdered by the Romans even though his final vindication is soon to be manifested. Indeed, the imagery in the passion sequence—salutation by the praetorian guard, bestowal of a purple robe, coronation (with thorns), procession up the Via Dolorosa, climactic acclamation of the Son of God—parallels the events that took place in the triumphal procession of Roman generals and emperors on their return to Rome after securing a great victory (Schmidt). Here we begin to capture part of Mark’s rhetorical purpose. He is trying to persuade or affirm to readers that Jesus is the Messiah, not despite the cross but precisely because of it (see Bird 2005).

Mention should also be made of the so-called messianic secret in Mark’s Gospel. W. Wrede maintained that the injunctions to silence among supplicants of healings and exorcisms were not historically authentic events from Jesus’ ministry but rather were theological additions utilized by Mark. Wrede’s theory, still influential in some circles, is that Mark

and his tradition had to devise a convincing explanation as to why no one remembered Jesus claiming to be the Messiah during his lifetime, while the church celebrated him as the Messiah after his resurrection. By employing the secrecy motif in his Gospel, Mark could simultaneously depict Jesus as the Messiah and account for the fact that it was not widely known, because Jesus deliberately kept his messianic identity a secret among his followers until after he had been raised from the dead.

There are several major problems with Wrede's thesis. First, it is unlikely that the church acclaimed Jesus as the Messiah purely on the basis of belief in his resurrection. There is nothing about a resurrection that itself would necessitate the messianic identity of Jesus in the absence of prior messianic claims by Jesus. We have no analogy for the suffering righteous one who is killed, revived, exalted and then called "the Messiah." As M. Hengel says, "The mere revivification of a person or, as the case may be, his translation into the heavenly realm, establishes neither messianic majesty nor eschatological mission, nor could it, of itself, supply the content of a message of salvation" (Hengel, 10). Second, what is silenced in Mark's Gospel is not always messianic, and what is messianic is not effectively silenced. The silences relate to more than a messianic status and include Jesus' sonship (Mk 3:11-12), miracles (Mk 5:43) and the kingdom (Mk 4:10-12). Mark has just as much of a kingdom secret and a miracle secret as he has a messianic secret (Mk 8:27-30). On top of that, the only supplicant of healing who hails Jesus in explicitly messianic terms (i.e., "Son of David") is not silenced at all (Mk 10:46-52). Thus, Jesus' injunction to the disciples not to tell anyone about his identity as the Messiah (Mk 8:30) is hardly programmatic for the book and is part of a larger secrecy motif in the Gospel as a whole whereby the mysterious identity of Jesus is only gradually revealed. F. J. Matera aptly summarizes what Mark meant by applying the title "Christ" to Jesus: "The Messiah is the Spirit-anointed Son of God who proclaims the arrival of God's kingdom in word and deed. He heals the sick, expels demons, and even extends his ministry to Gentiles. Most important, he gives his life as a ransom for the many. Having suffered, died, and risen from the dead, he will return as the glorious Son of Man" (Matera, 24).

The most distinguishing feature of Mark's messianism is his focus on the passion as the means whereby Jesus' identity as the Messiah is revealed. In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus is the Messiah who proclaims the kingdom of God, and yet we are con-

fronted at the end of the narrative with the kingship of the crucified Messiah. Mark wants to define messiahship in light of Jesus' ministry, death and resurrection. Mark's theological purpose is to lead his audience to see the cross as the place where the saving power of the kingdom is unleashed, where Jesus' identity as Messiah is manifested, and where the true pattern of *discipleship is set forth.

3.2. Matthew. Matthew replicates much of Mark's usage of *christos*, but he also projects his own perspective into the tradition in his effort to show that Christians follow an authentically Jewish Messiah. The opening words of Matthew's Gospel, "Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham," cement the Jewish credentials of Jesus (Mt 1:1). The subsequent *genealogy shows that Jesus' familial origins are rooted in Israel's sacred history, and that he belongs within the house of David. Joseph is the husband of *Mary, and since Joseph stands in the dynastic line of David, Jesus is qualified to be the Messiah (Mt 1:16). From Abraham to David were fourteen generations, and from the Babylonian exile to the Messiah were also fourteen generations (Mt 1:17). After the genealogy (Mt 1:1-17) Matthew proceeds to detail the "birth of the Messiah" (Mt 1:18), where Jesus is portrayed as the fulfillment and climax of Israel's postexilic history. Overall, Matthew emphasizes the picture of Jesus as the royal Son of David and Israel's shepherd-king in order to show, in dialogue with the OT, that Jesus is the awaited deliverer of Israel (Willitts). Another unique element of the Matthean Jesus is that his messianic role also includes his role as teacher and eschatological judge of the nations.

Matthew accents the royal status of Jesus in several places, beginning with usage of the title *christos* when the magi ask about the birth of the "king of the Jews" and Herod responds by inquiring with the scribes about OT prophecies concerning the birthplace of the Messiah (Mt 2:1-4). When the Matthean Jesus enters Jerusalem, he is hailed as the "Son of David" to the consternation of the chief priests and teachers of the *law (Mt 21:9, 15). Matthew also includes the unit about the royal riddle as to how the Messiah can also be a *son of David when David calls him "Lord." Matthew's introduction to the unit is prefaced with the provocative question "What do you think of the Messiah?" (Mt 22:42).

John the Baptist sends a delegation to Jesus to inquire if he really is the Messiah (apparently, time in prison caused the Baptist to have some doubts), John's question having been prompted by his hearing about the "deeds of the Messiah" (Mt 11:2). The

question is whether or not Jesus is actually performing the messianic signs of liberation, as John could do with some rescuing himself. Matthew believes that Jesus passes muster as a messianic deliverer, and John should not confuse the presence of the kingdom with its reception.

Matthew gives his own stamp to the confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi, and the Matthean Jesus calls Jesus "the Messiah, the Son of the living God" (Mt 16:16). The emphasis falls upon Jesus as the Son with an exalted status who fulfills all the messianic hopes of Judaism. Matthew is also more explicit than Mark in the injunction to secrecy concerning Jesus' messianic identity (Mt 16:20).

Probably the characteristic element of Matthew, at least in relation to Mark, is that the Matthean Jesus is a teaching Messiah, not only a suffering and vindicated Messiah. As such, his messianism also presents Jesus as a new Moses, in addition to being the Son of David par excellence. Disciples of Jesus have one *teacher, who is the Messiah (Mt 23:10), which indicates the exclusive authority that Jesus' teaching possesses for his followers. That is why the commands of the risen Jesus need to be taught to all nations (Mt 28:19-20). Matthew also makes Jesus' messiahship slightly more explicit in the trial scene as the soldiers torment Jesus with the words "Prophecy to us, Messiah! Who is it that hit you?" (Mt 26:68). Twice Pilate refers to Jesus "who is called Messiah" (Mt 27:17, 22), making the messianic question a more divisive issue at Jesus' trial.

Jesus' messiahship is significant for Matthew because it provides the primary connection between the Christians of Matthew's day and Israel's sacred history. Jesus preserves together both the old and the new (Mt 9:17), and he affirms the validity of Israel's law and the prophetic promises, but he also draws in the Gentile Christians into the family of Abraham. Because the Messiah is a son of David as well as a son of Abraham, Matthew can envisage Gentiles entering into communion with Israel's God by following the teachings of Israel's Messiah (e.g., Mt 4:15-16; 8:5-13; 10:18; 12:18-21; 24:14; 25:32; 28:19-20).

3.3. Luke. The Gospel of Luke has its own distinctive Christology within the wider discourse of Luke-Acts as a whole. Luke inherits several uses of *christos* from Mark but still employs them within his own unique matrix of Jesus as the Spirit-anointed prophet and messiah who brings the forgiveness of sins to his people (see Bird 2007). It is unclear whether it is the royal or prophetic nature of Jesus' anointed identity that is uppermost (see Porter, 145), but the two anointed roles are hardly mutually ex-

clusive, and they coalesce as part of Luke's effort to depict Jesus as God's appointed agent for the deliverance of Jews and Gentiles.

In the birth narratives, an angel of the Lord announces to the shepherds that a savior has been born who is "the Messiah the Lord" (*christos kyrios*) (Lk 2:11; cf. the very similar expressions in Lam 4:20; Pss. Sol. 17:32), which is arguably a proper title. A bit further on in the same narrative sequence Simeon waits for the "consolation of Israel" (Lk 2:25), and he is promised that he will not die before he sees "the Lord's Messiah" (*christos kyriou* [Lk 2:26]), which is equivalent to "the Lord's Anointed." Later, John the Baptist is asked if he is the "Messiah," and he responds by contrasting his own ministry of preparation with the "stronger one" who will baptize with the *Holy Spirit and with fire (Lk 3:16), which intimates the role of the Messiah to bring cleansing or judgment upon the earth. At one point Luke reports that in Jesus' exorcisms the *demons kept shouting, "You are the Son of God!" but Jesus would not let them speak because "they knew he was the Messiah" (Lk 4:41). This acutely amplifies the secrecy motif found in Mark and places it more lucidly in relation to Jesus' messianic identity, and it also reflects a tradition about royal figures, such as David and Solomon, who were regarded as exorcists. Luke also accentuates Peter's confession of Jesus as the Messiah by using the more Semitic expression "the Messiah of God" (Lk 9:20). In the passion story Luke essentially follows Mark's usage of *christos* with a few minor changes. For instance, Luke's Jesus makes no mention of false messiahs (Lk 17:23-24; cf. Mt 24:23-24 // Mk 13:21-22), and at the trial the high priest asks Jesus if he is "the Messiah" (Lk 22:67) but follows that with another question, "Are you the Son of God?" to which Jesus answers affirmatively but somewhat indirectly with "You say that I am" (Lk 22:70). The priests also accuse Jesus before Pilate with political charges of perverting the nation, preventing tribute being paid to Caesar, and calling himself "Messiah a king" (Lk 23:2). Pilate himself questions Jesus if he is indeed "the King of the Jews," and Jesus replies with yet another indirect response, "You say so" (Lk 23:3). Luke thus enlists Jewish and Roman officials into discussions of Jesus' messianic identity; they participate in executing Jesus despite the fact that he is innocent (Lk 23:4, 13-16, 22).

Material unique to Luke about Jesus as the Messiah occurs in the resurrection narrative. When the risen Jesus appears to the two travelers on the way to Emmaus, Luke has Jesus rhetorically asking them, "Was it not necessary for the Messiah to suffer these

things and then to enter his glory?" (Lk 24:26). This is the clearest indication we have that the Scriptures were regarded as teaching that the Messiah had to suffer as part of his divinely foreordained role. Luke arguably reads Jewish messianic hopes in light of the psalms about the suffering righteous one, and that is how he is able to bring the two themes together. The same point is reiterated again in a fuller form in Luke 24:44-47, where it is declared by the risen Jesus that everything must be fulfilled about him in the "law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms" that the "Messiah will suffer and rise from the dead on the third day," leading to *repentance and the *forgiveness of sins being preached in his name. Importantly, this interpretive maneuver could be ascertained only when Jesus "opened their minds so that they could understand the Scriptures" (Lk 24:45). Hence, being able to read the Scriptures messianically (as pointing to the passion and exaltation of the Messiah) is more a matter of divine illumination than simply good biblical interpretation.

It is impossible to discuss the Christology of Luke without also having a glance at the book of Acts. The vast majority of the references to *christos* in Acts involve a designation for Jesus as "Jesus Christ" (Acts 2:36; 3:6; 4:10; 8:12; 9:34; 10:36, 48; 16:18), "Christ Jesus" (Acts 18:5; 24:24) and "the Lord Jesus Christ" (Acts 11:17; 15:26; 28:31). This is evidence that *christos* has certainly become a namelike designation for Jesus even if all titular significance has not yet dissipated. Elsewhere in Acts, *christos* is used to present Jesus as the fulfillment of messianic hopes in apostolic preaching before Jewish audiences. Peter's Pentecost sermon reaches its summit with the announcement that Jesus is both "Lord and Messiah" (Acts 2:36). The notion of the ordained suffering of the Messiah is also accented at several points (Acts 2:31; 3:18; 17:3; 26:23) and is concurrent with the affirmation that Jesus is "the Messiah appointed for you [Israel]" who will bring "times of refreshing for the nation" and "restore everything as he [God] promised long ago through the prophets" (Acts 3:18-21). Again and again many of the apostles preach to their audiences that "Jesus is the Messiah" (Acts 5:42; 8:5; 9:22; 17:3; 18:28) in the context of the fulfillment of the scriptural promises about God's coming deliverance.

The most christologically significant aspect of Acts is that, in contrast to the largely narrative Christology of the Gospel of Luke, the Christology of Acts is derived mainly from the titles. Of the two primary titles for Jesus in Acts, "Lord" and "Messiah," the latter is the more dominating description.

As Matera observes, "Of the many terms that Luke employs to identify Jesus, then, 'Messiah' is among the most important. Indeed, one could argue that it is *the* title in reference to which all others are to be understood" (Matera, 89).

3.4. John. The Gospel of John was composed probably at a time when confession of Jesus as the Messiah was a lasting point of division between Jews who believed in Jesus and Jews who did not. Consequently, the stated purpose of the Fourth Gospel is its attempt to persuade its audience that "Jesus is the Messiah" (Jn 20:31). To that end, the Fourth Gospel parades an ensemble of witnesses to prove the case that Jesus is the Messiah sent by God and has a unique relationship to the Father (see Bauckham 2006b).

In two places *christos* is used in the formulaic designation "Jesus Christ" (Jn 1:17; 17:3). The Aramaic word for "messiah" is transliterated into the Greek *messias* and translated as *christos* for the benefit of the reader at two points (Jn 1:41; 4:25). Following the prologue, John the Baptist explicitly denies that he is the Messiah (Jn 1:20, 25; cf. Jn 3:28), and later the Baptist testifies that Jesus is the Son of God (Jn 1:34). After meeting Jesus, Andrew seeks out his brother Peter with the news that "We have found the Messiah" (Jn 1:41), which probably is the profession of faith of the Johannine network responsible for transmitting the traditions behind the Fourth Gospel. Philip goes on to describe Jesus as the one foretold by "the law and prophets" (Jn 1:45). Nathaniel's encounter with Jesus results in his guileless affirmation of Jesus as rabbi, the "Son of God" and the "King of Israel" (Jn 1:49). Although the disciples do not yet fully grasp the true meaning of Jesus' identity, they are witnesses to Jesus' divine sonship and messianic mission.

The expectation of a messianic deliverer is attested by the Samaritan woman, who says that the Messiah is thought to "make known all things" (Jn 4:25). She is persuaded by Jesus' mysterious knowledge of her life that he is the Messiah (Jn 4:29). In a moment of narrative irony, the Samaritans embrace the salvation that is from the Jews with the advent of the Jewish Messiah (Jn 4:22), while the Judean leaders threaten to expel anyone from the synagogue who confessed Jesus to be the Messiah (Jn 9:22). This evidently reflects some kind of internecine conflict between Jews and Jesus-believing Jews about the validity of faith in Jesus as Messiah within Jewish communities of the post-A.D. 70 period. Martha is another woman enlisted as a witness to Jesus' messianic identity when she exclaims, "I believe that you are

the Messiah, the Son of God, the one coming into the world" (Jn 11:27).

We find in John 7:25-44 that Jewish messianic speculations are set in juxtaposition to the messianic identity of Jesus. The crowd wonders if the Judean authorities privately believe that Jesus is the Messiah, since they refuse to move against him, and yet there is some doubt among the crowd about Jesus because no one is supposed to know where the Messiah is from (Jn 7:26-27). Then again, the signs that Jesus does are regarded by the crowd as clear evidence of his messianic credentials (Jn 7:31), yet some are still hesitant because the Messiah comes not from Galilee but rather from Bethlehem (Jn 7:41-43). A similar juxtaposition recurs in John 12:34, where the crowd has an expectation according to the law that the "Messiah remains forever," and they are accordingly perplexed as to why the Son of Man is lifted up (i.e., dies). This leads to their question "Who is the Son of Man?" This unit witnesses to both the equation of the Messiah with the Son in Jewish tradition and confusion about what Christians meant by calling Jesus "the Son of Man."

The works that Jesus performs showcase the fact that he was sent by the Father, but they also disclose his messianic mission. A group of Jews gathers around Jesus in the temple and demands that he end the suspense and tell them plainly if he is the Messiah. Jesus responds that he has told them, but they do not believe even though the works that he does in his Father's name testify to him (Jn 10:22-25). The primary problem in this episode is not simply the Jews' difficulty to fit Jesus into their preformed messianic ideas, but their inability to accept Jesus' claim that he is the Messiah and the Son of God, who shares in the divine life of the Father (Jn 10:37-38). For John, belief in Jesus as the Messiah cannot simply be read off the surface of his words and deeds; messianic faith is not arrived by human deduction, but comes only by revelation (Jn 6:44-45).

The Fourth Gospel attests the diversity among Jewish groups about messianic figures and polemics against Christians for believing in Jesus as Messiah. What is more, the profession of Jesus as the Messiah is clearly important to the evangelist yet subordinate to the claim that Jesus is the transcendent Son of God, who participates in the divine identity of the Father. Viewed this way, the Johannine Jesus exemplifies a redefinition of messiahship to account for Jewish disbelief in Jesus' messianic status and his unique position in relation to Israel's God. Proclaiming Jesus as Messiah is also imperative for the author as an evangelist of his own covenant people (Pryor).

More importantly, in the Fourth Gospel the Messiah undertakes the role as God's word to Israel and also God's savior for the whole world. Indeed, "As Messiah of Israel, the Word incarnate accomplishes deliverance not only for his own but for the world. . . . The Mission of the Word in the world includes the people of Israel and intends their deliverance, but it also extends to the whole world, because the God of Israel is the Lord of the universe, and the incarnate Word the agent of its creation" (Thompson, 172).

4. Conclusion.

Ultimately, the name "Jesus Christ" is embedded with the story and status of Jesus of Nazareth as the anointed deliverer appointed for Israel and for the nations too. The theological texture and the rhetorical movement of the evangelists are largely focused upon the identity of Jesus as the messianic savior of Israel. In sum, the messianic identity of Jesus is of paramount importance for the *Christology of the evangelists. The evangelists are unanimous that Jesus is the Messiah, who fulfills the scriptural promises of a coming deliverer to redeem Israel from their plight. In his exalted state he also is the leader of the renewed people of God comprised of both Jews and Gentiles.

See also CHRISTOLOGY; EXILE AND RESTORATION; "I AM" SAYINGS; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; LORD; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS; SON OF DAVID; SON OF GOD; SON OF MAN.

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CHRISTOLOGY

The Gospels are "lives" of Jesus (in the sense of the ancient literary genre of biography) (see Gospel: Genre). As such, they are strongly focused on the identity and career of their subject, Jesus of Nazareth, and contain a wealth of "christological" material that is not easily summarized in a brief space. Additionally, they were written to relate closely to the Hebrew Scriptures, recording a new and climactic chapter in the story of God, his world and his people that those Scriptures tell. The Gospels share major common characteristics, while each also has its distinctive contribution to make.

1. The Christology of the Gospels: Common Characteristics
2. Gospel of Mark
3. Gospel of Matthew
4. Gospel of Luke
5. Gospel of John

1. The Christology of the Gospels: Common Characteristics.

We can summarize the common characteristics of their Christology as follows.

1.1. Narrative Christology. The Gospels tell the story of Jesus. They frame their accounts of who Jesus is around and within the story that they tell about him. The question of Jesus' identity is raised by what he does and says and suffers. It is discussed among the characters in the story: Jesus himself, his disciples, the people, his enemies. There are moments of disclosure when God declares who Jesus is. What he does and suffers reveals who he is. But more than that, it is actually through the story that Jesus becomes who he now is: the crucified, risen and exalted Lord. The Gospels tell a story that maintains the identity of the earthly Jesus, in the life he once lived, with the living and exalted Jesus, who reigns with God and is known to his followers now. The story of his human life and death tells us not only what he has done for us, but also who he now is: still the man Jesus of Nazareth, still the one who was crucified, still the one who shares the identity of the one God. Recognizing the narrative Christology of the Gospels should warn us against taking the chris-

tological titles in the Gospels (such as “Messiah” and “Son of God”) as autonomous units of meaning. Although the scriptural background of these titles is important for understanding them (see below), the Gospel narratives serve to give them their full and precise meaning within the Gospels. They may sum up the narratives, but they also need the narratives to explain them.

1.2. *Metanarrational Christology.* Not only do the Gospels tell the story of Jesus; they also connect that story with the biblical metanarrative, the grand story of God, his people and his world, which began with creation and will conclude in the eschatological future with the new creation of all things. The full significance of Jesus can be seen only in that universal context. Each of the Gospels begins by linking its story back into the OT’s story, each in a different and distinctive way. One way in which all of them connect Jesus’ story with Israel’s hopes of salvation is by prefacing their account of Jesus’ ministry with an account of the preaching of *John the Baptist, greatest of Israel’s prophets. Moreover, the Gospels not only connect their story backwards to the OT’s “story so far”; they also point ahead, each in different ways, to the future “coming soon”: the mission of the new, messianic people of God to the world and the completion of God’s purposes through Jesus at his future coming. The Jesus of the Gospels is a unique figure in that he is both the one for whom the whole story told in the OT prepares and the one who holds the destiny of the whole world in his hands.

1.3. *Scriptural Christology.* That Jesus and the events of his life, ministry, suffering, *death, *resurrection and exaltation fulfilled the promises of God in the OT is a theme that is prominent in all the Gospels. It appears not only in the many explicit quotations from the Scriptures, but also in many allusions, such as those to the Psalms, that are a major feature of the passion narratives in all the Gospels (see Old Testament in the Gospels). Some of these quotations and allusions refer to messianic prophecies that were well recognized at the time. Others refer to passages that were not commonly read as messianic (such as Is 52–53). Still others refer to prophecies of coming *salvation that are not explicitly messianic in the OT. A messiah or messiahs were not always prominent in Jewish expectations of future salvation, but the Gospels focus all of these on Jesus. Furthermore, the Scriptures that are “fulfilled” by Jesus are not all explicitly prophetic. The Gospels identify in the OT many prefigurings, patterns and trends that point to or culminate in Jesus (see Typology). Finally, the titles that the Gospels use to sum up Jesus’ identity are

mostly derived from the Hebrew Scriptures: “Messiah” (anointed one) (see Christ), “king,” *Son of David,” *Son of God,” *Lord” and the enigmatic *Son of Man.” Some of these were in use as messianic titles among Jews at the time, others were not. It is important to recognize that the Gospels do not just take up a ready-made messianic expectation and apply it to Jesus. The fabric of reference to Scripture is very distinctive, featuring themes (such as the suffering and death of the Messiah or his exaltation to God’s heavenly throne) that were not commonly discerned in the OT by other Jews, while some messianic themes (such as the military defeat of Israel’s enemies) are ignored by the Gospels. The scriptural Christology of the Gospels has its roots in the distinctive ways in which Jesus himself discerned his identity and mission in the Scriptures and in the creative exegesis of Scripture in which early Christians engaged as a means of interpreting Jesus and his story. It entails a two-way interpretative process: understanding Jesus in the light of the Scriptures and understanding the Scriptures in the light of Jesus.

1.4. *Salvation-Historical Christology.* Christology in the Gospels (as in the rest of the NT) is intimately connected with soteriology. The story of Jesus is told as the decisive stage of the story of how God has acted for the salvation and renewal both of his people Israel and of the whole creation. So Jesus appears as the one who has a unique mission from God to be the Savior of the world. In the terminology of the Synoptic Gospels, this can be summed up by saying that he came to proclaim and to inaugurate the *kingdom of God; in the terminology of the Gospel of John, that he came to bring eternal *life. We may add that in the biblical expectation God was expected to come not only to redeem his people and the nations, but also to be present with them. In a variety of ways the Gospels portray Jesus as the presence of *God with his people (e.g., Mt 1:23; Jn 1:14–18).

1.5. *Relational Christology.* The Gospel narratives are not about Jesus in isolation from others; rather, they are very much about Jesus in relationship and interaction with many other characters in the stories: *God his Father, the *Holy Spirit, *angels, Satan and the *demons, and a wide variety of human characters. The identity of Jesus is constituted and clarified as his relationship to these other characters is established. For example, in all the Gospels he is portrayed as “the Son” in relation to “the Father,” as sent by the Father and doing the Father’s will, as receiving and bestowing the Spirit, as a teacher of *disciples, as brother to those whom he calls brothers and sisters, as overcoming Satan, as

restoring health and life and relationship with God to people in a variety of situations of need, as sacrificing his life for others, as the son of *Mary, as a Jew in relation to other Jews and to *Samaritans and to *Gentiles. His character, to which there is rarely explicit reference in the Gospels, emerges in these relationships, as was common in ancient biographical narrative. The identity of Jesus in the Gospels would be meaningless without this complex of concrete relationships with other persons. We should note also that his uniquely universal identity emerges when he is said to be related to all *Israel (e.g., Lk 1:33), to all people (e.g., Jn 12:32) and even to the whole creation (e.g., Mt 28:18).

1.6. Divine Identity Christology. I have proposed this term to describe the way in which all the NT documents relate Jesus to God by including him in the unique identity of the one God, the God of Israel (see Bauckham). This God was unique because he was the only Creator of all things and the only sovereign Lord over all things. Everything else was created by him and is subject to his rule. Consequently, in the Jewish tradition, only this unique God was to be worshiped. Being the unique Creator and the only Sovereign are not roles that God could delegate to a created being, such as an angel. They are integral to who God is—his unique divine identity. What early Christians did was include Jesus in this unique divine identity by speaking of him sharing in the inalienable prerogatives of the one God. They believed that he had been exalted to sit at the right hand of God on the throne from which he governed the universe—the symbol of God’s unique lordship. They included the *worship of Jesus in their worship of the one God. They even claimed that Jesus, as the preexistent divine Son, participated with God the Father in creating all things. These facets of divine identity Christology will prove relevant to the Gospels, all of which maintain such a Christology, though in varying ways.

2. Gospel of Mark.

It makes sense to begin with Mark’s Gospel. Not only is it very probably the earliest of the Gospels, but also most of Mark’s material was taken over by Matthew and Luke into their own compositions. In doing so, they took over most of the major features of Mark’s Christology. John’s Gospel (whether or not John knew Mark’s Gospel itself) also takes up major features of Mark’s Christology and develops them further.

Mark’s Gospel is strongly focused on answering the question “Who is Jesus?” which is explicitly asked by characters in the Gospel (Mk 4:41), includ-

ing Jesus himself (Mk 8:27, 29). Readers know from the outset that Jesus is the Messiah (Mk 1:1, where “Son of God” is probably not part of the original text), but the characters in the story have to discover this, while both readers and characters must learn in what way Jesus is the Messiah, what his messianic mission entails. In order to expound this, Mark constructs the narrative in a way that is as much pedagogic as it is chronological. Almost all of Jesus’ miracles occur in the first part of the book, the part that culminates in Peter’s confession, “You are the Messiah” (Mk 8:30). In this first half of the narrative Jesus proclaims the coming of God’s kingdom and, by his miracles, evidently claims an instrumental role in the coming of the kingdom, though he says nothing explicitly about who he is. In the *miracles—exorcisms, healings, nature miracles—Jesus acts with the power and authority of God. This is the evidence on the basis of which Peter is able to recognize him as the Messiah. But no sooner has Peter made this confession than Jesus begins to teach his disciples that he will be rejected, suffer, be put to death and rise again (Mk 8:31) (*see* Predictions of Jesus’ Passion and Resurrection). This becomes the theme of the second half of the narrative. As Jesus continues to teach his disciples this, it is clear that they cannot reconcile it with their own expectation of a Messiah who will take power and reign in *Jerusalem (cf. Mk 10:35-40).

As in all the Gospels, Jesus is reticent about revealing his own identity, indicating it in indirect ways (e.g., Mk 2:19-20; 3:27) and leaving people to draw their own conclusions from his miracles. Often he talks about his mission and destiny in sayings that refer to “the Son of Man” (Mk 2:10, 28; 8:31, 38; 9:9, 12, 31; 10:33, 45; 14:21, 41), a term that in Mark’s Gospel remains an enigmatic, indirect form of self-reference until it acquires the overtone of allusion to the “one like a human being [son of man]” in Daniel 7:13 (Mk 13:26; 14:62). As well as Jesus’ apparent reluctance to speak directly of his own identity, Mark emphasizes his commands to those who recognize something of this to keep quiet about it (demons [Mk 1:34; 3:12]; recipients of miracles [Mk 1:44; 5:43; 7:36; 8:26]; disciples [Mk 8:30; 9:9]). The motive for this so-called messianic secret is debated. The fact that Jesus’ command to the demoniac from the Decapolis, a Gentile, is quite the opposite—to spread the news of his deliverance—suggests that the secret relates to Jesus’ Jewish context. It may be due to his desire to define his role for himself rather than having some ready-made notion of the Messiah imposed on him. It may also be that Jesus knows his exercise of divine *authority

is going to arouse opposition that will threaten his life (so already in Mk 3:8) and wishes to avoid this until the right moment comes.

In any case, the time to avoid publicity ends with Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem. His entry into Jerusalem on a donkey (Mk 11:1-10) is a claim to be the messianic king, though made not in words but rather in a symbolic enactment of messianic prophecy (see Zech 9:9-10) (see *Triumphal Entry*). The prophecy is a carefully selected reference to the king who comes in **peace*, not on a horse for war. Messianic kingship is a major theme of this last section of Mark's Gospel, beginning with Bartimaeus's use of the royal title "Son of David" (Mk 10:47, the first occurrence in the narrative [cf. Mk 12:35-37]). The title "king of the Jews," a version of "messiah" that Gentiles could understand, dominates the Roman part of the passion narrative (Mk 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26, 32). But at the same time as Mark highlights Jesus' identity as the Davidic Messiah, he also narrates the fulfillment of Jesus' predictions of his sufferings and death. This is a paradoxical kind of kingship in humiliation, the way of the king who "came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many" (Mk 10:45).

The royal Messiah of scriptural and Jewish expectation could be called "son of God" (2 Sam 7:14; Pss 2:7; 89:26; Mk 14:61), though this title was not used often. Mark, however, gives it special prominence by making it the content of two divine disclosures: one at the very beginning of Jesus' ministry (Mk 1:13), when the words are addressed to Jesus ("You are my Son"), and another at the central point in the whole story (Mk 9:7), when the words are addressed to the disciples ("This is my Son"). These two disclosures are complemented by a third, at the point of Jesus' death (Mk 15:39), when the words are those not of God but rather of the Roman centurion ("This man was the Son of God"). This time the disclosure is to the world. Thus, Jesus' sonship entails a mission grounded in God the Father's love for him (Mk 1:13; cf. Mk 12:6) and will be fulfilled in the **glory* for which he is destined in the coming kingdom (Mk 9:2-3; cf. Mk 8:38; 13:26), but its true character is most adequately enacted in the obedient love that took him to his God-forsaken death (cf. Mk 14:35-41).

Much of Mark's Christology can thus be described in terms of messianic identity, defined by means of a narrative that leads to the cross and by appropriate scriptural allusions that were not part of the common Jewish repertoire of messianic prophecies (Pss 22:1-18; 118:22-23; Is 42:1; 52:13-53:12; Zech 9:9-10; 13:7). However, there is a further dimension of Mark's Christol-

ogy, a secret deeper than the messianic secret. The latter is never a secret for readers of Mark's Gospel, though the narrative certainly serves to unfold it more fully for them, but the secret of Jesus' divine identity is kept from readers in the sense that Mark only points indirectly to it and raises questions that suggest an answer not given until Jesus finally makes his only explicit self-identification (Mk 14:62).

There are seven main passages in which Jesus exercises or claims uniquely divine authority (five contain unanswered questions about Jesus' identity; the last contains a question that Jesus answers). (1) In Mark 1:21-27 Jesus exorcises the demon not by special techniques or by praying to God or invoking God's name, as other exorcists did, but instead by exercising directly the authority of God to command the powers of evil. (2) In Mark 2:1-12 Jesus does what, as the **scribes* correctly observe, only God can do (Mk 2:7): he **forgives* sins (cf. Is 43:25; Mic 7:18-19). (3) In Mark 4:35-41 Jesus, just as he had rebuked and silenced the demon (Mk 1:25), rebukes and silences the sea (Mk 4:39; cf. Pss 74:13-14; 89:8-9; 107:25-30), leaving disciples and readers with the question "Who is this?" (Mk 4:41). (4) In Mark 6:47-52 Jesus tramples the waves like God (cf. Job 9:8-11; Is 43:16) and declares "I am he," which, in this epiphanic context, echoes the uniquely divine self-declaration found in Isaiah (e.g., Is 41:4). (5) When Jesus asks, "Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone" (Mk 10:18), he does not, as many exegetes think, disclaim divinity, but rather suggests, cryptically, his participation in God's unique identity as the sole source of all good (cf. 2 Macc 1:24-25). (6) In Mark 12:35-37 it is Jesus himself who asks the unanswered question, implying that although the Messiah is, of course, David's son, he is also much more than David's son, since Psalm 110:1 indicates that he reigns not from David's throne, but rather from God's, and so David calls him his "Lord." This would be as explicit as Mark 14:64 about Jesus' divine identity (see below), were it not that Jesus, as usual, refrains from identifying himself as the Messiah.

Finally, (7) in answer to the high priest (Mk 14:61-64), Jesus for the first and only time in Mark's Gospel explicitly accepts the title "Messiah," but, much more than that, he goes on to declare his own identity in the terms that he chooses, which are considerably more exalted and provoke the verdict of blasphemy. He quotes Psalm 110:1 and Daniel 7:13, key texts for the divine identity Christology of the early Christians. He is to sit at God's right hand, sharing with God the throne of the cosmos, participating in the unique divine sovereignty over all things. Within the

framework of early Jewish theology this was one of the clearest ways in which Jesus could be included in the identity of the one God. So at Mark 14:62 the secret of Jesus' divine identity is divulged.

Mark establishes Jesus' divine identity within a very clearly monotheistic context (cf. the Shema, quoted in Mk 12:29-30, with key allusions to it in Mk 2:27; 10:18). It is not enough to say, with some scholars, that Jesus exercises God's authority as his human agent, for as the passages in the OT cited above show, the prerogatives that Jesus claims are intrinsic to God's identity, inalienable aspects of what distinguishes God from all his creatures. In the light of Jesus' divine identity we can also revisit the topic of Jesus' sonship to God and see in it something more than a messianic status. Just as Jesus' messianic authority turns out to be more than that of the human messiah of Jewish expectation, so his sonship to God can be seen as the unique intimacy of relationship to his Father that Jesus enjoys within the divine identity.

Finally, we should notice that Mark, already in his prologue, where he roots the narrative in the Hebrew Scriptures by quoting Isaiah (Is 40:3, conflated with Mal 3:1), follows the widespread early Christian practice of applying to Jesus biblical texts in which "the Lord" (Gk. *ho kyrios*) refers to Yahweh (Is 40:3 = Mk 1:3). For scripturally alert readers, Jesus' divine identity can thus be discerned from the outset.

3. Gospel of Matthew.

Matthew takes over Mark's narrative even more comprehensively than Luke does. With it comes much of Mark's Christology, although Matthew fails to appreciate several of Mark's pointers to Jesus' unique divine identity (see Mt 8:27; 9:8; 19:17). On the other hand, as we will see, Matthew has a variety of ways of portraying and expounding Jesus' divine identity that were not to be found in Mark.

We should begin, however, with the care that Matthew takes to present his narrative as the climax of the biblical metanarrative, which the *genealogy (Mt 1:1-17) serves to resume. The story from *Abraham to the Messiah divides into three phases, after which the Messiah's role must clearly be to redeem his people from the condition into which they have fallen under David's successors. But the genealogy presents Jesus not only as the Son of David, but also as the Son of Abraham, recalling the promise that through Abraham's offspring all the nations would be blessed (Gen 12:3; 22:18). Jesus is thus heralded as the Jewish Messiah for Gentiles as well as for Jews, a theme continued in the infancy narrative, as representative Gentiles come to pay homage to the newly

born king of the Jews (Mt 2:1-12). Matthew later follows Mark in highlighting Jesus' status as king of the Jews in the Roman section of the passion narrative (Mt 27:11, 29, 37, 42; cf. also Mt 21:3), but the title "Son of David" is much more prominent in Matthew than in Mark (see Mt 1:20; 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30-31; 21:9, 15; 22:41-45). Many of these references associate the title with Jesus' healings and exorcisms, and it has been suggested that here Jesus is modeled on King Solomon, the son of David, famous as an exorcist. It is more likely that for Matthew the title simply designates the royal Messiah of Israel, to whom he can attribute healings because he identifies him with the Servant of the Lord in Isaiah (Mt 8:17; 12:18-21). The fact that the Canaanite woman appeals to Jesus as "Son of David" (Mt 15:22) conforms to Matthew's portrayal of Jesus as the Jewish Messiah for Gentiles and recalls the Canaanite women in the Davidic genealogy (Mt 1:3, 5). She is one of the special exceptions to the rule that Jesus' mission is to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 15:24; cf. Mt 10:5-6), extended to the Gentiles only in the final commission to the disciples (Mt 28:19), which at the end of the Gospel forms an inclusio with "son of Abraham" at the beginning (Mt 1:1).

Matthew, with his special interest in the fulfillment of prophecy, draws on a much wider range of biblical sources than Mark, especially but not only in his fourteen formally quoted prophecies (Mt 1:22-23; 2:5-6, 15, 17-18, 23; 3:3; 4:14-16; 8:17; 12:17-21; 13:14-15, 35; 21:4-5; 26:56; 27:9-10). Moreover, Matthew's ways of relating Jesus to the biblical history of Israel are not confined to prophecies in the narrow sense. He also suggests a kind of identification of Jesus with God's people that involves a recapitulation of Israel's early history in the story of Jesus. Like Israel, Jesus in his infancy goes to Egypt and returns, which leads Matthew to cite the words of the prophet Hosea, "Out of Egypt I have called my son" (Mt 2:15 = Hos 11:1). In Hosea the reference is to the exodus. The forty days in which Jesus is tested in the wilderness echo Israel's forty years in the wilderness, and all of the scriptural texts that Jesus quotes against the devil in this context are from Deuteronomy (Mt 4:1-11).

In Matthew Jesus is, much more prominently than in Mark, a *teacher. Indeed, he is the one and only teacher of his disciples, who can never duplicate his unique role (Mt 23:8-11). The disciples' own mission is to "make disciples . . . teaching them to obey everything that [Jesus] has commanded" the original disciples (Mt 28:19-20). It has sometimes been argued that Matthew presents Jesus as a new *Moses, teaching the people and his disciples in five major

discourses (Mt 5:1–7:27; 10:5–42; 13:1–52; 18:1–35; 24:3–25:46), echoing the five books of the law of Moses. The first of these discourses is given on a *mountain (Mt 5:1), recalling the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. However, while these resemblances may be intentional, especially in the case of the *Sermon on the Mount, where Jesus interprets the *law of Moses, there is probably too little to constitute a “new Moses” Christology. When Jesus interprets the law in Matthew 5:17–48 (see also Mt 19:3–9), he does so with a sovereign authority (“I say to you”) that puts him in a position more like that of God, who gave the law, than of Moses, who mediated it. This certainly would cohere with other indications of Jesus’ divine identity in Matthew. It is also notable that when Jesus commends his teaching, he does so in words based on those of God’s *Wisdom personified (Mt 11:28–30; cf. Sir 24:9; 51:23–26). This is the clearest indication of a Wisdom Christology in Matthew, which some scholars consider a broader characteristic of this Gospel.

Matthew’s distinctive take on the divine identity of Jesus is his interest in Jesus as the presence of God with his people. In his account of the birth of Jesus Matthew uniquely speaks of two names given to the child. For the first, “Jesus,” he gives the explanation “for he will save his people from their sins” (Mt 1:21). This depends on the meaning of the Hebrew name: “Yahweh saves.” It seems that Matthew takes the Yahweh to whom the name refers to be Jesus (“he [Jesus] will save his people”), in line with the early Christian practice of applying to Jesus biblical texts that speak of Yahweh. The second name, taken from Isaiah 7:14, is “Emmanuel,” which Matthew interprets correctly as meaning “God with us” (Mt 1:23 [this, rather than “God is with us,” is the literal translation]). Jesus is thus more than the Lord who saves his people; he saves them by being the divine presence with his people, as Yahweh is with his people in the biblical history of Israel. This name of Jesus given early in Matthew’s Gospel forms an inclusio with Jesus’ promise to the disciples in the closing words of the Gospel: “I am with you always, to the end of the age” (Mt 28:20). The formula “I am with you” occurs on the lips of Yahweh in the Hebrew Bible/LXX 114 times. Jesus thus speaks of his presence as God’s presence, and this verse makes clear that when Matthew refers to the name “Emmanuel,” he means to speak not merely of divine presence in Jesus, but of Jesus himself as the presence of God. The theme occurs also in Matthew 18:20.

With this theme of divine presence in view, it makes sense that Matthew portrays worship of Jesus. The gesture of bowing down or prostration

(*proskyneō*, often translated as “to worship”) need not indicate divine worship; it could be given to a human superior, even in a Jewish context, though in strongly monotheistic contexts (such as Jewish objection to treating a king as divine) it might be confined to the worship of God (cf. Mt 4:10). Matthew uses the verb *proskyneō* with Jesus as the object on ten occasions, whereas Mark uses it in this way only twice. On five of these ten occasions there is no parallel in Mark (Mt 2:2, 8, 11; 28:9, 17). On three of them Matthew supplies the word *proskyneō* where Mark has the gesture but not this word (Mt 8:2; 9:18; 15:25). On the remaining two occasions Matthew supplies the word where Mark does not even have the gesture (Mt 14:33; 20:20). There are also two occasions where Mark has the word *proskyneō* but Matthew omits even the gesture, and one where Mark has the gesture but Matthew omits it (Mk 5:6 // Mt 8:29; Mk 15:19 // Mt 27:30; Mk 10:17 // Mt 19:16). But in these three cases the worship (by demons, the mocking soldiers, the rich young man) Matthew doubtless considered inadequate. It seems therefore that Matthew used the word *proskyneō* in a technical way for the obeisance that is due to Jesus alone among humans and emphasizes that it expresses the proper response to Jesus. According to Matthew 4:10, it is what is due only to God.

Matthew develops, more than does Mark, the theme, crucial to the divine identity Christology of the early church, of Jesus’ exaltation to the throne of God. The phrase “all things” was often used to define the total sovereignty over the cosmos that only God has. As well as using this phrase in Matthew 11:27, Jesus begins his final speech in Matthew’s Gospel thus: “All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me” (Mt 28:18 [cf. Mt 11:25]), and he makes this basis for sending the disciples to “all nations” (Mt 28:19). Jesus is no mere servant of God implementing God’s commands (as were, for instance, the most exalted angels) or even a Messiah who deputizes for God on earth; rather, he has “all authority in heaven and earth.”

Finally, Jesus’ sonship to God, while it is not, as has been claimed, the single central focus of Matthew’s Christology, is undoubtedly important to Matthew (cf. Mt 3:17; 4:3, 6; 8:29; 11:27; 16:16; 17:5; 26:63; 27:40), introduced in the infancy narrative with a quotation from Scripture (Mt 2:15) and appearing in Jesus’ closing words in the form of the trinitarian baptismal formula: “in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit” (Mt 28:19). Since this almost certainly refers to a single name (“YHWH”) shared by Father, Son and Holy Spirit, we have here both a no-

table instance of the inclusion of Jesus in the unique divine identity and a recognition that the relationship of Jesus as Son to God as Father is a relationship within their common identity as God.

4. Gospel of Luke.

Most discussions of Luke's Christology discuss his two-volume work, Luke-Acts, as a whole, but the present context requires confining the discussion to Luke's Gospel. Like Matthew, Luke takes over most of Mark's narrative and with it Mark's Christology. But whereas Matthew weakens Mark's indications of Jesus' divine identity (while developing his own, different ways of presenting this), Luke is very faithful to Mark in this respect. Of the seven key passages listed in the discussion of Mark (see 2 above), Luke retains six (omitting only Mk 6:47-52). Moreover, Luke adds the story of the sinful woman (Lk 7:36-50), highlighting Jesus' evident authority to forgive sins, as in the story of the paralytic (Lk 5:17-26; cf. Mk 2:1-12), and provides another unanswered question about Jesus' identity, additional to Mark's: "Who is this who even forgives sins?" (Lk 7:49).

In this light, a common scholarly view of Luke's Christology, that it is a "low" Christology, emphasizing Jesus' subordination to God as God's human agent, already seems unconvincing. But we must take seriously the alleged indications of a "low" Christology. In the first place, alone among the evangelists, Luke has a sustained presentation of Jesus as a *prophet. The other Synoptic Gospels do report that people identified Jesus as one of the prophets (Mt 16:14; Mk 6:14-16; 8:28; cf. Lk 9:7-8, 18-19), while in John people think that he must be *the* prophet, the expected prophet like Moses (Jn 6:14; 7:40). Luke makes rather more of this popular view of Jesus (Lk 7:16, cf. Lk 7:39). He also ascribes it to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, who considered Jesus to be "a prophet mighty in deed and word" (Lk 24:19), though they had also "hoped he was the one to redeem Israel" (Lk 24:21). Jesus appeared to them to be a prophet but had not yet actually proved to be the sort of Messiah they were expecting, though they hoped he would.

The voice at the *transfiguration probably alludes to the prophet like Moses in all three Synoptics (Mt 17:5; Mk 9:7; Lk 9:35), and all four Gospels have minor indications that Jesus saw himself in the role of a prophet (Mt 13:57; 23:37-39; Mk 6:4; Lk 4:24; Jn 4:44), but in Luke this is more significant (Lk 13:31-35). But most important in Luke's presentation of Jesus as a prophet is Luke 4:16-30, which is clearly placed as programmatic for Jesus' mission. Jesus here evi-

dently understands the role of the figure in Isaiah 61:1-2 as that of a prophet, especially a prophet like *Elijah and Elisha, who performed miracles to aid people in need (cf. Lk 4:23-27). However, we need not suppose that Jesus is here presented as prophet rather than Davidic Messiah. Jewish readers could easily identify the anointing with the Spirit in Isaiah 61:1 with the similar anointing of the Davidic Messiah in Isaiah 11:2. The prophetic mission is thus an aspect of the messianic mission of the Son of David, and so the fulfillment of this mission to which Jesus directs John the Baptist in Luke 7:18-23 is meant to reassure John that Jesus is indeed, as he thought, "the one who is to come" (Lk 7:19)—that is, the Messiah. Thus, in the end, Luke's portrayal of Jesus as a prophet is part of his portrayal of Jesus as the Messiah Son of David. This latter category, which dominates Luke's infancy narrative (Lk 1:27, 32; 2:4, 11, 26), is as important to Luke as to any of the evangelists, but by means of Isaiah 61:1-2 he is able to integrate the well-known features of Jesus' ministry of preaching and miracles into a messianic profile that could be found in Scripture.

Also a dimension of the Davidic Messiah, for early Christian interpreters who read Isaiah holistically, was the figure of the Servant of the Lord, especially the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 52:13—53:12 (see Servant of Yahweh). Luke weaves a number of allusions to this passage into his *passion narrative (Lk 22:37; 23:4, 9, 14-15, 22, 32-33, 34; also cf. Lk 23:35 with Is 42:1; and Lk 18:32-33 with Is 50:6). This explains why he changes the centurion's statement in Mark, "Truly this man was the Son of God" (Mk 15:39), to "Truly this was a righteous man" (Lk 23:47), echoing Isaiah 53:11. While some of these features have been understood to show that Luke portrays Jesus' death as that of a righteous person who dies a martyr, in reality Luke is portraying Jesus as this particular righteous man of whom Isaiah prophesied, the Servant of the Lord, the Messiah. The redemptive meaning of his death, so often thought to be absent from Luke, is therefore implicit (Is 53:10-11), though it may be that Luke does not make it explicit because he does want to present Jesus' death as an example to his followers (cf. Acts 7:54-60).

Luke's treatment of Jesus' sonship to God his Father has much in common with Matthew and Mark (see Lk 2:49; 3:22; 4:3, 9, 41; 8:28; 9:35; 10:22; 22:42, 70; 23:34, 46; 24:49), suggesting a unique intimacy of relationship. But, distinctively, he links it with the virginal conception of Jesus (Lk 1:32, 35). Also distinctive is the title "Savior" (Lk 2:11), a title that, among the evangelists, only Luke and John (Jn

4:42) give to Jesus (for Luke's use of this title, see also Acts 5:31; 13:23).

While Jesus in Luke is the Servant, he is no less the *Lord. This is one of the three christological titles in the angel's announcement of his birth: "a Savior, who is the Messiah, the Lord" (Lk 2:11), but even when still in the womb Elizabeth had called him "my Lord" (Lk 1:43). In addition to frequent occasions on which characters in the story call Jesus "Lord" (in the vocative 27x), Luke differs from the other evangelists in that he frequently, as narrator, refers to Jesus as "the Lord" (15x). While, addressed to Jesus, the vocative "Lord" can mean no more than "sir," it clearly means more in some cases, such as Luke 5:8 (the first instance). The cumulative effect of the vocatives and their combination with the narrator's "the Lord" need to be taken into account. Taken as a whole, the usage anticipates the exaltation of Jesus to the divine throne (Lk 20:41-44; cf. Acts 2:34-36), while claiming that Jesus is already the Lord even in his life of service and humiliation. Once again it would seem to be especially important to Luke that Jesus, unique though he undoubtedly is, sets an example for his followers (Lk 22:24-27).

5. Gospel of John.

Like Mark's Gospel, John's is a Gospel that is overwhelmingly focused on the identity and mission of Jesus. In many respects, its Christology is a fuller development of Mark's Christology. Almost all of the main themes and terminology of John's Christology can be found, at least embryonically, in Mark. John draws out their meaning at greater length, incorporating, no doubt, the results of his own extensive reflection on them. In consequence, Jesus' divine identity emerges in more explicit terms, including the applying the word **"God"* (*theos*) to Jesus, something that only this Gospel does explicitly (Jn 1:1, 18; 20:28), although Mark certainly implies it (Mk 10:18). Some scholars have thought that John's is the only Gospel that ascribes true divinity to Jesus, but, as we have seen, a Christology of divine identity is to be found in all three Synoptic Gospels, expressed in a variety of different motifs. John has his own ways of expressing such a Christology (of which the use of the term *theos* is not the most important). Some scholars have also maintained that in this Gospel Jesus' divine identity is stressed at the expense of his real humanity (an issue to be discussed below).

A key feature of this Gospel's presentation of Jesus' divine identity is a concern to present it as compatible with Jewish monotheism, not a departure

from monotheism. We find this already in the opening verse of the Gospel, which echoes the first verse of Genesis. Whereas the Synoptic Gospels in their various ways relate the story of Jesus to the biblical story of God and his people, John goes back, with Genesis, to the eternity before creation and finds the preexistent Christ, whom he here calls "the Word," already "with God" (see *Logos*). According to the Jewish Scriptures, it was God's Word that created the world. This Word was not someone or something other than God, but intrinsic to the one God's unique identity. By recalling the divine Word and, later in the prologue, declaring Jesus Christ actually to be this Word, incarnate in human form, the evangelist is including Jesus in the unique divine identity in a way that, for readers familiar with Jewish monotheistic thinking, need not be seen as transgressing monotheism. The Word both "was God" and "was with God" (Jn 1:1), included in the divine identity as a distinguishable entity. The peculiarly emphatic statement that nothing at all was created other than through the Word (Jn 1:2) uses well-known monotheistic rhetoric to make crystal clear that the Word belongs with God on the divine side of the ontological division between God the Creator and everything else, which is his creation. At this stage, of course, it is not clear that the Word is a personal entity. This emerges as the prologue continues, especially in John 1:14-18, where it is explained that God's Word is related to God as a unique Son to his Father. From this point on the Gospel no longer calls Jesus "the Word." The **incarnation* has revealed that "Son" is the more adequate term, pointing to an interpersonal relationship within the divine identity, which John's Gospel often makes clear existed in God even before the incarnation (e.g., Jn 17:5, 24).

The inclusion of Jesus in a monotheistic definition of God is also to be found in John 10:30-31, where Jesus claims, "I and the Father are one," and the Jewish leaders attempt to stone him for blasphemy. This is an allusion to the Shema ("The LORD our God, the LORD is one"), comparable with Paul's christological reformulation of the Shema (1 Cor 8:6). The subsequent statement that "the Father is in me and I am in the Father" (Jn 10:38) expounds the "oneness" of Jesus and the Father as a relationship of special intimacy, such that both together constitute the one God.

The most remarkable expression of divine identity Christology in John is the series of absolute **"I am"* (*egō eimi*) sayings. There are two series of seven "I am" sayings in the Gospel. The "I am" sayings with predicates (Jn 6:35 [repeated Jn 6:41, 48]; 8:12; 10:7 [repeated Jn 10:9]; 11 [repeated Jn 10:14]; 11:25; 14:6;

15:1) characterize Jesus in terms of the salvation that he gives (e.g., “I am the bread of life”). The absolute “I am” sayings (Jn 4:26; 6:20; 8:24, 28, 58; 13:19; 18:5 [repeated Jn 18:6, 8]) express who Jesus is in himself, in his divine identity, as the basis for his salvific role. The first two of the series and the last could be understood as having implied predicates (Jn 4:20: “I am [the Messiah you speak of]”; Jn 6:20: “It is I”; Jn 18:5: “I am [Jesus of Nazareth]”), but they acquire a deeper meaning in the light of their place in the series. The Greek *egō eimi* is the LXX rendering of the Hebrew *ʾānī hūʾ* (“I am he”), which functions as a kind of self-declaration of God’s uniqueness by God himself in Deuteronomy 32:39 and in the strongly monotheistic prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah (Is 41:4; 43:10, 13, 25; 46:4; 48:12; 51:12; 52:6). It is not, as such, a form of the divine name (YHWH), as has sometimes been supposed, but it is an unmistakable indication of the unique identity of the one God. There is also much in the contexts of these sayings of Jesus that recalls God’s unique claims in Deutero-Isaiah.

As the one who has come from heaven to earth (Jn 1:14), Jesus is the connection between heaven and earth (see the allusion to Jacob’s ladder in Jn 1:51) and between Spirit (the divine life) and flesh (mortal life). This idea is expressed in the distinctively Johannine sayings that speak of the Son of Man ascending and descending (Jn 3:13; 6:62; cf. Jn 1:51) or refer otherwise to Jesus coming down from heaven (Jn 6:38, 42, 51, 58) and returning to the Father (Jn 13:1; 16:10; 17:13). As the unique Son of the Father, Jesus can reveal the Father as no one else can (Jn 1:18; 6:46), such that “whoever has seen me has seen the Father” (Jn 14:9; cf. Jn 12:45). Key christological themes such as these require that Jesus be both truly human and truly God. He “portrays” God in visible “flesh” (Jn 1:14–18), and he mediates eternal life from God to mortal flesh.

Accordingly, Jesus’ humanity in John is not just affirmed but stressed: it includes not only real flesh and blood (Jn 1:14; 19:34), but also genuine human emotions (Jn 11:3, 33, 35, 38; 12:27). Moreover, John does not just leave divinity and humanity in tension. There are two christological themes that show how Jesus expressed what it is to be God in appropriately human ways. One is Jesus’ sonship in subordination and obedience to the Father. The theme of Jesus as Son of God the Father is much more fully expounded in John than in the other Gospels. The theme, common to all the Gospels, that Jesus exercises uniquely divine prerogatives appears in John as an aspect of his sonship. He claims the prerogative of working on the *Sabbath, as his Father does (Jn 5:17),

and in the ensuing debate with the Jewish leaders this claim is subsumed into the *authority to give life and the authority to judge the whole world. These forms of uniquely divine sovereignty are both given him by the Father (Jn 5:22, 27) and fully his own (Jn 5:21, 22, 26). But in response to the accusation that Jesus called “God his own Father, thereby making himself equal with God” (Jn 5:18), Jesus is at pains to make clear that he is not, as it were, setting himself up in competition with God: he “can do nothing on his own, but only what he sees the Father doing” (Jn 5:19 [cf. Jn 5:30]). If for Jesus to be the Son is to be sent by the Father to do the Father’s will in dependence on the Father, as the Father’s plenipotentiary agent, then it is a way of being God that can be appropriately expressed in a human life.

The second theme is the glory of God in Jesus’ humiliation. The glory of God is the radiance of the divine character that Jesus reflects in his life in the flesh (Jn 1:14–18). Paradoxically, it comes to the point of fullest revelation in Jesus’ degradation and death on the cross on the way to resurrection and exaltation (Jn 12:23; 13:31–32). Living a human life to this abject end is the form that God’s love for the world takes in Jesus.

John’s Gospel includes a long series of confessions of Jesus’ identity by characters in the story (Jn 1:29, 34, 41, 45, 49; 4:42; 6:14, 69; 11:27; 12:13; 20:28). These deploy common christological titles and designations such as “Messiah” and “Son of God” as well as more unusual ones such as “Savior of the world” and “the Holy One of God.” In this way, John’s Gospel affirms all the ways in which Jesus was known to early Christians while reserving the most adequate confession to the one that Thomas makes only after the resurrection: “My Lord and my God” (Jn 20:28). John’s Gospel does not replace but rather brings to fullest development the christological insights of all the other Gospels.

See also ASCENSION OF JESUS; BIRTH OF JESUS; CHRIST; DEATH OF JESUS; GOD; HOLY SPIRIT; “I AM” SAYINGS; INCARNATION; LAMB OF GOD; LOGOS; LORD; RESURRECTION; SERVANT OF YAHWEH; SON OF DAVID; SON OF GOD; SON OF MAN; TEACHER; TRANSFIGURATION; WISDOM.

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CHRONOLOGY

Attempts to determine any precise chronology of Jesus' life and death must grapple with issues of the ability of the NT sources to provide definitive chronological data and of the reliability of various external sources for dating events mentioned in the NT (e.g., Josephus, Roman political records). Since chronological precision is a modern rather than an ancient

value in biography and historiography, any proposed chronology for the life of Jesus will deal in probabilities or possibilities rather than certainty. With this proviso in mind, the dating of Jesus' birth, ministry and death is discussed here.

1. Birth of Jesus
2. Commencement and Duration of Jesus' Ministry
3. Death of Jesus
4. Summary of the Dates

1. Birth of Jesus.

The early Christians were not as concerned with the date as they were with the fact of Jesus' birth (see Birth of Jesus). Both the year and the time of year can only be approximately determined.

1.1. Year of Jesus' Birth. In attempting to pinpoint the year of Jesus' birth, one must look at it in relationship to Herod's death and the census of Quirinius.

1.1.1. Herod the Great's Death as the Terminus ad Quem. According to Matthew 2:1 and Luke 1:5, Jesus' birth came before Herod's death (see Herodian Dynasty). According to *Josephus, an eclipse of the moon occurred shortly before Herod's death (*Ant.* 17.167). This is the only eclipse mentioned by Josephus, and this eclipse occurred on March 12/13, 4 B.C. After Herod's death Josephus mentions that the Passover (see Feasts) was celebrated, the first day of which would have occurred on April 11, 4 B.C. Hence, Herod's death would have occurred between March 12 and April 11, and thus Jesus' birth would have been no later than March/April 4 B.C.

1.1.2. Census of Quirinius as the Terminus a Quo. According to Luke 2:1-5, the census of Quirinius was taken just before Jesus' birth, and thus Jesus could not have been born before the census. The date of this census is difficult to pinpoint. Although no Roman historian specifically mentions this census, there were periodic censuses. Furthermore, Luke was not likely to have confused this census with the one held in A.D. 6 because the latter was just after the deposition of Herod's son Archelaus, whereas the context of the birth narrative of Jesus was in the days of Herod the Great (for an extended discussion of this Lukan reference, see Bock). Trying to synchronize Quirinius's governorship of Syria with the time just before Herod's death proves difficult. Some suggest that he was governor not only in A.D. 6, but also from 11/10 to 8/7 B.C. Others suggest that this census took place before Quirinius was governor in A.D. 6/7, and some think that Quirinius had been proconsul of Syria and Cilicia during the last years of Herod the Great under the

legates Saturninus and Varus. Regardless of what construct one might propose, it is not improbable that Quirinius was involved with a census during the last years of Herod, although there is no historical evidence of such a census. Toward the end of his reign Herod fell out of favor with *Rome (ca. 8/7 B.C.). This was followed by his sons engaging in an intense struggle for the throne at a time when Herod was extremely ill. All of these factors would allow for the Roman government to take a census in his land in order to assess the situation before his death, possibly sometime between 6 and 4 B.C.

1.2. Date of Jesus' Birth. The traditional date of Jesus' birth for the Western Church has been December 25, while the Eastern Church has observed a January 6 date. The account of shepherds attending their flock during the night (Lk 2:8) makes a mid-winter date possible.

1.3. Conclusion. Assuming the census of Quirinius occurred sometime during the period 6-4 B.C., Herod's death having occurred in the spring of 4 B.C., Jesus would have been born sometime between 6 B.C. and the spring of 4 B.C.

2. Commencement and Duration of Jesus' Ministry.

Except the account of Jesus' visit to the *temple when he was twelve years old (Lk 2:41-51), the Gospels provide no record of Jesus' life after infancy until the beginning of his public ministry.

2.1. Commencement of John the Baptist's Ministry. Luke 3:1-3 specifically states that *John the Baptist's ministry began in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. Although there has been debate on how this is to be reckoned, the most natural way to calculate it is on the basis of either the Julian calendar used by Rome, making it the fifteenth year from January 1 to December 31, A.D. 29, or to reckon it from the beginning of Tiberius's reign (the normal Roman method), which would place it during the period August 19, A.D. 28, to August 18, A.D. 29. Using either one of these calendars, the fifteenth year of Tiberius would have occurred sometime between August 19, A.D. 28, and December 31, A.D. 29. Hence, John the Baptist's ministry seems to have begun sometime during this period.

2.2. Commencement of Jesus' Ministry. The Gospels give the impression that not long after the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry Jesus was baptized and began his ministry. If Jesus was born in 6-4 B.C. and baptized in A.D. 29, he would have been in his early thirties at the time of the commencement of his public ministry. This fits Luke's statement that Jesus

was about thirty years of age (*hōsei etōn triakonta*) when he began his ministry (Lk 3:23).

2.3. First Passover of Jesus' Ministry. The first recorded visit of Jesus to Jerusalem after his *baptism is found in John 2:13-3:21. John records that on that occasion the Jews spoke of the Herodian temple having been constructed forty-six years ago (Jn 2:20). Josephus states that temple construction began in Herod's eighteenth year (*Ant.* 15.380), which coincides with the arrival of Augustus in Syria (*Ant.* 15.354); and according to Cassius Dio, this occurred in the spring or summer of 20 B.C. (*Hist.* 54.7.4-6). Herod's eighteenth year would have been from Nisan 1, 20 B.C., to Nisan 1, 19 B.C. There were two stages in building the temple. The first was the inner sanctuary, called the *naos*, located within the priests' court. This sanctuary was completed by the *priests in one year and six months (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.421). The second stage was the whole temple area, including the three courts, and was called the *hieron*. This was not completed until A.D. 63. This distinction is maintained by Josephus and the NT writers. In discussing the temple with Jesus, the Jews refer to the *naos* as having stood for forty-six years (Jn 2:20). If the construction of the *naos* began in 20/19 B.C. and was completed in one-and-a-half years (i.e., in 18/17 B.C.), forty-six years would bring the date to the year A.D. 29/30. Consequently, Jesus' first Passover during his public ministry might best be placed in the spring of A.D. 30.

2.4. Duration of Jesus' Ministry. Evidence relating to the length of Jesus' ministry has historically been gathered primarily from John's Gospel. John mentions three Passovers (Jn 2:13; 6:4; 11:55). However, John's chronology may be read to include an additional year of Jesus' ministry between the Passovers of John 2:13 and John 6:4. First, after the Passover of John 2:13 Jesus ministers in Judea and then goes to Samaria. There Jesus mentions that there are four months until harvest (Jn 4:35), which would refer to the following January or February. While some would read this as a proverbial statement, it might be a literal chronological reference. A second time note occurs in John 5:1, where another feast is mentioned. Although not specified, some interpreters understand it to be another Passover, although it could also refer to the Feast of Tabernacles. These two time notes would suggest that John portrays another Passover between the Passovers of John 2:13 and John 6:4. This would make a total of four Passovers during Jesus' public ministry in John. If this is historically rooted, then Jesus' ministry would have been over three years in length.

3. Death of Jesus.

Discussion of the timing of Jesus' death has focused on the day of the week and month as well as the year of his death.

3.1. Day of the Week. Traditionally, Jesus is thought to have died on the Friday of passion week (see Passion Narrative). In Matthew 12:40 Jesus says, "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Furthermore, the NT repeatedly refers to Jesus' resurrection as having occurred on the third day (not the fourth day) (e.g., Mt 16:21; 17:23; Lk 9:22; 18:33; Acts 10:40; 1 Cor 15:4). Moreover, the Gospels specifically mention the day before the *Sabbath (Friday) as the day of his death (Mt 27:62; Mk 15:42; Lk 23:54; Jn 19:14, 31, 42). Given that Jewish reckoning of days included a part of a day as counting for the whole, this NT evidence points to Friday as the day of Jesus' death.

Although the Gospels' passion narratives do not recount strict chronology, the passion week might be charted as in table 1, with variations allowed for any particular evangelist's telling of the passion story.

3.2. Day of the Month. All the Gospels state that Jesus ate the *Last Supper the day before his crucifixion (Mt 26:20; Mk 14:17; Lk 22:14; Jn 13:2; see also 1 Cor 11:23). The Synoptic Gospels (Mt 26:17; Mk 14:12; Lk 22:7-8) portray the Last Supper as a Pass-

over meal, while John omits any reference to the meal being a Passover celebration (Jn 13:2). Additionally, the Synoptics seem to indicate that Jesus was crucified on Friday, Nisan 15, after eating the Passover meal with his disciples on Thursday evening. On the other hand, John states that the Jews who took Jesus to the praetorium did not enter it "in order that they might not be defiled but might eat the Passover" (Jn 18:28), and that Jesus' trial was on the "day of preparation for the Passover" and not after eating the Passover (Jn 19:14). On the face of it, John narrates Jesus being tried and crucified on Friday, Nisan 14, just before the Jews ate their Passover.

Several theories have been proposed in the attempt to reconcile the Synoptics and John. Some think that the Last Supper was not a Passover meal but rather a meal the night before the Passover (Jn 13:1, 29). However, the Synoptics explicitly state that the Last Supper was a Passover (Mt 26:2, 17-19; Mk 14:1, 12, 14, 16; Lk 22:1, 7-8, 13, 15). In trying to harmonize the accounts, some have proposed that Jesus and his *disciples had a private Passover, arguing from clandestine features of the Passover preparations and the omission of any mention of a lamb in the Passover meal in the Synoptics (France; Wright, 555-56). In this reading, Jesus would have celebrated Passover a day early with his disciples (evening of Nisan 14, just as the new day began at sundown) and was crucified sometime midday on

Table 1. Chronology of Passion Week

Day	Event	Scripture
Saturday	Arrival at Bethany	Jn 12:1
Sunday	Crowd came to see Jesus	Jn 12:9-11
Monday	Triumphal entry	Mt 21:1-9; Mk 11:1-10; Lk 19:28-44
Tuesday	Fig tree cursed	Mt 21:18-19; Mk 11:12-14
	Cleansing of temple	Mt 21:12-13; Mk 11:15-17; Lk 19:45-46
Wednesday	Fig tree withered	Mt 21:20-22; Mk 11:20-26
	Temple controversy	Mt 21:23-23:30; Mk 11:27-12:44; Lk 20:1-21:4
	Olivet discourse	Mt 24:1-25:46; Mk 13:1-37; Lk 21:5-36
Thursday	Last Supper	Mt 26:20-30; Mk 14:17-26; Lk 22:14-30
	Betrayal and arrest	Mt 26:47-56; Mk 14:43-52; Lk 22:47-53; Jn 18:2-12
	Trial by Annas and Caiaphas	Mt 26:57-75; Mk 14:53-72; Lk 22:54-65; Jn 18:13-27
Friday	Trial by Sanhedrin	Mt 27:1; Mk 15:1; Lk 22:66
	Trial by Pilate, Herod	Mt 27:2-30; Mk 15:2-19; Lk 23:1-25; Jn 18:28-19:16
	Crucifixion and burial	Mt 27:31-60; Mk 15:20-46; Lk 23:26-54; Jn 19:16-42
Saturday	Dead in tomb	
Sunday	Resurrection	Mt 28:1-15; Mk 16:1-8; Lk 24:1-35; Jn 20:1-21:23

Nisan 14, as John seems to more clearly indicate. Alternately, C. Blomberg reads the Johannine evidence as confirming, along with the Synoptics, that Jesus celebrated the Passover on Nisan 15 (Thursday evening) and was killed that same day (Friday day of Nisan 15) (Blomberg, 246-47).

Another means of harmonizing the Synoptics and John involves the suggestion that Jesus and the disciples celebrated Passover with a different calendar. Some have suggested that Jesus celebrated it according to the Qumran calendar, although there is no evidence that Jesus and his disciples followed the Qumran calendar. Others think that it was celebrated on two consecutive days because it would have been impossible to slay all the Passover lambs on one day. Finally, it may be that different calendars were in use during the period. On the one hand, the Synoptic Gospels followed the method of the Galileans and the *Pharisees. By this reckoning, the day was measured from sunrise to sunrise, with Jesus and his disciples having their Paschal lamb slaughtered in the late afternoon of Thursday, Nisan 14, and eating the Passover with unleavened bread later that evening. On the other hand, John's Gospel followed the method of the Judeans in reckoning the day from sunset to sunset. Thus, the Judean Jews had the Paschal lamb slaughtered in the late afternoon of Friday, Nisan 14, and ate the Passover with the unleavened bread that night, which by then had become Nisan 15. In this scenario, Jesus had already eaten the Passover meal when his enemies, who had not yet celebrated the Passover, arrested him.

Those who feel no need to harmonize the Synoptics with John regarding which day of the month of Nisan Jesus was crucified often suggest that John has interpreted the Passover chronology symbolically. "Both traditions—a paschal Last Supper and a paschal crucifixion—are theologically pregnant" (Keener, 372).

3.3. Year of Jesus' Death. The year of Jesus' death can be narrowed by several considerations.

3.3.1. Officials of the Trial. According to the Gospels, the three officials involved in Jesus' trial were Caiaphas the high priest (Mt 26:3, 57; Jn 11:49-53; 18:13-14), who began his office in A.D. 18 and was deposed at the Passover of A.D. 37 (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.35; 4.90-95); Pilate (see Pontius Pilate), prefect of Judea (Mt 27:2-26; Mk 15:1-15; Lk 23:1-25; Jn 18:28-19:16; Acts 3:13; 4:27; 13:28; 1 Tim 6:13) from A.D. 26 to 36 (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.89); and Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea (Lk 23:6-12) from 4 B.C. until A.D. 39 (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.240-256; 19.351). Thus, Jesus' trial occurred between A.D. 26 and 36.

3.3.2. Contributions of Astronomy. If we conclude that Jesus' death occurred on Friday, Nisan 14, and sometime between A.D. 26 and 36 (see 3.2), the evidence from astronomy (which determined the setting of Jewish months) narrows the possibilities to A.D. 27, 30, 33, 36.

3.3.3. Ministry of Jesus. In the light of the foregoing discussion of the ministry of Jesus, it is safe to eliminate A.D. 27 and A.D. 36 because neither fits within the framework of his ministry. The year A.D. 30 is accepted by many as most likely. But this date presents difficulty if one accepts the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry occurring in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, A.D. 29 (Lk 3:1-3) and the three- to four-year Johannine chronology for Jesus' ministry (2.4). If the latter are accepted, then A.D. 33 seems to fit the evidence best.

3.3.4. Confirmation of History. Pilate is portrayed by his contemporary Philo (*Legat.* 301-2) and later by Josephus (*Ant.* 18.55-59; *J.W.* 2.167-77) as one who is greedy, inflexible and cruel, and who resorted to robbery and oppression, a portrait not out of keeping with Luke 13:1. However, during his trial of Jesus, Pilate is seen as one who was readily submissive to the pressures of the religious leaders who were demanding that Jesus be handed over to them.

How can such a change be explained? It must be understood that Pilate probably was appointed by Sejanus, a trusted friend of Tiberius as well as the prefect of the Praetorian Guard. A dedicated anti-Semite, Sejanus wanted to exterminate the Jewish race (Philo, *Flacc.* 1; *Legat.* 159-61). When Pilate made trouble for the Jews in Palestine, Sejanus accepted his actions and did not report it to Tiberius. However, when Sejanus was deposed and executed by Tiberius on October 18, A.D. 31, Pilate no longer had protection in Rome. In fact, it is most likely that Herod Antipas reported his causing a riot, probably at the Feast of Tabernacles in A.D. 32 (Philo, *Legat.* 299-305). In light of this precedent, we can understand why, when in the midst of a trial it was witnessed that Jesus stirred up trouble in Judea and Galilee (Lk 23:5), Pilate was eager to allow Herod Antipas to try Jesus (Lk 23:6-12).

In this context a trial date of A.D. 33 makes good sense for three reasons: (1) Pilate, on hearing that Jesus caused trouble in Galilee, handed Jesus over to Herod Antipas. Although this was not required by Roman law, it would have been calculated to avoid a further report from Herod to the emperor; (2) The lack of progression in the trial account of Luke 23:6-12 makes sense if Herod Antipas did not want to make a judgment that Pilate might use against him;

and (3) Luke 23:12 states that Pilate and Herod Antipas were friends from that day onward, which fits better a post-A.D. 32 date, because the two were clearly at odds with each other in A.D. 32. Hence, a date of A.D. 33 seems to best fit the historical evidence, although many scholars alternately argue for A.D. 30.

4. Summary of the Dates.

Dates for the birth, life and death of Jesus as discussed above may be charted as in table 2.

See also BIRTH OF JESUS; DEATH OF JESUS; HERO-DIAN DYNASTY; JESUS IN NON-CHRISTIAN SOURCES; JOSEPHUS; PONTIUS PILATE; TEMPLE.

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CHURCH

Church is the collective term for the local assembly or universal body of individuals bearing allegiance to Jesus. Though the word is rare in the Gospels, the church is the assumed backdrop and audience for all the Gospels.

- 1. Terminology
- 2. Jesus
- 3. Mark
- 4. Matthew
- 5. Luke
- 6. John

1. Terminology.

The word *ekklēsia* (“church”) is used 114 times in the NT, mostly in the Pauline corpus (62x), Acts (23x) and Revelation (20x), for a local group (Rom 16:1, 5), or assembly of the group (Mt 18:17; Acts 11:26), or the entire (Acts 8:3; 12:1) or universal church (Col 1:18, 24). The whole church is, then, not so much the sum of its parts as it is the universal expressed in the particular group. The derivation of *ekklēsia* from *ek* (“out of”) and *kaleō* (“to call”)—“those called out”—does not appear to be significant in the NT.

As it had been for centuries (e.g., Thucydides, *Pel.* 1.87; Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.7.9; Aristotle, *Ath. pol.* 43.4), so too in the world of Jesus and the Gospel writers, *ekklēsia* was used of any meeting or gathering (e.g., 1 Macc 3:13), including of a political body, and a crowd or unruly gathering of people (e.g., Josephus, *Life* 268; *Ant.* 12.164; 19.332; cf. Acts 19:32, 39-40).

The LXX generally used *ekklēsia* to translate the *qāhāl* (“assembly”) of prophets (1 Sam 19:20), Israel (e.g., 1 Kings 8:14; 1 Chron 13:2), a mob (Sir 26:5) or the people of Lord (Deut 23:2-4; 1 Chron 28:8; Neh 13:1; Mic 2:5). The earliest Christian use of *ekklēsia* often forms part of an established term, “church of God” (*ekklēsia tou theou* [e.g., 1 Cor 1:2; 10:32; 15:9; 2 Cor 1:1], sometimes in the plural [1 Cor 11:16; 1 Thess 2:14; 2 Thess 1:4]). Since “church of God” was also used at the time for the eschatological gathering of God’s people (1QM IV, 10), early Christians prob-

Table 2. Summary of Dates of Birth, Life and Death of Jesus

Jesus’ birth	6 B.C.–spring 4 B.C.
Herod the Great’s death	March/April 4 B.C.
Commencement of John the Baptist’s ministry	A.D. 29
Commencement of Jesus’ ministry	ca. A.D. 29
Jesus’ death	Nisan 14 or 15, A.D. 30 or 33
Jesus’ resurrection	Nisan 16 or 17, A.D. 30 or 33

ably used the term (often abbreviated as “church”) to express their self-understanding as those at the center of God’s eschatological activity (see Roloff, 411-12). This point is reinforced by the future perspective for the building of the church in Matthew 16:18, while Luke uses “church” only of the followers of Jesus after Easter, even though the term was readily available to him. This also raises the question of Jesus’ intentions in relation to the church.

2. Jesus.

The classic view is that although the church was born at Pentecost, it was inaugurated by Jesus in his teaching and the involvement of his followers in his *mission. However, in view of Jesus’ eschatological perspective, preaching the imminence of the *kingdom of God (Mk 1:15) and, arguably, not anticipating any period of history beyond his death and vindication, it could be, as A. Schweitzer proposed, that he neither founded the church nor expected his group of followers to continue (Denaux). Instead, as A. Loisy famously put it, “Jesus announced the kingdom of God and it was the church that came” (Barrett, 68).

Nevertheless, Jesus clearly intended to establish a group in continuity with, yet distinct from, the existing people of God. At his *baptism Jesus identified not only with an imminent eschatological perspective held by *John, but also with a man who had established a group of followers arguably distinct from current national society (Mt 3:9 // Lk 3:8). In his turn, Jesus had a group of followers, and his choosing twelve from among them suggests that although he never applied the term “*Israel” to his group, he envisaged them as such. Further, in addressing his followers as a “flock” (Lk 12:32), he probably saw the group as distinct from the whole, a remnant (cf. Mic 4:4-7). However, the group was neither exclusive (as at Qumran) nor academic (as for a rabbi), but rather was the nucleus of the new people of God, commissioned to encourage others to join (e.g., Mk 6:6-13). Regardless of Jesus’ expectations beyond his death, it is clear from the people involved, the importance of Jesus to the group, as well as the shared meals and ethical concerns, and the message of the kingdom, which they held in common with Jesus, that this group was contiguous with, and became, the church.

3. Mark.

The most direct access to the earliest Gospel’s understanding of the church probably is gained through the theme of *discipleship and particularly the associated metaphor of the boat, an image explicitly

used in the period of God’s people (1QH^a XI, 6), and of the church in later Christian literature (e.g., Clement of Alexandria, *Quis div.* 34.3; Tertullian, *Bapt.* 12.7; Cyprian, *Ep.* 74.11.3). Consistent with the importance of obedience (Mk 10:28-31), the first disciples, on being called, leave one boat (Mk 1:19-20) for another, which becomes particularly significant in Mark’s narrative, where the disciples are important (Mk 4:1—8:21). Those in the boat with Jesus are sharply distinguished from others (Mk 4:1-2, 11; 6:31-32): neither the crowd nor the enemies of Jesus are ever in the boat (Mk 3:9) (Best 1981, 231). The church, understood through the image of the boat, is the place of withdrawal and communion and of teaching for the disciples (Mk 8:13-21), as well as the means to convey Jesus as teacher (Mk 4:1) and healer from one mission venue to another (Mk 4:35-36; 5:2, 21; 6:34, 45, 53-55; 8:10, 13). The Twelve, perhaps representing those engaged in full-time mission activity (Best 1986, 158), called not only to be “with him” but also for mission (Mk 3:14-15), are imperiled when Jesus is not with them in the boat (only at Mk 6:45-52) or is not trusted (Mk 4:37-41). However, the active presence of Jesus calms a storm of demonic forces threatening the boat (cf. Mk 1:25 with Mk 4:39). Equally threatening to the church is a failure of mission (Mk 9:18-19), which is countered through Jesus’ teaching (Mk 9:29). Also, failures of relationships are corrected through humility (Mk 9:33-36) and mutual service (Mk 9:35; 10:43-44), as well as care for weaker members (Mk 9:33-35). The most tragic failure of the church, represented by Peter, the failure of confession (Mk 14:71) is overcome by an admission of failure (Mk 14:72) and *forgiveness by Jesus (Mk 16:7).

4. Matthew.

Among the Gospel writers, only Matthew uses the term *ekklēsia* (Mt 16:18; 18:17 [2x]). Its sparing use, Jesus’ future statement “I will build [*oikodomēsō*] my church” (Mt 16:18), and the mission of the disciples taking place beyond the horizon of the narrative (Mt 10:16-23) show that Matthew considered the church had its roots in Jesus’ intention but its existence after his earthly ministry. Peter, addressed first as “Simon son of Jonah,” then as “Peter” (*Petros*) the “rock” (*petra* [Mt 16:18; cf. Mt 4:18; 10:2]) on which “my church” will be built (Mt 16:17-18), echoes the story of Abram’s name change to “Abraham” in relation to him becoming the father of a multitude of nations (Gen 17:1-8) and the image of him as a rock in relation to the foundation of God’s people (Is 51:1-2).

The singular “my church” (*mou tēn ekklēsian*) and

the building image identify Peter as the preeminent apostle and foundation of the church, the new people of God. Consistent with the stability and permanence of a “rock,” despite hardships and suffering (Mt 16:24-25; cf. Mt 10:16-25; 24:9-22), the “gates of Hades”—the demonic (1 En. 10:4-6, 12-14; Jub. 5:6, 10), death (1 En. 22:8-13) or mortal danger (Is 38:10; Wis 16:13; 3 Macc 5:51; Pss. Sol. 16:2)—“will not overpower” the church (Mt 16:18; cf. Mt 28:20).

In light of a saying about *Pharisees locking people out of the kingdom (Mt 23:13), changing the image of Peter’s responsibility to having “keys” (Mt 16:19) suggests a teaching authority that, taking into account the shared responsibility of discipline (Mt 18:16-18), is also likely assumed to be shared by the leaders of the church.

The instructions on how to deal with an offending member, similar to those set out in the *Rule of the Community* from Qumran (1QS V, 24—VI, 1), come in the context of the so-called fourth discourse (Mt 18:1-35), which appears to be directed to authority figures (Mt 18:6-14). They are charged to be humble (Mt 18:1-5) and to care for the church, represented as a flock of sheep (Mt 18:12-13) and a *family (Mt 18:15 [“brother”]), so that neither they as leaders (Mt 18:6-9) nor any of the “little ones” (Mt 18:6, 10, 14) “stumble” (Mt 18:6, 8, 9)—that is, apostatize (cf. Mt 13:21).

Emulating the *shepherd (Mt 18:12, 15), the offended member is to take the initiative in pointing out the sin. If not heard, first privately or then with one or two witnesses, or then before the church (where Jesus is present [Mt 18:20]), the person is to be excommunicated (Mt 18:15-17). Given the context of the caring shepherd (Mt 18:12-13) and extravagant forgiveness (Mt 18:21-22) as well as Matthew’s concern for the outsider (Mt 8:5-13; 9:9-13), the purpose of these instructions probably is restoration (cf. Lev 19:17-18).

For Matthew, the church is both the continuation of Israel and a response to its rejection of Jesus (Mt 27:11-26). The rejection includes a failure to produce the fruit of quantitative expansion (Mt 13:23) and good works that he expects (Mt 21:34, 41; cf. Mt 3:8), as is seen in the *parable of the wicked tenants (Mt 21:33-46), which concludes with Jesus saying, “The kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a people that produces the fruits of the kingdom” (Mt 21:43). The transfer of the kingdom takes place upon the *death and *resurrection of Jesus, as that is the focus of the parable (Mt 21:41-42). The apocalyptic signs of an earthquake (Mt 27:51; cf. Is 5:25; 1 En. 1:6; As. Mos. 10:4-5) and of *Gentiles

confessing Jesus to be God’s *Son (Mt 27:54) also suggest that Jesus’ death had eschatological significance and prepared for the mission of the church to the Gentiles (Mt 28:16-20).

5. Luke.

Luke has written most directly and at length about the church primarily in Acts, through his story of the corporate life of the followers of Jesus. However, not only does Luke’s Gospel provide the basis and many of the themes for understanding his view of the church, but also he locates the origins of church not in Pentecost, but rather in Jesus collecting around him and appointing the *apostles (Lk 6:13). In the term *apostle*, with its roots in OT prophetic call and sending stories (Is 6:8; 61:1; Jer 1:7; Ezek 2:1-4), the purpose of the church is said to represent God. That the group of twelve (Lk 6:13) must be maintained (Acts 1:15-26) conveys the idea that “Israel” continues in the life and story of the church. What was expected for Israel—for example, a kingdom (Acts 1:6) and the Spirit (Acts 2:1-41)—had been realized in the church, the new or renewed Israel, or people of God (Acts 15:14; 18:10). However, Luke not having a settled term for the followers of Jesus suggests that the precise nature of the church was still developing.

From the group of apostles, renewed by the risen Jesus (Acts 1:24; 9:4-6, 15-16) and empowered and directed by the Spirit (Acts 1:8), the church continues to grow through those being saved (Acts 2:47; 6:7; 12:24; 16:5). Nevertheless, it is God (Lk 1:47, 69, 71; 18:26), his word (Lk 8:11-12), and primarily Jesus (Lk 2:11, 30; 7:3; 17:19; 19:9-10), or his power (Lk 8:46-48), his word (Lk 6:9; 7:50; 8:50; 18:42) or command (Lk 8:29, 36), not the church or joining it, that bring *salvation. Yet, taking one’s place among the other people of God is a natural and assumed consequence of salvation (Lk 15:1-32; Acts 2:47).

Noting the description of his Gospel as “all that Jesus began to do and teach” (Acts 1:1) and the parallels drawn between the ministry of Jesus and that of the early church—receiving the same Spirit (Lk 3:21-22; Acts 2:4), casting out *demons, *healing the sick and preaching the kingdom of God (Lk 4:40-41; Acts 5:16; 8:12-13)—Luke is likely proposing that the church, as individuals and as a collective, does not merely emulate Jesus, but rather continues to embody his ministry between Pentecost and the parousia (Acts 1:6-8). In this, Jesus is the church modeled, and the church is modeled on Jesus, so that in Jesus appearing to be the principal actor of Acts, Luke blurs the distinction between the so-

called epochs of Jesus and of the church. Jesus' followers continue to consult him (Acts 1:24), heal in his name (Acts 3:6; 4:10), even see and meet him in visions (Acts 7:56; 9:5).

Through the elevation of particularly Paul to the apostolate (Acts 14:4, 14), Luke proposes that the church is carried forward in and by those who encounter and are called by the risen Jesus. Taking into account other ancient literature (e.g., Herodotus, *Hist.* 9; Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*), readers probably are to regard the open end of Acts as Luke's invitation for them to continue in their own lives the story of the church begun in his Gospel.

6. John.

Most probably in recognition of the church coming to flower only after Easter, the term "church" is absent from John's Gospel. Also, the Twelve, who represent the church, play little role in the narrative: their names are not listed, they perform no *miracles, they are not sent on mission. Instead, it is Jesus who dominates this Gospel. Yet, the implied ecclesiology, seen across the narrative but most clearly in four passages, locates the origin, definition and function of the church not only in the ministry of Jesus, particularly his relationship with his followers, but also in a continuation of that relationship.

First, in the discourse on the good shepherd (Jn 10:1-42), where the perspective is outward-looking (Jn 10:1-10), an intimate relationship is implied between Jesus and believers (Jn 10:14-16), with no hierarchy or diversity of function acknowledged among them. Jesus makes a puzzling statement when he says, "I have other sheep that do not belong to this fold. I must bring them also, and they will listen to my voice. So there will be one flock, one shepherd" (Jn 10:16). Similar imagery occurs in Caiphas's prophecy that Jesus would die "not for the nation only, but to gather into one the dispersed children of God" (Jn 11:52), suggesting that Jesus' other flock is the Gentiles rather than dispersed Jews (as in Ezek 34:11-13). However, alternatively, the other sheep (i.e., they are believers) could be heretical Christians (Jn 17:20-21). In any case, John's Gospel assumed that others needed to join them in order to bring about unity in the church.

Second, in the discourse on the true vine, with its internal perspective (Jn 15:1-27), Jesus is the vine, and the believers all equally "remain" (*menō* [Jn 15:4-7, 9-10, 16]) in the one vine; there is an individualism, with no initial interest in how the branches relate to each other (Jn 15:1-11). However, from the explanation of the parable of the vine (Jn

15:9-14), the fundamental requirement to produce fruit through remaining in the vine most probably is not good works but rather love for other members of the church.

Third, in the prayer of Jesus (Jn 17:1-26), with OT farewell speeches as models for a final discourse (e.g., Gen 49; Deut 33; 1 Sam 12), the ecclesiological agenda of John's Gospel is clear. Although the purpose of the prayer is at first christological and sums up the narrative (Jn 17:1-5), it goes on to a concern for persecution (Jn 17:11-19) and the unity of the church, which is to reflect the unity between the Father and Jesus and be the means of the church revealing God's *glory (Jn 17:20-26).

Fourth, although the *Beloved Disciple has been the dominant figure in later scenes in this Gospel (Jn 13:23; 19:25-27; 20:1-10), the final chapter, perhaps appended by what R. Bultmann called the "ecclesiastical redactor," reestablishes the dominance of Peter, who, despite earlier success (Jn 6:68-69), has failed in his confession (Jn 18:15-27) and is not said to believe (Jn 20:6-8). Now, Peter recognizes Jesus (Jn 21:7) and leads the mission of the church—fishing successfully (Jn 21:3, 11). Peter, who is commissioned by the good shepherd to act for him (21:15-17), will pay the same ultimate price (Jn 21:18-19) in caring for the whole flock (Meier). As with the other Gospels, John can be read at two levels: as a story of Jesus and as a history of the implied community of readers.

See also APOSTLE; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; GENTILES; ISRAEL; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; MISSION; SHEPHERD, SHEEP.

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CIRCUMCISION. See JUDAISM, COMMON.

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN

The words *clean* and *unclean* have meaning within particular, culture-specific purity codes. Pollution taboos and concerns about purity pervaded Greek and Roman culture as well as Jewish culture, making the concepts of "clean" and "unclean" (or "pure" and "polluted") as intelligible to Gentiles as to Jews. These codes concern proper ordering, regulating "what and who belong when and where" (Neyrey, 93), and in what condition, and thus they enable people in a society to know when order is being maintained and when something is out of place and requiring attention. This is especially important in regard to interaction with the "holy"—a society's God or gods. The "holy" is invested with power either for blessing or destruction. People rely on the divine for the goods on which their lives depend, but the numinous must be approached with care, often only by certain members of society (hence the creation of internal hierarchy in the group), and always by those who have undergone ritual purification to remove uncleanness or defilement, which must never come into contact with holiness. Jesus lived and moved within, and often bumped up against, the purity codes of first-century A.D. Judaism. This requires of modern readers of the Gospels a sympathetic understanding concerning why "purity" was important and meaningful to people, so that we do not dismiss Jesus' opponents as incomprehensible, shallow or legalistic.

1. Living Before the Holy One
2. Purity Lines in Israel and Early Judaism
3. John's Immersion Rite and Jesus
4. Purity Codes, Jesus and the Evangelists

1. Living Before the Holy One.

God commanded Aaron to "distinguish between the holy and the common, and between the unclean and the clean," and to teach the people how to do the same (Lev 10:10). This verse introduces the two main pairs of terms used within Israel to construct its purity map. Each pair has a neutral term and a more loaded term. "Common" (or "profane") is a neutral term, referring to the ordinary spaces and things of the world that are accessible to human beings. "Holy" is the corresponding marked term, referring

to special spaces or things that have been "set apart" from the ordinary (the "common") as belonging in some special way to God. "Clean" is a neutral term, referring generally to a person or thing in its "normal," proper state. "Unclean" is the corresponding marked term, denoting that something has crossed the line from the normal state into a dangerous state of pollution (Nelson, 21). In Israelite culture breaches of boundaries rendered something unclean, as when a person had a discharge or a torn skin surface (e.g., leprosy), or when an animal combined characteristics thought to be proper to different environments (e.g. lobsters, which live in the sea but walk on legs). Pollution and defilement disqualify one from entering God's presence and fellowship and, if passed on, potentially prevent others from securing God's much-needed favor, and might even provoke the Holy God to "break out" against the whole people.

One term from each pair would jointly describe any single object or person at a given time. The typical lay Israelite was "clean" and "common" most of the time. If, for example, a woman suffered a bloody discharge, she became "unclean" and "common." The tithes collected for the priests were "clean" and "holy," while food sold in the market was (supposed to be) "clean" and "common." Thus, the former were to be eaten only by the "holy" priests in a state of "cleanness," and if a "common" lay Israelite ate of them, he or she would thereby "profane" what was holy and risk divine wrath. A graveyard was "unclean" and "common," while the temple precincts were "clean" and "holy." A particularly problematic combination is "unclean" and "holy," which were held to be incompatible (except in special circumstances, such as the ashes of the red heifer in Num 19 [see Nelson, 33]). It was the duty of Israel to preserve the "holy" from being profaned and used as "common," or from being brought into contact with the impure (the "unclean"), so that the source of holiness, God, would continue to show favor toward Israel and would not be provoked either to withdraw from the people or consume them.

Israel believed that the Holy God lived in the midst of his special people, God's "special possession" (Deut 4:20; 7:6). God's presence gave Israel access to great benefits, as God protected and prospered his people (see Lev 26:3-12), but God's holiness would not tolerate the presence of defilement or abomination in the holy land that God had chosen for himself and for his people as a dwelling place. God's presence thus also brought significant danger, lest Israel affront the Holy God with defilements and uncleanness, resulting in disasters for Israel (Lev

26:14-33), just as it had for the former inhabitants of the holy land, the Caananites (Lev 18:24-25, 27; 20:22-23). The *law of Moses, the Torah, essentially was instruction about how to live as a holy nation in the presence of a Holy God, instruction that includes, but is not limited to, ethics.

2. Purity Lines in Israel and Early Judaism.

Because of its consciousness of living in the presence of the holy, the ancient Israelites drew extensive lines of purity in an attempt to create a model of God's cosmic order and to locate one's place within that order. As a result, one could know when pollution had been contracted and what needed to be done to dispel it. Purity codes fulfill vitally important social functions by drawing lines around and within the social body. The Israelites are a "holy people" (Wis 10:15), in contrast to the Gentile nations, who are unclean by definition. Thus, there is an important, boldface line drawn around Israel, circumscribing it from association with the practitioners of abomination. Circumcision—a religious rather than a medical procedure—inscribes upon the body of the male Jew this distinctiveness from the Gentiles. Gentiles are not excluded from joining the people of God, but they must enter it not only by putting away their idols but also by accepting circumcision.

Within Israel, an internal hierarchy was created on the basis of access to the Holy God, a hierarchy reflected in the sacred precincts of the *temple itself. At the top of this hierarchy stood the high priest, then the *priests, and then the Levites. For the priests, as those brokering access to the divine, came the added risks and responsibilities for remaining clean and holy for contact with God. Lay Israelites, though "holy to the Lord," were not as holy as the priests; Israelite women were unclean one-fourth of their adult lives on account of menstruation, with the result that their access to the holy places was even more limited. Those whose lineage could not be verified and those (males) whose reproductive organs were damaged were in the outer margins of Israel's purity map (Neyrey, 95-96). Those "born of illicit unions" (Deut 23:2) and their descendants to the tenth generation were barred from the congregation. Since the "race" was holy, those whose place in that "race" was questionable were pushed to the outermost fringes.

Just as Israel was holy to God, so was the land it inhabited. Moreover, Jerusalem was the holy city, of greater sanctity than the rest of Israel, because it contained the temple, the place where the sphere of human action intersects with the sphere of God's

realm. The holy places are a sort of overlapping area where these two spheres coexist and thus where transactions (such as sacrifices) between the two spheres become possible. The division of the temple into a series of courts, a holy place and a holiest place reflects the increasing sanctity of spaces as one approached the very presence of God. As might be expected, increasingly stricter purity requirements and pollution taboos regulated access to the inner courts and holy places.

Times and seasons are also divided into sacred and common. The *Sabbath, or seventh day of the week, was set apart as a holy day. It was not to be profaned (treated as common or ordinary) by people working on that day—that is, by bringing the activity of the other six days into the sacred time of the seventh day. The severe penalties for profaning the Sabbath (see Ex 31:12-17) show the importance of this sacred time as a marker of the social identity of the Jewish people, another practice that clearly "set apart" the people of Israel from the nations around them. New moons and other sacred days, such as Passover, the week-long Festival of Booths, the Day of Atonement, and Rosh Hashanah (see Feasts), also were observed in special ways, but the Sabbath was by far the most regular, visible sign of the Jew's distinctiveness, and therefore not surprisingly it was a frequent point of contention between Jews (e.g., the disputes between Jesus and the Pharisees).

Foods also were classified according to the categories of "clean" (i.e., proper for a Jew to ingest) and "unclean" (not proper for a Jew, but fine for Gentiles, who themselves are unclean). Meat permissible for Jews to consume was limited to land mammals that both ruminates (chew the cud) and have a split hoof (rather than a paw, like the weasel, or a single hoof, like the horse). It was essential that the animal have both features. Seafood for Jews was limited to fish with both fins and scales (rather than shells or legs). Birds could be eaten as long as they were not birds of prey (i.e., feeding on other animals or carcasses). Insects were unclean, save for the locust and grasshopper family (see Lev 11:3, 9, 12, 20-21).

Concern over clean and unclean in regard to foods reinforced Jewish identity and group boundaries in some very practical ways. The fact that Jews studiously avoided certain foods (particularly pork) was well known to the Gentiles in whose midst they lived. The Jews' cuisine, therefore, becomes another essential point at which the lines between insider (Jew) and outsider (Gentile) were drawn. Jews had to be sure that the source of their food was "clean"—that is, that an animal had been slaughtered in the

proper way, so as to drain all the blood rather than leave it to settle in the meat as the Gentiles did (Lev 17:10-14; Deut 12:16), and killed without any connection with the polluting idols of the world around them. Especially in the Diaspora, therefore, Jews tended to develop their own markets for food and gather their communities around these markets. Dietary restrictions were remarkably effective for reinforcing social grouping.

Assigning specific portions of sacrifices to God, to priests and, in the case of "well-being sacrifices," to lay persons added another dimension to the social function of purity laws concerning food. God's portion was too holy for any human to ingest; the priests' portions were too holy for the lay people to ingest (Lev 22:10). While the distinction between clean and unclean animals is common to all Israelites as a sign of Israel's separation from the nations, there is another dimension to food (seen in tithes and the division of the meat of well-being offerings) that reinforces Israel's internal social structures.

Finally, Jewish purity codes were concerned with the boundaries of individual Jewish bodies. Many regulations display a strong interest in the wholeness of the body's surfaces, which in turn reflects the interest in the wholeness of the boundaries of the social body (the firm, fixed definition of who belongs to the group and who does not). Concern over what enters and exits a body also correlates with the larger concern over what enters and exits the social body and the desire for regulating that flow (Douglas, 115). For this reason, much discussion of bodily pollution focuses on surfaces (clothing and the skin), on fluids that cross through the "gates" of the body, and on bodies that have crossed the boundary between life and death (Neyrey, 102-3).

The death of a community member evokes powerful feelings and a sense that something numinous and threatening has broken into normal life. Dead bodies, therefore, and the houses in which they are laying, are sources of pollution. The loss of integrity to the body's outer boundary associated with a variety of disorders lumped together under the heading of "leprosy" is another potent source of uncleanness, resulting in the removal of the leper from the congregation (Lev 14:45-46; Num 12:12). All discharges related to the sexual apertures and reproductive processes are polluting, no doubt because the processes of birth as well as death are seen as charged with sacral power and danger.

Pollution could come through what passed into the mouth. There was no provision for purification after eating unclean foods, though purification for

unwitting offenses (e.g., eating clean foodstuffs that had been polluted by the activity of unclean "swarming" creatures such as lizards and rodents) no doubt was possible. Israelites were especially careful to protect the foods that were set apart for the priests in Jerusalem from such contamination, so as not to send pollution to the temple and defile its personnel. Many kinds of pollution are regularly incurred in the course of everyday life, and for these there exists a complex system of rituals that allow the polluted person to be integrated back into a state of cleanness (or purity). Ultimately, the Day of Atonement rituals were meant to cleanse the sanctuary itself from the accumulated defilements of a year's worth of the people's pollution and sins, known and unknown. Such removal of pollution from the presence of the Holy God was essential if he was to continue to live in the midst of Israel without either withdrawing (thus making his favors unavailable) or consuming the people.

The Torah made no distinction between moral law and cultic law in terms of the pollutions caused by violations of the standards and the requirement of purificatory rites. The Torah was integrated as a single code. Holiness is enacted through the avoidance of defiling foods (Lev 11), but also through the pursuit of fairness, honesty and justice in all dealings with other people (Lev 19). The "sin offering" (or, better, "purification offering" [see Milgrom, 253; Sanders, 108]) is made both for certain moral offenses and for the pollution incurred without any moral failure (as in the case of childbirth). It was not ethically "wrong" to contract bodily pollution. In fact, it was often unavoidable. Women will menstruate; men will emit semen; corpses will need proper burial by their kin. Such pollution brought no moral guilt. Nevertheless, physical pollution had to be dealt with just as surely as inner, heart-pollution had to be atoned for. Both were equally "deviations from the norm" requiring purgation of the pollution (Sanders, 108). Both "ethical" transgressions, such as fraud, and the unnoticed contraction of "ritual" uncleanness, such as contact with an unclean person or animal, require a kind of "guilt offering" (Lev 5:2-7; 6:2-7).

A fundamental principle behind these codes is the imitation of God's holiness as God's holy people: "You shall be holy, for I am holy" (Lev 11:44-45; 19:2). Carefully selecting clean animals for food (e.g., cows, fish and certain birds) and avoiding unclean animals (e.g., pigs and shellfish, which were permissible for Gentiles but not for Jews) mirrored God's careful selection of Israel as clean and proper to be

God's own, distinguishing between Israel and the many unclean nations (Lev 20:22-26). Just as God set apart the Sabbath day from the other days on which God worked, so Israel rested on the Sabbath, reflecting God's rhythms in creation and bearing witness to God as creator (Ex 31:12-17).

Israel's purity codes were not only rich with meaning for the practicing Jew; they also gave form and boundaries to Israel's national identity and social cohesion. In the practical working out of these rules, purity concerns kept observant Jews close together and erected high boundaries between the congregation of observant Jews and the world of Gentiles. The book of *Jubilees* (ca. 160 B.C.) stresses the importance of this separation: "Separate yourselves from the nations, and eat not with them, and do not do according to their works, and become not their associates. For all their works are unclean, and all their ways are a pollution and an abomination and uncleanness" (*Jub.* 22:16). This is of great importance. If the Jews limited their contact with Gentiles and were at least aware of the necessity of keeping the boundary high and well defined, they could hope to avoid being swallowed up into *Hellenism. *Israel (defined ethnically, not geographically) would not become "like the nations" and lose their covenant relationship with God.

Different groups manifested different levels of concern with maintaining purity and avoiding pollution. Interest and care were, understandably, highest in the temple (where the Holy God lived) and in groups that regarded themselves as some kind of alternative gateway to God's court (such as the Qumran *Essenes). Strong taboos warned against defiling the sacred precincts, with the result that Israelites took great care to approach the temple safely, in a state of cleanness (Sanders, 71). Even away from the temple, however, many Israelites were concerned not to multiply pollution in the land, which might result in national disaster. This did not make for a paranoid avoidance of pollution, but called rather for an awareness of how and when one contracted pollution so that one could observe the proper purification for unavoidable pollution. As long as the proper purifications were performed, no danger would ensue.

To be avoided by all Jews, however, were the prohibited pollutions. These included the intentional (or neglectful) delay of purifications for permitted pollution (see Lev 17:15-16; Num 19:12), corpse pollution for priests (save for the closest of relatives), sexual pollutions (incest, intercourse with a menstruating woman, bestiality, homosexuality [Lev 18:6-30; 20:10-21]), defilement by association with

idols and idol worship (e.g., Lev 20:2-5), murder (see Num 35:33-34), neglect of circumcision (Gen 17:14) and defilement of the sacred (e.g., entering the temple while unclean or breaking the Sabbath).

One important variable in observance of purity laws became an occasion for some degrees of segregation within Israel. The majority of the people were not, it appears, concerned with "secondary pollution"—that is, pollution caused by touching something touched by a person or thing that was in a state of uncleanness. Pharisees were concerned with this level of contamination. These stricter Jews were wary about how close their association should be with less strict Jews. Essenes (including the men who inhabited the Qumran settlement) were the strictest about the avoidance of pollution and the safeguarding of their "priestly" purity. They went to the extremes of segregation from the rest of the holy people of God. Purity regulations designed to bind Israel together in solidarity in the midst of the nations thus also contained the seeds for sectarianism within Israel.

3. John's Immersion Rite and Jesus.

The story of Jesus' public ministry begins with the work of his cousin *John, who offered people immersion in running water. The Torah's purity laws prescribe immersion as a part of the purification process for many kinds of bodily pollution, including *leprosy (once healed [Lev 14:8-9]) and bodily discharges (or contact with someone who has such a discharge [Lev 15:5-8, 10-11, 13, 18, 21-22]), as well as for priests after handling the corpses of animals or people (Lev 16:26, 28; Num 19:7-8). Immersion was part of the preparation of priests for ordination (Ex 29:4) and of the high priest on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:4). These immersions protected the nation from the deadly results of provoking the Holy God with their pollution: "Thus you will keep the people of Israel separate from their uncleanness, so that they do not die in their uncleanness by defiling my tabernacle that is in their midst" (Lev 15:31).

Immersion was also part of certain initiation rituals. The Essenes practiced an initial immersion for the Jews who converted to their group, again to remove the pollution that converts had accrued from the time prior to their joining the sect (since no purification performed outside the sect was valid [see 1QS III, 3-9]). This immersion, however, was granted only after a novice had demonstrated the reality of *repentance and reformation of heart by bringing forth the appropriate behavioral fruits in response to the instruction that he had received over the course

of that year. Converts and initiates would then continue to practice immersion as part of the ongoing cycle of contracting bodily pollution and seeking purification of the same.

A Judean approaching John in the Jordan would recognize that John's immersion was more than a routine purification rite. In line with initiatory purifications, John's immersion offered a decisively fresh start in regard to putting away pollution, specifically in preparation for encountering the Holy God, whose agent was coming to usher in God's *kingdom. Preparation included both the renewal of covenant obedience and purification of outward uncleanness. Repentance and the renewal of good works and social justice (the "fruit worthy of repentance") were prerequisite to this immersion (Lk 3:7-14). Like the Essenes (1QS V, 13-15) or Philo (*Deus* 7-9), John proclaimed that immersion would do nothing for bodily pollution unless inner pollution was first cleansed by a return to holy and just living (see also the account of John in Josephus, *Ant.* 18.116-117).

Jesus identifies immersion for purification of the body, and by extension the repentance from transgression and rededication to a life productive of the fruits that please God, as part of the "righteousness" that God seeks from God's people (Mt 3:15), the righteousness that his own disciples must also pursue (Mt 5:20). Thus, he identifies himself with John's work by undergoing immersion himself. This need not imply that Jesus thought himself to be sinful and in need of repentance (the cleansing of inner pollution); no doubt he still would have valued the cleansing of physical pollution that he, being fully human, naturally would have contracted. Christian *baptism would become something quite new and different after the *death and *resurrection of Jesus—an initiation rite that allowed the convert to enter into a mystical participation in that dying and rising to new life (see Rom 6:3-11; Gal 3:26-29; Col 2:10-14). But at least one Christian leader would continue to think about those initial phases of joining the church in terms similar to John's, inviting believers to draw near to the Holy God "with our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience and our bodies washed with pure water" (Heb 10:22), free from both inner and outer pollution. It may be more in line with this understanding that Jesus sent his own disciples out to immerse others (Mt 28:20).

4. Purity Codes, Jesus and the Evangelists.

Avoiding certain foods, observing the sanctity of the Sabbath, and the myriad other purity regulations

were meaningful manifestations of Jewish identity as a people belonging to the Holy God; they were not merely externalistic and legalistic rules. Only from such a vantage point can we understand both why many Jews, including some Christian Jews, considered them inviolable and what was at stake when Jesus and some of his followers pushed against and sought to redefine these practices.

First, Jesus shows a striking willingness to cross lines of purity in regard to other, potentially polluting human beings that many of his contemporaries would not cross because of their concern to guard against defilement. Jesus does this, however, in order to bring the unclean, the defiled and the sinner back to a state of cleanness, wholeness and integration into the community. Jesus' enacts a conceptualization of holiness as *mercy, *love and compassion, very much in keeping with the prophetic tradition of Israel that he quotes so frequently. For example, when Pharisees seek to challenge his eating with *sinners and thus inviting pollution, he quotes Hosea 6:6: "I desire mercy and not sacrifice" (see Mt 9:10-13). The command "Be holy, for I am holy" is fulfilled not in the protection of purity ("separate yourselves from uncleanness" [see Lev 15:31]), but rather in extending wholeness to the unclean ("Be merciful, just as your Father is merciful" [Lk 6:36]).

Early in his ministry Jesus encounters a leper (Mt 8:2-4 // Mk 1:40-45). The leper is perpetually unclean, but Jesus nevertheless touches him and makes him clean. Jesus is not defiled by this touch, but rather extends cleansing by this touch. Jesus stays at the house of "Simon the leper" in Bethany in connection with his last visit to Jerusalem, a rather open and flagrant flouting of purity codes because whoever stays under a roof with a leper, as with a corpse, contracts defilement. A hemorrhaging woman, unclean from an irregular flow of blood (see Lev 15:19-30), pushes her way through a crowd (polluting them), touches Jesus (risking polluting him), and is healed. Power goes out from Jesus rather than pollution coming upon him (Mt 9:20-22). Jesus is not reluctant to touch a corpse, and his touch restores life (Mt 9:23-26; Lk 7:11-17). The exorcism of the Gerasene demoniac restores a man who lived among the tombs—unclean places in which he continuously contracted corpse defilement—to a place in the ordered world. The Gospels thus present Jesus encountering a stream of ritually impure and potentially polluting people, but in the encounter their contagion does not defile Jesus; rather, his holiness purges their pollution, renders them clean (Neyrey, 111, 124), and integrates them again into the main-

stream of Jewish society where they can reclaim their birthright, as it were, among the people of God.

Second, Jesus does not guard against the defilement that pollutes by entering the mouth nearly as carefully as do some of his contemporaries. He eats with sinners and tax collectors whose observance of purity codes may be quite loose (Mk 2:15); he shares a meal with crowds of thousands, never raising the question of their suitability for table fellowship (Mk 6:37-40; 8:1-10). An important controversy story (Mt 15:1-20; Mk 7:1-23) focuses on the question of pollution entering through the mouth. When the Pharisees, who rinsed their hands before eating as a safeguard against pollution, observe Jesus' disciples eating without following this rite, they challenge Jesus (Mt 15:2) for not teaching his disciples an adequate way of preserving purity. Jesus responds by remapping purity and pollution along ethical lines: "It is not what goes into the mouth that defiles a person, but it is what comes out of the mouth that defiles" (Mt 15:11). Jesus further explains to his disciples that what comes out of the mouth comes from the heart of a person. Speech defiles if that speech suggests sins, destroys reputations, and pollutes relationships; this is the defilement to guard against (Mt 17:19).

Mark's version of this episode is even more radical. Matthew leaves the debate poised against the value of the hand-rinsing purification (Mt 15:20), but Mark's Jesus overturns the dietary regulations as a whole. Here Jesus' rebuttal to the Pharisees is "There is nothing outside a person that by going in can defile, but the things that come out are what defile" (Mk 7:15). It is vice or sin that defiles a person, whether spoken, enacted or merely thought or desired. Mark further interprets this to mean that since true defilement comes from ethical failure, regulations concerning clean and unclean foods are pointless distractions ("Thus he declared all foods clean" [Mk 7:19]).

Prioritizing personal ethics over external pollution in terms of being clean in God's sight reappears in Jesus' denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees' practice of cleaning "the outside of the cup and of the plate" when "inside they are full of greed and self-indulgence" (Mt 23:25-26). The cup and the plate become images for the Pharisees themselves, who strictly observe bodily purifications but, Jesus suggests, are polluted inwardly by greed and slavery to the passions. Jesus censures them for not pursuing the inner, ethical cleansing that alone makes the outward purificatory rites meaningful. Luke's version of this saying is more radical: Jesus tells the scribes to

"give for alms that which is inside" (i.e., to reverse the practice of robbery and greed), after which "everything will be clean for you" (Lk 11:37-41). The emerging principle is that ridding oneself of ethical vice is the necessary cleansing, increasingly the only observance of clean and unclean that God requires.

Third, Jesus does not observe the sacredness of times to the satisfaction of certain other Jews, performing (or allowing his disciples to perform) activities not deemed proper to the Sabbath by his contemporaries. Jesus enters into debate about what profanes or sanctifies the Sabbath on two points. The first involves human comfort and hardship when a group of Pharisees censure his disciples for profaning the Sabbath by gathering grain from a field. Jesus responds first by implication that he and his disciples have embarked upon a holy mission for God as had David and his soldiers, and so they are freed from ordinary restrictions and are carrying on holy work just as the priests do in the temple, offering sacrifices (i.e., working) in the temple even on the Sabbath day (Mt 12:3-6; cf. Num 28:9-10). Jesus adds a second appeal to the principle of mercy (Mt 12:7; cf. Hos 6:6), which Mark reflects in the saying "The Sabbath was made for humankind, and not humankind for the Sabbath" (Mk 2:27). The Sabbath is not being sanctified if it means hardship for human beings; it is to be a day of joy and rest, and if that means preparing a meal rather than feeling pangs of hunger, so be it.

The second debate is much more prominent in all four Gospels. Several different Jewish voices challenge the appropriateness of performing a work of healing on the Sabbath (Pharisees in Mt 12:10, 14; a synagogue leader in Lk 13:14). A healer could heal on Friday or Sunday just as easily without having to violate the Sabbath (Lk 13:14). Jesus rejects this position, framing an argument from the lesser to the greater to show its absurdity. The Pharisees (or the synagogue leader) would agree that providing one's animals with basic care or helping them out of distress was acceptable on the Sabbath. How much more, then, it should be acceptable to help the more valuable creatures (Abraham's daughters and sons [Lk 13:16]) out of distress on that day. Compassion remains the trumping value. For Jesus, the doing of good is always timely, while the withholding of good is an evil work that defiles the Sabbath (Lk 6:9).

The similar debate in John 5:10-11, 17-18 adds an important dimension to this discussion, asking what it means to be in line with God's rhythms with regard to time. The Sabbath reflected God's own rhythm of work and rest in the first week of creation,

so that Sabbath observance was understood as a way of moving with God through the cycles of life. Jesus brings a new dimension to this, claiming that God is still working, even working on the Sabbath, to bring healing to people (Jn 5:17; see also Jn 9:3-4, 16 on "God's works"), and so Jesus claims to move truly in step with God's rhythms. Acts of compassion are never "out of season," and time is hallowed not by abstaining from such acts but rather by their performance. In this episode, however, Jesus goes further than healing on the Sabbath: he orders the man, "Stand up, take your mat and walk"—that is, to carry a burden on the Sabbath (forbidden in Jer 17:19-27; Neh 13:15-21). The evangelist's point is clear: following Jesus will mean contravening Jewish purity maps, but such contravention is required in witness to what God is working in the present through Jesus and the community of Jesus' followers.

The early Christians also radically changed the Jewish maps of sacred space, largely depicting the replacement of the Jerusalem temple as sacred space with new configurations of sacred space located in the individual believer, the community of Christians, and the presently unseen realm of God. This innovation has its roots in Jesus' ministry. Jesus clearly assumes the holiness of the Jerusalem temple (see Mt 23:16-21); in fact, in his view it is the priestly aristocracy who have insufficiently recognized the temple's sanctity. His high view of the holiness of the temple leads him to drive the money changers and merchants from the "court of the Gentiles" (or, perhaps more properly for the first century A.D., "the court open to people from all races" [4 Macc 4:11]), thus from the sacred precincts where such business dealings are "out of place." He indicts the temple authorities for sanctioning the profanation of holy space (Mt 21:12-13) and thus hindering God's purposes for that space, which will be fulfilled now not in that space but rather in the new community of the disciples, who will be sent to bring all the nations to the "worship of the one God" (Mt 28:19-20) (see Temple Act).

Mark interprets Jesus' overturning of the tables as a symbolic announcement of the temple's desanctification on account of the priests' abuses. He underscores this by placing the episode of indictment of the temple within the interpretive framework of the story of the cursing of the fig tree. Just as Jesus came to inspect the fig tree, whose leaves gave the sign of being fruitful, at a time when one would not expect such an inspection ("for it was not the season for figs" [Mk 11:13]), so Jesus came to the bustling temple to inspect its fruits. Finding none on the tree,

he cursed it, and after a short while it withered away. Finding none in the temple, he effectively curses it in his indictment and shortly after will predict its destruction (Mk 13:1-2). After a few decades, the temple was destroyed, and thus the Jews' sacred space was obliterated (see also Lk 21:20-24). The rending of the curtain in the temple's holy place signals its desacralization at Jesus' death in preparation for its destruction. This reading of the event contrasts the more popular and benign reading of it as a sign that the way into God's presence is now open to all. Access to the holy of holies per se is not broadened; rather, access to God's favor and forgiveness is thereafter to be sought in the sacred spaces of the gathered disciples (Mk 11:21-25).

In John's Gospel Jesus is depicted as reconfiguring sacred spaces even more radically, setting aside limited locales of sacred space (the fixed centers of Jerusalem and Mount Gerizim) in favor of sacred space that opens up wherever people worship God "in spirit and in truth" (Jn 4:21-23). Moreover, at the indictment of the Jerusalem temple (which now opens rather than closes Jesus' public ministry), Jesus announces a new sacred space that replaces the Jerusalem temple (Jn 2:19-22; cf. Mk 14:58): Jesus' body, crucified and raised from the dead.

Jesus was not unconcerned about purity. But he redefines, and claims the "authority to redefine, what is clean and unclean. In the Gospels "God's own voice explicitly legitimates Jesus as the one who has the authority and knowledge to show the way that pleases God, to reflect God's holiness in the world (Mk 1:11; 9:7 par.). As Jesus brings wholeness and cleanness to the unclean, crossing the boundaries of pure and impure without fear of defilement, so Jesus is able to redefine those boundaries.

Jesus' actions in his ministry make a deep impression on his followers. His disregard for many boundaries, and his commitment to crossing those boundaries for the sake of bringing God's mercy to others, led the church to understand that the crucial boundary of Jew and Gentile was no longer to be observed. The period after Jesus' ministry was no longer the time for protecting one's purity by avoiding contact with defiling persons; rather, it was a time for pursuing an open strategy of entering into unclean places to proclaim God's cleansing. Even as old purity lines were breaking down, new purity lines were being formed. Jesus' followers later would be called *hagioi* ("holy ones, saints"), set apart for God from the profane activity and associations that characterized their life as Gentiles before receiving the Holy Spirit. The definitions are new, but they are still based on, moti-

vated by, and conceived in terms of the cultural value of purity and the fear of pollution.

See also DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; ETHICS OF JESUS; GENTILES; HEALING; JUDAISM, COMMON; LEPROSY; PHARISEES; SABBATH; SIN, SINNER; TEMPLE; WATER.

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D. A. deSilva

CLEANSING OF THE TEMPLE. See TEMPLE ACT.

COMMANDMENT

Since Jesus was a Jew faithful to his tradition, his commitment to the commands of *God is understandable and expected. So central were these commands to him that he explained how none should ever be changed or broken (Mt 5:18-19). This attitude compares well with prevailing Jewish notions in the same era. "Commands" (Heb. *mišwōt*) appears 180 times in the OT and is first used in Genesis 26:5 with Abraham. Eventually Judaism (Rabbi Akiba) concluded that there were 613 commands from God, and they formed the center of religious piety and were frequently organized around the Decalogue. In Jesus' day it was not unusual to see Jewish tombs and sarcophagi marked with the Greek inscription "one who loved the commandments." This is the same sentiment found in Psalm 119:97. By the age of thirteen, Jesus was expected to be responsible for know-

ing and obeying the "commands" of God (*m. 'Abot* 5:25). (In later Jewish tradition the Talmud formalized the duty of the thirteen-year-old, but it was not until the Middle Ages that the well-known ritual of the Bar Mitzvah evolved, whereby a boy became a "son of the commandments.")

1. Usage
2. Authenticity
3. Matthew and Mark
4. Luke
5. John
6. Summary

1. Usage.

The most common term representing the idea of a "command" (particularly, a command of God) is the Greek word *entolē*. In most cases the LXX uses *entolē* to translate the Hebrew *mišwā* (root *šwh*). In the NT *entolē* occurs sixty-seven times, twenty-six of these in the Gospels. The verbal form, *entellō* ("to command"), occurs eleven times in the Gospels.

"Command" occurs throughout the Gospels (Matthew 6x; Mark 6x; Luke 4x; John 10x), and in most cases, with few exceptions (Lk 15:29; Jn 11:57), it refers to a binding, authoritative command from God. The Synoptic uses of the term belong to only three passages: (1) the discussion about ritual defilement (Mt 15:1-20 // Mk 7:1-23); (2) the rich man and Jesus (Mt 19:16-22 // Mk 10:17-22 // Lk 18:18-23); and (3) the discussion about the greatest commandment (Mt 22:34-40 // Mk 12:28-34 // Lk 10:25-28). Three uses are incidental (Lk 1:6; 15:29; 23:56), and two are unique: a discussion about *divorce (Mk 10:5), and one use in the *Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:19). John's ten uses are important and will require a separate treatment.

2. Authenticity.

Even skeptical critics of the Gospels have confidence in the authenticity of many of these sayings from Jesus. They point to multiple attestation because in particular the *love command appears in Mark, Q and John. But today these arguments have shifted to context. In the current debates about the authenticity of the words and deeds of Jesus scholars work to reconstruct the context of first-century A.D. *Judaism and there find a convincing platform for the sayings of Jesus. And here many have found that Jesus' discussions about fidelity to the law and its commands resonate well with Jewish debates in the first century A.D.

The use of OT law in Qumran as well as in apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, Philo and *Josephus indicates that Judaism was debating the

nature of faithful piety within its legal framework (so Esser; Schrenk; Sanders; Keener, 1999; France). Many teachers sought a comprehensive rule by which life could be guided, while others spent exhaustive effort cataloguing and weighing specific commands. The former were willing to discuss the “great laws” that might govern life completely, and here discussion often moved to the importance of Deuteronomy 6:5 and Leviticus 19:18, two texts cited by Jesus in Mark 12:29-31. E. P. Sanders notes, “The law was meant to be interiorized, taken into the heart and observed naturally because one’s heart was right” (Sanders, 213). On the other hand, some would work to quantify and measure the details of legal observance (for examples, see Keener 1999, 551). And this effort eventually would result in the Mishnah, a comprehensive treatment of Jewish ethical casuistry (see Rabbinic Traditions and Writings).

This is perhaps our most basic insight into a concern belonging to Jesus. He was willing to engage this debate, express his opinion and no doubt enter into public controversies with his opponents. In Matthew 23, for example, he is critical of those who weigh the relative weight of specific commands (vows anchored to the temple or its gold [Mt 23:16]). And he employs the vocabulary of this discussion to point out that if it comes to matters “weighty” and “light,” then they have missed what is most important: *justice, *mercy and *faith—high principles that for him were essential to a life devoted to the *law (Mt 23:23).

He rejected those who relaxed “the least” commands (those deemed minor on some moral scale [Mt 5:19]) and criticized those who built moral casuistries. He may have found that these interests were pursuing the wrong goal. His followers were expected to achieve a righteousness that exceeded that of the “scribes and Pharisees” (Mt 5:20). He was willing to teach that a life built around God’s commands had an organizing center, and only when this was discovered could a complete righteousness be found.

But one hallmark of authenticity can be found in distinguishing marks that set Jesus apart. In each of the Gospels (as well as in Paul’s writings) the love command taken from Leviticus 19:18 is elevated beyond what we might expect. Specific citations of the verse are unknown before the Gospels, but allusions to it among Jewish teachers were common (Dunn; Keener 2009; Meier). Jesus takes this verse and moves it to the center of his teaching.

3. Matthew and Mark.

The first two Gospels are quite close in their treat-

ment of the law and its commands, and both contain three very similar passages. Matthew’s interest in the law is well known. He alone, for instance, uses the term *anomia* (“lawlessness”) as an exhortation to those who willfully ignore God’s commands (Mt 7:23; 13:41; 23:28; 24:12). In Matthew every use of *entolē* refers to a command of God, and his interest in righteousness (*dikaiois* [17x]) is almost double that of the other Gospels. For these two gospels, and particularly for Matthew, therefore, obedience to God’s commands is essential to the meaning of *discipleship. This is likely an echo of the Jewish milieu that informs the context of Jesus and his ministry.

3.1. Ritual Defilement (Mt 15:1-20 // Mk 7:1-23).

When Jesus is approached (Matthew: *Pharisees and *scribes; Mark: Pharisees) about matters of ritual defilement (in this case, unwashed hands), his objection indicates his principle concern. According to Jesus, the point of the law is not in the extended legislation of its details (which he refers to as “your tradition”), because in this very legislation the truest command of God may be lost altogether. Mark explains the ritual obsession with utensil purity so well known from this period (Mk 7:3-4). Beginning about 150 B.C. and ending approximately A.D. 70, Judaism was deeply committed to ritual washing and rules for purity (see Clean and Unclean). Matthew details how even a command from the Decalogue can be made void by a tradition that skirts its intent (Mt 15:5-6). Matthew’s most interesting departure from Mark is his omission of Mark 7:19: “In saying this, Jesus declared all foods clean” (cf. Mt 15:18-20). This may well reflect Matthew’s sensitivity to the ongoing value of Jewish law and tradition (cf. Mt 5). Nevertheless, Matthew is cautious with a promotion of law as an end in itself. Matthew 23, though not referring to *entolē*, shares this same conceptual space. Jesus is angered at how the desires of God can be bypassed while religious legislation (“traditions”) is held fast. In both Gospels the same point is made: Matthew summarizes: “And why do you transgress the commandment of God for the sake of your tradition?” (Mt 15:3). Mark is similar: “You have let go of the commands of God and are holding on to human traditions” (Mk 7:8). Here the command of God is a direction for life that cannot be annulled or abridged by human legislation.

3.2. *The Rich Man* (Mt 19:16-22 // Mk 10:17-22; Mt 19:16-22 [// Lk 18:18-23]). The second uses of *entolē* appear in the pericope (which Luke shares) of a wealthy man who inquires about eternal life. His question centers on the particularity of his actions in life: “What good deed must I do?” When Jesus di-

rects him to “the commandments,” matters are still not clear. The “commands of God” should be the focus of his energies, and in this case Jesus recites a portion of the Decalogue. The man’s further question implies that he is looking for the very sort of ethical prescription that Jesus will not give. Jesus’ directive (“Sell everything and follow me!”) once again reveals Jesus’ typical answer. The command of God is a comprehensive command, not a series of prescriptions.

That the Decalogue cannot be used as such a casuistic moral list is clear in Matthew’s rendering of the story. Each list ends with the fifth commandment, but then Matthew adds Leviticus 19:18 (“love your neighbor as yourself”) as included in Jesus’ list. This is the springboard for Jesus’ subsequent teaching. Giving wealth to the poor is grounded in the higher principle of loving one’s neighbor.

3.3. The Greatest Commandment (Mt 22:34-40 // Mk 12:28-34 [// Lk 10:25-28]). No doubt the most important use of *entolē* is found in the Synoptic discussion of a lawyer’s query about “the greatest” or “most important” command. Mark provides a lengthy treatment that mirrors Matthew closely. Luke’s parallel is a conflation with the story of the rich man (Mk 10:17-22). Luke records the lawyer asking about eternal life. Even though Matthew/Mark and Luke launch the pericope differently, all three narratives arrive at the same result.

Here the background of moral casuistry is essential, particularly for Matthew and Mark. Jewish teachers commonly tested each other with questions such as this, and in this case Jesus is presented with a classic dilemma of law. Surely not all laws could be equally important: some must be “weighty,” others “light” (cf. *m. ’Abot* 2:1; in *b. Menah.* 43b Rabbi Meir discusses the significance of neglecting particular thread colors in the ritual fringes attached to garments).

The danger in the sort of moral speculation invited by the lawyer is that it creates an ethical hierarchy weighing the slightest details of religious behavior. Some commands of God may enjoy an unwarranted precedence over others. Jesus therefore presses toward “first principles.” In Matthew 23:23 he uses language common to this discussion: there are indeed weighty matters that deserve close attention. Jesus finds this in the command to love. He takes the so-called double command of love—love God and love neighbor—from Deuteronomy 6:5 and Leviticus 19:18 respectively. In Matthew the wording follows the LXX almost exactly.

The two commands were not uncommon among

Jewish teachers (*T. Iss.* 5:2: “Love the Lord and your neighbor” [also *T. Iss.* 7:6]; *T. Dan* 5:3: “Throughout all your life, love the Lord, and one another with a true heart”). The first command derives from Deuteronomy 6:4 and was a part of the sacred Shema, the creed recited by pious Jews twice daily. Such love for God was the key to fulfilling the entire law. The second command (loving one’s neighbor) came from Leviticus 19:18. Here in the Gospel the two are connected by the rabbinic principle of *gezerah shavah* (“equal category”), in which two texts could be connected through their use of a common word. In this case, it was the imperative to love.

Jesus’ distinctive teaching is found in his conclusion. Mark records, “There is no commandment greater than these” (Mk 12:31 TNIV). Matthew writes, “All the Law and the Prophets hang on these two commandments” (Mt 22:40 TNIV). Luke provides no concluding reinforcement. This “love command” from Jesus becomes his first principle in his teaching (see Mt 5:43) and no doubt was remembered as what was characteristic of him. In Romans 13:9 Paul recites the Decalogue precisely as Jesus does in these verses and then draws in the same summary: “He who loves his neighbor has fulfilled the law.”

Matthew in particular underscores the importance of command and obedience. His presentation of Jesus begins with overt comparisons to Moses the great lawgiver (Mt 5:17-20), and it ends with Jesus exhortation “Obey all that I have commanded you.” If the double command to love was at the heart of Jesus’ ethics, Matthew is a short step from emphases in John’s Gospel. The pursuit of the law and its righteousness must be centered in a profound love of God and a profound love of one another.

4. Luke.

Attention to this motif in Luke’s Gospel is surprisingly limited (with the exception of the story of the rich man in Lk 18:18-23 [see 3.2 above]). The term *entolē* does not form the basis of an ethical command. It refers to the law generically (Lk 1:6; 23:56) or refers to an order given from one person to the next (Lk 15:29; cf. Lk 4:10). Luke knows the discussion about the “double command” and mentions it (Lk 10:27) but does not press home its full implications as do Mark and Matthew. Perhaps his audience is not concerned about the rabbinic debates so central to the other Gospel writers.

But it is to Luke that we owe the most poignant representation of the love command. Following the discussion about the greatest command (Lk 10:25-

28), Luke provides the story of the good Samaritan (Lk 10:29-37) as the premier example of what it means to show this love commanded in Leviticus 19. It ends with Jesus saying, "Go and do likewise."

5. John.

The word *entolē* enjoys marked attention in John. Jesus' own life was lived in obedience to the command of God (Jn 10:18; 12:49-50; 15:10b; cf. Jn 14:31). But rather than cite a command from God, the Fourth Gospel provides us with commands from Jesus. This is a natural development, given John's high *Christology. In Johannine thought, to obey Jesus is the same as obeying the Father. Obedience to Jesus' commands is also evidence of how disciples love him (Jn 14:15, 21; 15:10). But above all, the love command (echoing the Synoptic emphasis) forms the center of what Jesus requires and is a constant thread in the Johannine farewell discourse (Jn 13:34; 15:12, 17). "My command is this: Love each other as I have loved you" (Jn 15:12 TNIV).

In John 13:34 Jesus refers to this as a "new commandment." There was little new in the idea that devoted believers would love one another (see Lev 19:18), but what is new is that Jesus is the source of this command, and his life is the model of how it should be practiced. The love modeled by Jesus is a love that lays down its life for the other (Jn 10:11, 15, 17-18). Therefore, Jesus' command is for a sacrificial love that does not merely respect the needs of neighbors, but also suffers on their behalf.

6. Summary.

Jesus' treatment of the command of God consistently underscored first principles of fidelity to God's original intention and a life shaped by a disciplined devotion rather than catalogued obedience. Typically in Mark 10:1-9 his answer about divorce subverts traditions that avoid God's command as he presses the Pharisees back to God's first command in Genesis. In most cases (seen particularly in the parables) Jesus promotes a religious life for his followers grounded in a life expressed in love.

This double command of love is what set his teaching apart in the memory of the early church. In Christian ethics the "law of love" no doubt shaped what was distinctive about how the early Christians viewed their moral obligations. The "law of love" evolved into an established command directly from Jesus that would hallmark Christian discipleship (Jn 13:34-35; Rom 13:8-10; Gal 5:14; Jas 2:8; *Did.* 1:2; 2:7; *Barn.* 19:5; *Gos. Thom.* 25).

See also DIVORCE; ETHICS OF JESUS; JUSTICE,

RIGHTEOUSNESS; LAW; LOVE, LOVE COMMAND.

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COMMISSIONING OF DISCIPLES. See APOSTLE.

COMMUNITY. See CHURCH.

CREATOR. See GOD.

CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY

The criteria of authenticity have been an important part of Jesus research from the early part of the twentieth century. They represent a form of historiography that is relatively unique to NT studies, in that they purport to identify a variety of criteria by which to render historical judgments regarding the authenticity or inauthenticity of actions and sayings of Jesus.

1. History of Development
2. The Traditional Criteria
3. New Developments in Criteria Research

1. History of Development.

Treatment of the criteria of authenticity is often hampered by a failure to discuss them in the context of their origins and development (for historical surveys, see Schillebeeckx, 62-100; Theissen and Winter; Porter 2000). Instead, most treatments of the criteria present them synoptically in their fully developed forms (e.g., Walker; McEleney; Barbour; Stein; Polkow; McKnight 1988; Meier, 167-95; Evans 1995, 13-26; 1996, 127-46; Shin, 135-220). This is potentially misleading because it gives the impression that the criteria do not reflect contemporary issues in Jesus research that led to their development and refinement, but that they emerged fully formed or, perhaps worse still, were part of a package of criteria that existed independently of the issues to which they were addressed.

The use of criteria to discuss Jesus goes back to the early church itself. For example, when Tertullian distinguishes among the four Gospels, he attributes some to the *apostles and others to apostolic men, and he criticizes Marcion for having used Luke's Gospel, written by an apostolic man (Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.2, 5). This criterion distinguishes reliability on the basis of proximate authorship, with the implication that the apostles as followers of Jesus were more closely associated with the events than those who were not. Eusebius mentions that Papias speaks of Matthew writing *logia* (statements) of Jesus in the "Hebrew" dialect (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16). This criterion attributes authentic words of Jesus in Matthew to a Semitic-language Gospel, as reflecting the original or first language of Jesus. Irenaeus, in his

description of the fourfold Gospel, attributes each to one of the corners of the universe (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.11.8-9), and Clement of Alexandria refers to John's Gospel as the "spiritual Gospel" (Clement, *Hypotyposesis*, cited in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.14). Irenaeus makes a distinction between four different Gospels while maintaining their basic similarity (and suitability to be in a gathering of four), while Clement is noting a distinction between John's Gospel and the other three. The shared assumption is that there is a coherence to the Gospel accounts, which multiply attest to the actions and words of Jesus.

Several of the criteria still used in Jesus research gained important impetus during the Renaissance and Reformation. G. Theissen and D. Winter trace the criterion of dissimilarity—authentic Jesus tradition is dissimilar to either the early church or Judaism of the time (see 2.1 below for further discussion)—back at least to Martin Luther, who differentiated authentic material about Christ from what was said by the Jews or the Gentiles (double dissimilarity) (Theissen and Winter, 261). Other well-known figures in Jesus research who used forms of this criterion before the rise of form criticism include H. S. Reimarus, W. M. Leberecht de Wette, D. F. Strauss, G. Dalman, A. von Harnack, J. Weiss, P. Schmiedel, A. Schweitzer, A. Jülicher, H. Holtzmann, J. Weiss and W. Heitmüller, among many others (see Theissen and Winter, 261-75; cf. Porter 2009). Employing perhaps a form of the criterion of embarrassment, or at least a form of dissimilarity, T. Morgan (publishing in 1738-1740) distinguished between how the church represented Jesus and the reality (Theissen and Winter, 263). In the sixteenth century, some scholars recognized that the Gospels, though written in Greek, reflected translations from the original Semitic language of Jesus, which came to be identified as Aramaic (or Chaldean). Rudimentary forms of the Semitic-language criterion (though not always Aramaic) were made by people such as T. Beza (Casey, 3), J. J. Scaliger and B. Walton (Schweitzer, 270-71).

Despite these earlier origins, especially in conjunction with the rise of historical criticism, the traditional criteria of authenticity reached the apex of their development and exemplification in the early to middle parts of the twentieth century, and especially in relation to the development of form criticism and its resulting legacy in Germany.

2. The Traditional Criteria.

The number of traditional criteria identified by scholars varies significantly. Here I identify seven

traditional criteria that have been utilized in various configurations over at least the last one hundred years. Not all of these criteria are utilized by all scholars of the historical Jesus. Because of problems and shortcomings with a number of these traditional criteria—not least that they have not been able to establish an agreed-upon body of authentic Jesus material (see the criticisms below)—some of these criteria have been called into question, and further criteria have been developed in an attempt to be able to establish this authentic Jesus tradition. As a result, a number of scholars have differentiated the criteria, between those that are valid or primary criteria and those that are invalid or secondary (e.g., Meier; Schillebeeckx; Evans 1997b; cf. Polkow). With the invalidation of some criteria, others have been proposed. Whereas the number of criteria that have been identified is theoretically quite large, this list encompasses the majority usually employed in Jesus research. In the next section I present several more recently introduced criteria.

2.1. Double Dissimilarity. Although its origins and use go back much earlier, the criterion of double dissimilarity reached its apex during the form-critical era. Form criticism had shown that individual units of tradition were shaped during transmission by the church, so that any Gospel tradition that cohered with church tradition was suspect as to authenticity. Similarly, since Jesus was a Jew, one could not depend on Gospel tradition that cohered with early Judaism as being authentic either. The result was the criterion of double dissimilarity. Thus, it is appropriate that form critics such as R. Bultmann almost tacitly relied upon this criterion. For example, in his discussion of Jesus' similitudes, he counts those as genuine that are in contrast to Jewish thought and do not have Christian characteristics (Bultmann 1968, 205), although this formulation is introduced in a casual way. When E. Käsemann rejuvenated German form-critical Jesus research, he went further than his teacher Bultmann when he declared that only one criterion can satisfy the requirements for providing authentic Jesus material: it provides no foundation either in the Judaism of the time or early Christianity (Käsemann, 36-37). The fundamental importance of this criterion is seen in the fact that both the liberal scholar N. Perrin, who averred that only material that is dissimilar to Judaism and the early church can be ascribed to Jesus (Perrin 1970, 71), and the conservative scholar M. Hengel, who used this criterion to establish the authenticity of Jesus' statement in Matthew 8:22 regarding the dead burying the dead

(Hengel 1981, 5), both used the same method.

Such a widely used criterion has attracted significant negative response. Some note that this criterion cannot define what is authentic Jesus material but can only dispute material already identified as authentic. Thus, the material that makes its way through the fine sieve may result in a critically established body of authentic material, but it is a critically assured minimum that results in a minimalist Jesus who is distinct from both of his primary cultures. Thus, the criterion, in being asked to do so much, provides so little (Meyer 1979, 86). It is hard to know how this Jesus would have been understood in the ancient world, as he is far from being a fully developed person. Further, the criterion itself equivocates over the concept of dissimilarity and utilizes degrees of dissimilarity rather than dissimilarities in kind. There is a significant amount of commonality within the Jesus tradition, and so dissimilarity becomes a relative term of approximation. Within its terms of reference, the scope of this criterion is confined to the general content of Jesus' words but does not address the actual words of Jesus. This is because the criterion functions in response to patterns of thought. Further, the criterion is dependent for its success on the depth of knowledge of the Jewish and early Christian worlds of the first century A.D. Scholarship has to admit that knowledge of both early Judaism and early Christianity is far from being comprehensive enough to be able to define with certainty the full extent of their beliefs. Inevitably, as a result, the criterion is often said to favor either the Jewish or early Christian contexts, on the basis of one's extent of knowledge. The result is that some scholars have adopted only a single dissimilarity criterion, in relation to the early church, which provides no guidance in relation to early Judaism. This criterion is also thought to be limited in scope because it confines itself to Judaism and the early church while neglecting virtually entirely the Greco-Roman world of the first century A.D., another important context for Jesus. Finally, there has been a question whether the criterion is even relevant for establishing authentic Jesus material at all, since it is formulated around the identification of dissimilarity and dissimilarity alone (Holmén).

2.2. Least Distinctiveness. This criterion is closely related to the rise of form criticism because it depends upon defining the rules of transmission of the various Gospel literary forms, such as *parables, *miracle stories and pronouncement stories. The criterion of least distinctiveness assumes that the various literary forms have identifiable structures

and that they follow various rules of stylistic development, treated almost as “laws” of transmission. These rules include such tendencies as the growth and expansion of a tradition, the addition of detail, the deletion of Semitisms, the addition of direct discourse to a narrative, and conflation of multiple accounts. Knowing these rules, one can theoretically separate the authentic from the inauthentic Jesus material within the individual forms on the basis of the most distinctive material that embraces the above changes reflecting later secondary additions, while the least distinctive material reflects the primary literary form. The least distinctive material, therefore, has the greater claim to being authentic Jesus material. Bultmann, for example, contends that the basic elements of a given account, such as its major point and its basic structure, are faithfully preserved during transmission, but that numerous insignificant details are altered in the course of retelling (Bultmann 1960, 41-42). He was followed in his use of this criterion by other form critics such as M. Dibelius and V. Taylor.

The criterion of least distinctiveness has been criticized on two major fronts, one a general and the other a specific criticism. The first, general objection is the recognition that the transmission of traditions in oral cultures is far more complex than the form critics realized (*see* Orality and Oral Transmission). Significant research into transmissional tendencies in ancient and modern epic-type poetry has indicated that the process of reciting and conveying accounts is far more complex and is not the regularized process that had been posited by form criticism. The second criticism focuses more specifically upon the transmissional patterns found in the Gospels themselves. E. P. Sanders critically assessed the various proposed “laws” of transformation said by form critics to be operative in the Gospels. The criteria that he assesses include those regarding increasing length and increasing detail of later accounts, the elimination of Semitisms, the tendency to utilize direct discourse, and the tendency toward conflation of competing accounts. On the basis of analysis of the Gospels themselves, as well as postcanonical literature, Sanders concludes that, to the contrary, there are “no hard and fast laws of the development of the Synoptic tradition” (Sanders 1969, 272). There are instead competing tendencies that pull against each other. In fact, he goes further and observes that on “all counts the tradition developed in opposite directions” (Sanders 1969, 272). In light of these difficulties, this traditional criterion is not used as much as it once was.

2.3. Coherence or Consistency. Even though the concepts of coherence and consistency can be differentiated, they are placed together here because usually they are conflated in Jesus research. This criterion is also important in the development of *form criticism because it addresses the nature of the individual literary forms and their relation to the larger Jesus tradition. This criterion essentially contends that Jesus tradition that coheres or is consistent with already established authentic Jesus material should thereby also be considered authentic. Proponents of this criterion include Bultmann in his treatment of the *eschatological sayings of Jesus, in which such statements were evaluated according to whether they cohered with Jesus’ eschatological perspective found elsewhere (Jesus’ eschatological orientation was considered one of the firm results of scholarship) (Bultmann 1968, 105). *Parables research has made widespread use of this criterion, as eschatology has been one of the important factors to consider in assessing their authenticity. C. H. Dodd and J. Jeremias (Jeremias 1972 [orig. 1947]) have been followed in their use of this criterion by many since, such as N. Perrin (Perrin 1967) and C. E. Carlston. This criterion continues to be widely used in Jesus research because of its expansive opportunities. This criterion provides for a means of adding to, rather than subtracting from, authentic tradition once a firm minimum of authentic Jesus material is established on the basis of other criteria.

Despite the continued widespread use of the criterion of coherence or continuity, a number of criticisms have been directed at it. For example, M. D. Hooker, in trenchant critiques of the use of the criteria (Hooker 1970; 1972), points out the highly subjective interpretive nature of such a criterion, as it depends upon being able to define and then utilize highly problematic notions. What may appear to be coherent or consistent for one scholar may seem to lack coherence or consistency when examined by another. The basis of common appeal to adjudicate such disagreements is unclear. A further criticism of this criterion is that it must, in effect, assume the conclusion that it wishes to find. In other words, this criterion is dependent upon being able first—and by some other criterion—to establish what constitutes authentic Jesus tradition, by which one is then able to test the further coherence or consistency of other tradition. A third limitation is that this criterion is at best only a secondary and dependent criterion, not a primary and constructive one. That is, this criterion is wholly dependent upon other criteria by which the established core of authentic material is estab-

lished, against which other tradition is judged. It therefore is dependent for its results upon not only the means by which coherence and consistency are judged, but also the quality of the other criteria used to establish the core authentic tradition. It is vulnerable to a cascading effect regarding authenticity if the core material is shown to be inauthentic. This raises a further question regarding how this criterion can establish authenticity of material when it cannot actually propose and establish genuinely authentic material, and how it is that the other criteria cannot be used in place of this criterion, as they are primary criteria. Finally, since this criterion is used to expand the body of authentic material already recognized as genuine, this raises the legitimate question of why virtually everything in the Gospel tradition is not counted as authentic, as this material already arguably coheres with or is consistent with the other Gospel material by virtue of inclusion.

2.4. Multiple Attestation or Cross-Section Method. This is one of few criteria not first widely promoted by German form criticism in the first half of the twentieth century. It was instead more rigorously developed in earlier English-language scholarship, before finding more widespread adoption in form criticism and later redaction criticism. There is a noticeable difference in orientation of this criterion compared to those closely associated with German form criticism. Whereas German criteria are often minimalistic, such as double dissimilarity, the criterion of multiple attestation or cross-section is more optimistic and maximalist in its orientation. This criterion has two different conceptualizations: the first is reliant upon independently attested traditions in which authentic material is found in a cross-section of these sources, and the second, later form is dependent upon multiple literary forms even within the same sources. The criterion of multiple attestation or cross-section, developed by F. C. Burkitt on the basis of comparison of Mark and Q and adopted and extended by others (e.g., Manson), attempts to provide an external starting point for determining authentic material by drawing upon the main, independent sources that make up the Synoptic Gospels. These sources now usually include the Gospel of Mark, the non-Markan tradition common to Matthew and Luke known as Q, independent material unique to Matthew (M), and independent material unique to Luke (L). Some later research has posited John's Gospel as a fifth independent source, and some have wished to include extracanonical sources, such as the *agrapha* of Jesus, the *Gospel of Thomas*, and other apocryphal Gospel

sources. Thus material that is multiply attested in these independent sources is considered to be authentic Jesus material. Dodd was responsible for focusing this criterion upon independent literary forms even within the same sources. Rather than examining the major sources of the Gospel accounts, Dodd posited that material found in two or more of the literary forms of the Jesus tradition (such as aphorisms, parables, sayings, dialogues, miracles stories) is early and may be authentic (Dodd, 26-29). Thus Jesus' pronouncements on the *kingdom of God are deemed authentic because they are found in multiple literary forms. The first form of this criterion dependent upon the major sources of the Gospel tradition continues to be widely used, but the second less so.

There are at least four significant criticisms of this criterion. The first is that it can arrive only at approximate conclusions and not specific conclusions regarding the words of Jesus. This criticism can be made of several of the criteria but especially of this one. Because it relies upon separate and in some ways disparate accounts, this criterion at best can establish general themes reflected in the independent traditions and cannot establish particular wording, such as a saying of Jesus. A second criticism, and one especially directed at Dodd's use of literary forms, involves the difficulty in defining and regularizing the various literary forms. The result can be a multiplication of literary forms in the interest of establishing independent forms to establish authenticity. A third criticism is that this criterion establishes a procedure by which the various sources or literary forms are used, but it does not provide a means of assessing the reliability of the sources themselves. The criterion has been thus building an edifice of multiply attested Jesus tradition upon a foundation that may or may not be reliable. The criterion itself does not establish a means of assessing that reliability. The fourth and final criticism of this criterion is that it is, in its most widely used form, dependent upon a particular view of the Synoptic problem and the relationships of the Gospels. This position asserts Markan priority, the existence of Q, and, in its later form, independent M and L material, besides a particular independent relationship of John's Gospel and other sources to the Synoptic sources. If this theory of Gospel relationships does not hold, the results of multiple attestation are directly and seriously affected.

2.5. Semitic Language Phenomena and/or Palestinian Environmental Features. This criterion has been developed in two distinct forms, with the

major form drawing upon Semitic- and in particular Aramaic-language features, and the minor form upon Palestinian environmental features. For both, the assertion is that Jesus tradition that demonstrates these Semitic- or Aramaic-language phenomena or Palestinian environmental features is more likely to be authentic than material that does not evidence them. In other words, various Semitisms, such as the use of particular phrases (e.g., “son of man”), vocabulary or other constructions, indicate that the material originated in a Semitic environment. Features such as references to practices, customs, *geography or beliefs of first-century A.D. Palestine similarly indicate an origin of the episode or words within that environment. This criterion have been widely used in the modern era of Jesus research, including by figures such as A. Meyer, G. Dalman, C. F. Burney and C. Torrey, and more recently J. Jeremias (Jeremias 1955), M. Black, J. A. Fitzmyer and M. Casey, among many others. The usual research method of many of these scholars is to determine and establish a Semitism by the scholar’s ability to retrovert what is purportedly an awkward or unusual instance of Greek back into a hypothesized Semitic original. The ease with which one can do this is thought to indicate the likelihood of its Semitic origins. A more recent development is to find dictional, thematic and even exegetical coherence with Semitic sources as a means of establishing common interpretive traditions with such sources as the Targumim (e.g., Chilton; Evans 1997a).

There have been a number of criticisms of the Semitic-language criterion, while the environmental-features version has become relatively unimportant in recent research. One criticism of the former criterion is the failure in its more recent uses to take the multilingual environment of first-century A.D. Palestine and Galilee into account (see *Languages of Palestine*). Although scholars such as Dalman and Fitzmyer have often recognized this linguistic context, more recent scholars have often created a bifurcation between Greek, the lingua franca of the first-century A.D. Mediterranean world, and the Semitic language, especially Aramaic, that Jesus would have spoken, without acknowledging the complex linguistic environment in which Jesus functioned. Recent research has led to recognition that Jesus was at least occasionally a Greek-language user. A second criticism concerns retroversion and the lack of criteria by which one determines the “un-Greekness” of the Gospel text and the genuineness of the Semitic reconstruction. The history of discussion of the Greek

of the NT includes discovery that this Greek is part of the common (Koine) Greek used during this time, and many of the earlier supposed Semitic features, while certainly not being classical in their formulation, are part of this Koine Greek. A third criticism relates to recent thought regarding language usage. Modern lexicography and translation theory have shown that languages rarely have lexical iconicity between each other, and that translation often is complex, so that a source language might be rendered in a variety of ways in the receptor language (Hurst). Even more recently developed forms of this criterion have distinct limitations, as correlations in diction, theme and exegesis depend upon other criteria, such as coherence and the ability to establish authentic tradition, as a basis for comparison.

2.6. Embarrassment or Movement Against the Redactional Tendency. The criterion of embarrassment has had a resurgence of interest and utilization, as a number of scholars have promoted it as a means of establishing firm Jesus tradition. This criterion, though also known by a number of other names (see Polkow, 341), probably had its earliest modern formulation by Schmiedel and has been used by others, such as E. Käsemann, E. Schillebeeckx and especially J. P. Meier and D. G. A. Calvert. It possibly had its origins in Käsemann’s casual statement that authentic material does not reflect the tradition of Jewish Christianity, which had modified some Jesus tradition that was “too bold for its taste” (Käsemann 1964, 37). There are two major forms of this criterion. One formulates it as divergence from the redaction (Calvert). This means that material that is included but does not promote the author’s agenda is moving against the redactional tendency and hence is authentic. This form of the criterion is similar to the criterion of least distinctiveness noted above, and it has been used by the Scandinavian school of Jesus research (e.g., Riesenfeld; Gerhardsson; Byrskog). Meier (Meier 1991, 169) and others have rejected this formulation and preferred one that sees the authentic material as those traditions that cannot be easily attributed to creation by the early church. In other words, material that would have embarrassed the early church, such as Jesus’ baptism by John or his lack of knowledge, would have claim to be authentic.

Despite the widespread use of this criterion in recent Jesus research, it has several distinct limitations, as Meier and others have recognized. One of these is that the number of clear instances of embarrassment in the Jesus tradition is relatively small and certainly not sufficient to create an adequate portrait

of Jesus. In fact, it would be a Jesus who only did or said things that would prove to be embarrassing to his early followers. A second is the difficulty in establishing what would have been embarrassing to the early church, given that we are judging on the basis of later, modern standards. A third limitation is that despite the reformulation in two different ways, this criterion even in the form that Meier and others endorse is still a form of the criterion of dissimilarity (Polkow, 341). In particular, it is a criterion of dissimilarity from the early church, but it is easily also seen as a criterion of dissimilarity from Judaism. This invokes the same limitations as noted above, in which a minimalist Jesus becomes the only Jesus whom one can endorse as authentic. This perhaps explains why Meier says that this criterion is dependent upon other criteria (Meier 1991, 171). It is dependent because, on its own, it can at best only arrive at a reduced-size Jesus, and it requires other criteria to expand the scope of authentic tradition.

2.7. Rejection and Execution or Historical Coherence. In recent Jesus research this criterion has gained in importance, so that it is considered the most important criterion by at least some, such as J. P. Meier (Meier 1991, 177) and C. A. Evans (Evans 1995, 13-15). Meier identifies it as the criterion of rejection and execution, Evans as historical coherence. This criterion states that material that coheres with the rejection and execution of Jesus, because this is an event unexpected by early Christianity, is authentic. The origins of this criterion have been traced by Evans (Evans 1995, 13) back to Sanders's (Sanders 1985, 7) treatment of the actions of Jesus, in which the authentic tradition reflects events significant enough that Jesus must have performed them so as to attract the attention of the authorities sufficient for his execution. However, this criterion is clearly also related to the criteria of coherence or consistency, embarrassment, least distinctiveness and even dissimilarity (whether single or double). Meier and Evans use this criterion in different ways. Evans, in giving it priority over the others, wishes to begin with the essential actions of Jesus as a firm platform for assessing the other actions and sayings. For Meier, the criterion is less precise in its results and instead points to the death of Jesus as the starting point for evaluating other actions or sayings that help to explain his death.

This criterion is being used in two different ways by Meier and Evans, ways that are perhaps incompatible. Evans uses this criterion in a specific way. He assumes the death of Jesus at the hands of the authorities as the basis for creating a network of related

facts in relation to which any other saying or action can be considered authentic as long as it is historically coherent. Meier uses this criterion in a more abstract way, not as a means of judging individual actions or sayings within the Jesus tradition but rather as a means of drawing attention to the central importance of Jesus' death and those events that are compatible with it. Rather than being a criterion of dissimilarity, this criterion is essentially one of similarity, and hence it has many of the strengths and weaknesses of the criterion of coherence and consistency. However, the difference is that in some ways this criterion posits or assumes the core authentic tradition that forms the basis of expanding the sphere of coherent authentic material.

2.8. Historical Plausibility. The criterion of historical plausibility, though only first proposed by G. Theissen and D. Winter in 1997 (ET, Theissen and Winter 2002), is treated here because it is a reconfiguration of the major traditional criteria. Rejecting the criterion of double dissimilarity, they reformulate their criterion of historical plausibility in two parts: Jesus' relation to Judaism as a plausibility of context, and Jesus' relation to early Christianity as a plausibility of consequence. Rather than thinking disjunctively, they wish to think in probabilities and plausible scenarios for Jesus, scenarios that cannot be rejected unless one can create a more plausible one. Theissen and Winter's plausibility of context entails two traditional subcriteria: resistance to the redactional tendency and coherence. They see these as working together, whereby resistance to the redactional tendency entails events that go against the early church but are reflective of historical influence. The concept of coherence reintroduces the criterion of multiple attestation, in which multiple independent traditions attest to an earlier tradition, whether these are found in Gospel sources, literary forms or even variant forms of the same tradition. Theissen and Winter's plausibility of consequence also includes two subcriteria. The first is conformity to context, and the second contextual individuality. Again, though these appear to be antagonistic, Theissen and Winter assert their complementarity. Context requires that the things that Jesus said and did were at home within the first-century A.D. world in which he lived. However, they also want to distinguish Jesus from other charismatic figures of the time in his actions and words. Theissen and Winter claim that their criterion of historical plausibility draws together in a creative tension a contextually plausible portrait of Jesus that is also unique against his historical backdrop.

Despite the commendable effort to formulate a new criterion that moves beyond the strictures of the traditional criteria, Theissen and Winter's criterion of historical plausibility represents more a shift in emphasis than a genuine formulation of a new criterion. Thus, three major criticisms can be raised against their attempt. The first is that they have not severed their fundamental reliance upon the traditional criteria of authenticity. Even if they wish to emphasize similarity rather than dissimilarity, the shortcomings of the several criteria that they use as subcriteria remain. Thus, their criterion of plausibility is jeopardized by their reliance upon the traditional criteria of dissimilarity in several forms, coherence, and multiple attestation. Even if these criteria are considered adequate for expanding the authentic tradition, they cannot provide a substantial foundation of authentic material as the basis of further discussion. A second criticism involves the failure to make clear how to use potentially conflicting criteria, in particular dissimilarity and coherence. On the one hand, the criterion of plausibility utilizes several different types of dissimilarity criteria, while, on the other hand, arguing for coherence and similarity. Despite their claims, it is difficult to know when weight should be given to one and when to the other. The third and final criticism addresses Theissen and Winter's stated intention of offering a complex portrait of Jesus. If this is true, their restriction to the traditional criteria, even if they are repackaged in a new configuration, entails that they will create such a portrait within the confines of traditional authenticity criteria.

3. New Developments in Criteria Research.

In light of the shortcomings of the traditional criteria for determining authenticity of Jesus material, there have been a number of efforts to move beyond these criteria and propose new ways of examining the evidence. In this section I will treat four of these attempts.

3.1. *Indices, Not Criteria.* One of the responses to past development and continuous use of criteria is rejection of the term *criterion* and adoption of the term *index*. This apparently was first proposed by B. F. Meyer (Meyer 1979, 86-92) and was followed by several scholars, including R. Riesner (Riesner, 86-87) and, to varying degrees, S. McKnight (McKnight 1988, 66-69). Though clearly informed by traditional criteria, Meyer wishes not only to substitute one term for another but also to shift an entire historiographical framework. Jesus research has fully embraced both the terminology and the approach im-

plied by the criteria of authenticity. As noted above, the tendency is to try to find criteria that deliver assured results regarding the Jesus tradition. Furthermore, the criteria themselves are treated as focused and specific in their formulations. Those who argue for an indexical approach find both the terminology and their formulaic utilization inappropriate for a historically based endeavor such as examination of the Gospels for authentic Jesus tradition. Scholars who believe that the term *index* is more informative are concerned with the methods used in historical Jesus research to establish authenticity and historicity. They are skeptical regarding the traditional notion of a criterion because they believe that the use of the term *criterion* and the approach that this exemplifies ask for a level of certainty that historical method, rightly understood, simply cannot deliver. The concept of criteria is used in an absolute way to indicate that there is a precise and even singular way to establish historicity, as opposed to material that is seen not to be historical. However, such criteria do not fit well within the historiographical method that relies upon forming hypotheses and testing inferences so that one can use data to establish facts. The term *index* is proposed as an alternative to *criterion* because it does not imply a constrained approach, but it does recognize that there are various factors that influence historical judgments. Historical judgments are not based on simplistic equations but instead end up being statements about probabilities, rather than assertions of certainties, on the basis of the weight of the evidence. There is much merit in the proposal that the notion of "indices" replace that of criteria. However, even for those who endorse this proposal in theory, it often is difficult to move beyond the traditional criteria, as they have been firmly enshrined in Jesus research.

3.2. *Double Similarity.* The criterion of double dissimilarity has been widely used in Jesus research despite the limitations of its productivity in identifying significant amounts of authentic Jesus material. The results have largely been negative. As a result, there have been several responses to it. One is complete abandonment, another is to limit it to single dissimilarity (from the church), while still another is to transform it into something else. N. T. Wright has proposed a counter to these negative conclusions of the criterion of double dissimilarity in what he calls the criterion of "double similarity" (Wright 1996, 131-33). Wright defines it as, "When something can be seen to be credible (though perhaps deeply subversive) within first-century Judaism, and credible as the implied starting-point (though not the exact

replica) of something in later Christianity” (Wright 1996, 132). What he means by this is that authentic material must be credible in both first-century A.D. Judaism and as the instigation of later developments in Christianity. Wright’s perspective does transfer the balance from skepticism to optimism in sorting through Jesus tradition. To help in this process, he posits this criterion of double similarity as responding to five observations about Jesus: his fitting into first-century A.D. Judaism, his purpose of bringing Israel together, the hostility that such actions will elicit from the authorities, Jesus’ vindication and the arrival of God’s kingdom, and the theological consistency of the account.

There are two obvious drawbacks to this new proposal. The first is its clear dependence upon the traditional criteria, especially the criterion of double dissimilarity. Wright has simply reversed the formulation of his criterion of double similarity so that he is more affirming of the points of commonality, but they are still assessed in comparison with the situation in first-century A.D. Judaism and developments within early Christianity. Thus, the criticisms of double dissimilarity mentioned above may well apply here also, including the tendency to be reductionistic and to find the minimalist Jesus. The second criticism concerns the lack of means of establishing a set of core authentic material. The positive criterion of similarity cannot establish core authentic Jesus tradition. Whereas the criterion of double dissimilarity examines the Jesus tradition and then (overly) reduces it, the criterion of similarity must begin with some body of authentic material that it attempts to build upon. The criterion alone cannot provide this foundation. Wright’s use of this criterion of similarity is apparently related to his grounding of his historiographical method in the underdeveloped “critical realism” (Wright 1992, 31-46) of B. Lonergan mediated through Meyer (Meyer 1989; see also Dunn, 110-11; McKnight 2005, 26). Critical realism is an attempt to mediate between naïve realism and phenomenism. It takes a realist view of phenomena but examines them from a critical though not skeptical perspective. However, Wright’s use of Lonergan’s critical realism does not pay close attention to the warrants or justification of belief, and so it does not solve the problem of providing the basis for his view of reality (see Porter and Pitts).

3.3. Greek-language Criteria. As noted above, discussion of language in relation to Jesus has concentrated upon Semitic languages, especially Aramaic. There has been recent discussion of the multilingual milieu of first-century A.D. Palestine and

Galilee and a recognition that Jesus may have known and even used Greek on occasion, possibly even in his teaching. As a result, S. E. Porter has developed and introduced into historical Jesus research three criteria based on Greek language (Porter 2000; 2003; 2006): Greek language and its context, textual variance, and discourse features. The first examines various episodes in the Gospels in light of the multilingual cultural contexts of the Gospels to determine whether these units display plausible correlations between the participants and their language or actions. In other words, in light of the possibility of Jesus using Greek, this criterion attempts to determine whether in a given instance there are determinable features of the episodes that indicate that Greek was used on this specific occasion. The second criterion, textual variance, builds upon the first and attempts to determine whether, on a given occasion, one can determine whether Jesus actually said the words that are recorded. This determination is based upon an assessment of the stability of the Greek textual tradition. Based upon a type of textual criticism, this criterion attempts to determine whether individual Gospel accounts record authentic words of Jesus in the tradition on the basis of textual variants. The third criterion, discourse features, identifies significant linguistic features in the words of Jesus, whether individual literary forms such as a parable or a larger discourse unit, and those same features within the Gospel narrative. The findings of such a study provide the basis for establishing the linguistic tendencies of a given Gospel writer, against which the wording of a given passage purportedly uttered by Jesus can be tested. Porter has applied these three criteria to a number of passages in the NT and identified contexts and instances where Jesus may have spoken the words involved (e.g., Mk 15:2 par.). Then, on the basis of traditional criteria, he has established the probability that Jesus may have spoken these words in the particular context. Scholars have responded in several different ways to these new criteria. Some have welcomed, if not the criteria themselves, at least the possibility of introducing new criteria into the debate and their methodological soundness (Shin, 186-87; McKnight 2005, 45). Others, especially those who resist the notion that Jesus spoke Greek, have dismissed the criteria (Dunn, 83). Those who resist new criteria and wish to reinforce the traditional criteria tend to believe that such criteria are unnecessary and have hence ignored them. Others note that the criteria are still dependent upon the traditional criteria (Bird). The use of the traditional criteria is a recognizable

potential vulnerability of this approach, although the new criteria are not dependent upon them.

3.4. Criteria and Ancient Historiography. The last new development to note here is recent discussion of the practice of historiography and its relationship to the traditional criteria. In its early days, historiography was positivistic in that it believed that to know something was to explain it. Such historiography was rule-driven and reductionistic. The progressive development of historiography has involved the recognition that historiography may have rules, but these rules are motivated by a variety of factors, including probability, subjectivity and theories of truth. The results in modernist historiography have been recognition of the difficulties of writing history but the belief that data can lead to determination of facts. Postmodern historiography has taken what is sometimes referred to as a linguistic turn, in which language itself has a formative role to play in history. The result has been an emphasis upon history as narrative and story, in which a coherence theory of truth replaces that of correspondence (see Carr). Current historiography is characterized as an ongoing debate about method, with both modernist and postmodernist approaches being used. Even though it appears that modern historiography itself is an unsettled discipline, what is clear is that, apart possibly from its earliest period, it does not recognize and utilize the types of criteria that are commonly found in Jesus research. If anything, these resemble the early positivistic approach to historiography. As a result, a number of NT scholars interested in questions about Jesus have attempted to draw upon approaches found in secular historiography in their Jesus research. In an approach sympathetic to postmodernist historiography, McKnight acknowledges the role that one's personal orientation to the evidence plays in Jesus research (McKnight 2005). In a more modernist approach to the subject, M. R. Licona attempts to find rules of probability and evidence that allow him to assess the evidence for the resurrection of Jesus.

See also FORM CRITICISM; HISTORICISMS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS; REDACTION CRITICISM.

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S. E. Porter

CROSS. See DEATH OF JESUS.

CROWD. See PEOPLE, CROWD.

CRUCIFIXION. See DEATH OF JESUS.

CYNICS AND CYNICISM

Ancient Cynicism, a notorious movement within Greco-Roman philosophy, was known for a lifestyle that embodied nature-inspired values, including asceticism and self-sufficiency. In recent years, a number of scholars have made comparisons and correlations between ancient Cynicism and the early Jesus movement. From within this context has emerged the Cynic Jesus theory, which suggests that the historical Jesus and/or his earliest followers are best understood in light of ancient Cynicism.

1. Ancient Cynicism
2. The Cynic Jesus Theory

1. Ancient Cynicism.

1.1. Origins of Cynicism. Scholars continue to debate whether Socrates' student Antisthenes (ca. 445 to post-366 B.C.) or Diogenes of Sinope (ca. 404–323 B.C.) should be credited as the first Cynic. In any case, Diogenes came to be recognized as the paradigmatic embodiment of the ancient Cynic. The name "Cynic" derives from the Greek word for "dog" (*kyōn*), a nickname apparently given to Diogenes in light of his public behavior. Although ancient Cynicism often has been portrayed as marginal to, if not in outright conflict with, classical Greek ideals, some have recently argued that the rise of Cynicism in the fourth century B.C. can be understood in light of a widespread admiration of the renunciation of wealth (Desmond 2006).

1.2. History of Cynicism. Scholars regularly identify two periods of Cynicism in the ancient world: Early and Imperial. Early Cynicism stretched from the early fourth to the mid-to-late third centuries B.C. During this period, famous Cynics such as Crates of Thebes and his wife, Hipparchia, Bion of Borysthenes, Menippus of Gadara, and Diogenes himself came to define the Cynic way of life. Although the early Cynics left no literary works of their own, they are known through hundreds of anecdotes (*chreiai*) collected by later writers (e.g., Diogenes Laertius) (see Chreia/Aphorism).

Imperial Cynicism is tied to something of a Cynic renaissance that began in the mid-first century A.D. Between these periods we have little hard evidence of Cynicism. Scholars debate whether this is due to its actual decline or simply to our lack of sources. With Imperial Cynicism came Cynics (or Cynic sympathizers) such as Demetrius, Dio Chrysostom, Epictetus, Demonax, Peregrinus and Oenomaus of Gadara. The extant collection of pseudonymous Cynic epistles stems primarily from this period. During the Imperial period, the earlier portrait of the thoroughly shameless and irascible Cynic was sanitized, synthesized (e.g., with Stoic elements) and thus idealized so as to better fit with Roman virtues. Although it appears that ancient Cynicism as a living, distinct movement came to an end sometime around the sixth century A.D., a number of scholars have noted a rising admiration for, and retrieval of, the spirit of ancient Cynicism in (post)modern times, as exemplified in the work of F. Nietzsche and M. Foucault (see Cutler).

1.3. The Cynic Lifestyle as Philosophy. As a movement, Cynicism was unique among Greco-Roman philosophies in that it shunned abstract, speculative thought. Rather, it was characterized by

a distinctive way of life that served to embody its philosophical and ethical convictions in a set of attitudes and practices. Like other philosophies of the day, it offered a way of life designed to lead one to happiness and fulfillment. As exemplified by Diogenes, when it came to religious matters, classical Cynicism appears to have maintained a skeptical agnosticism; religion was seen to be a distraction to the Cynic way of life (Goulet-Cazé).

As they wandered throughout the ancient Mediterranean world, Cynics generally were recognizable by their appearance: barefoot, long hair and beard, a ragged and dirty cloak, a walking staff, and a carrying bag that doubled as a begging bowl. In light of their characteristic appearance, J. D. Crossan's memorable depiction of the ancient Cynics as "hippies in an age of Augustan yuppies" is quite apt (Crossan, 421). Fundamental to the Cynic vision is the notion that the bounds of nature offer the only legitimate social conventions; whatever violates nature is to be avoided, and whatever is in line with nature is to be embraced. Thus, Cynics were committed to the values of self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*), indifference (*apatheia*) and radical freedom (*eleutheria*), especially freedom of speech. One of the goals of the Cynic philosopher was to awaken those trapped within a web of artificial social conventions to their tragic state. This transgressive form of community service was accomplished through "shameless" public behavior (*anaideia*, *adiaphora*) and offensively bold speech (*parrēsia*). The classic image is of a Cynic philosopher standing on a streetcorner in his dirty robe, hurling insults at passersby, performing "acts of nature" out in the open (e.g., sleeping, urinating, defecating, sexual shenanigans) and begging for food. All of this was designed to jar the Greco-Roman populace from their self-induced stupor, awakening them to the truth that the simple ways of nature provide the path to human contentment.

2. The Cynic Jesus Theory.

Over the centuries, occasional comparisons have been made between the ancient Cynics and the early Jesus movement. Throughout the twentieth century, various scholars focused their comparisons by proposing that ancient Cynicism offered a helpful background and set of parallels by which to make sense of some aspects of early Christianity. A critical moment came with G. Theissen's proposal that "Jesus did not primarily found local communities, but called into being a movement of wandering charismatics" (Theissen, 8), a claim that elicited comparisons between itinerant Christian preachers and

wandering Cynic philosophers (see Theissen, 14-15). Much of the attention here has focused on Jesus' mission discourse located in the *Q material (i.e., Lk 10:1-16), wherein Jesus' instructions to his disciples regarding dress and accessories sound remarkably similar to the well-known Cynic garb.

For a smaller number of scholars, comparisons between the early Jesus movement and ancient Cynicism have become more robust. Here, the idea of the direct influence of Cynicism on Jesus and/or his earliest followers is suggested, if not overtly argued. Scholars known for their work in this area include F. Downing (see Downing 1988; 1992) and several members of the Jesus Seminar (see Crossan; Mack; Seeley; Vaage). In its North American version, the Cynic Jesus theory rests on several pivotal claims, including (1) first-century Lower *Galilee, the primary setting of Jesus' life and ministry, was a significantly *Hellenized, urbanized environment and thus a likely context within which to find Cynic philosophers; (2) contrary to the traditional perspective, Jesus and/or his earliest followers did not hold either to a future-oriented *apocalyptic *eschatology or a cross-centered soteriology; (3) rather, the earliest detectable stratum of the Jesus tradition (i.e., the earliest layer of the Q material as reconstructed by J. Kloppenborg) reveals a Jesus whose teachings, both in style and content, are in remarkable alignment with ancient Cynicism. For example, with regard to style, the Gospel tradition's pronouncement stories beg for comparison with the early Cynic *chreiai*, while Jesus' witty aphorisms (e.g., Mk 8:35; 10:31; Lk 6:39) are reminiscent of the numerous, similarly provocative Cynic maxims. With regard to content, a number of themes are common both to Cynicism and the early Jesus movement, including the renunciation of wealth (Lk 6:20-21; 12:33), home (Lk 9:58) and *family (Lk 12:49-53; 14:26); criticism of the *rich (Lk 6:24-25; 12:15-21), *hypocrites (Lk 6:41-45; 12:54-59) and the ruling elite (Lk 13:31-32); the call to a simple life in harmony with nature (Lk 12:22-31); a program of itinerant wandering and unashamed begging (Lk 10:1-14); and the practices of boldly challenging social conventions and establishing a countercultural vision of life (for a collection of parallels, see Downing 1988).

The Cynic Jesus theory appears to have reached the height of its influence in the 1990s. Since that time it has been subjected to a number of criticisms (see, e.g., Betz; Boyd; Eddy; Witherington, 117-45). For example, although first-century Lower Galilee certainly was touched by Hellenistic culture in a variety of ways, both literary and archeological evi-

dence reveal a Torah-true Jewish populace that was highly resistant to religio-philosophical pagan influences (see Chancey). Regarding the similarities between Cynicism and the teachings of Jesus, their commonalities are, in fact, shared by a wide range of ancient ascetic types. Cynics hardly cornered the market on criticism of opulence and hypocrisy in the Greco-Roman world. More importantly, this theory tends to ignore the clear differences between the Cynics and the early Jesus tradition (a point demonstrated in detail by Witherington, 128-41). Take one important example: rather than embracing radical self-sufficiency and religious agnosticism, the early Jesus movement taught a radical devotion to, and dependence on, *God, and a deep interconnectedness and mutual dependency within the Christian community (e.g., Mt 22:36-40; Lk 10:21-22; 12:31-32; 22:25-27).

In response, some defenders of the theory have softened claims of identification or even direct influence, arguing instead that the relationship between Cynicism and the early Jesus movement is one merely of "analogy" for comparative purposes (e.g., Seeley). However, once the relationship is reduced to mere analogy, then the significant differences must be highlighted alongside similarities, and the force of the originally provocative theory is significantly diminished.

See also HELLENISM; QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS.

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D

DARKNESS. *See* LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

DAVID, DAVIDIC MESSIANISM. *See* SON OF DAVID.

DEAD SEA SCROLLS

The Dead Sea Scrolls comprise approximately nine hundred scrolls dating from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D., discovered in the desert above the northwestern shores of the Dead Sea, not far from Masada. Other scrolls have been discovered in the region over the centuries since the Second Temple period, but this article focuses on those found in the eleven caves near Qumran from the first cave's rediscovery in 1946/47.

1. The Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Study of the Gospels
2. Overview of the Dead Sea Scrolls
3. The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Scriptures
4. Theological Conversations in the Dead Sea Scrolls

1. The Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Study of the Gospels.

The DSS were variously composed, copied and collected by members of a developing movement calling themselves the *Yahad* ("community"), ones who have entered a "new covenant" (CD-B XIX, 33-34; 1QS I, 16; cf. Lk 22:20) and a group devoted to the study, interpretation and faithful living out of their scriptures. Descriptions within the DSS of the faith and practice of its people overlap at some points with descriptions of the *Sadducees, Zealots, *Pharisees and Jewish Christians found in the NT and in the Greek and Latin classical sources. However, the greatest overlap is with the descriptions of *Essenes contained in the first-century A.D. writings of Philo, *Josephus and Pliny. The most significant points of contact are the descriptions of Essenes variously described as living in a desert community near the

Dead Sea, while others lived in cities; some were celibate, and others were married. A probationary period of two to three years was required prior to initiation. At least some maintained a level of separation from the *temple and nurtured alternative forms of worship. Most were not actively militaristic, and some practiced a form of community of goods.

Competing sensational and even fictionalized claims about the contents of the DSS have tended to raise both hopes and fears about the potential impact that the scrolls would have for understanding the historical Jesus and the Gospels; however, these, together with countering claims and disclaimers, frequently have confused rather than enlightened. For example, the biblical scrolls could either be presented as "proof" of the reliability of the Bible or as "disproof" of its authority, depending on the selection of texts, the handling of the variants and scribal initiatives. Among the more notorious conspiracy theories is that the "church" strove to keep the DSS secret because of the potential damage that they might do to the Christian faith.

That said, although the DSS mention neither Jesus nor *John the Baptist, and although no copies of the NT were found in the caves, these texts are most valuable to those students of the Scriptures whose interest runs more deeply than a shallow "proof" or "disproof" of the Gospels. As the sectarians became increasingly distinct from other Jewish groups, their identity became linked, increasingly, to their distinct and differentiating interpretations and applications of their scriptures. However, there remained a shared thought world inherited by Jesus and his followers. A careful study of the similarities and differences between the DSS and the Gospels locates Jesus and the Gospel writers within dynamic, ongoing theological conversations and controversies.

2. Overview of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

It was during a period of Middle East political vio-

lence in 1946–1947 that the first of more than nine hundred DSS were rediscovered by a Bedouin shepherd chasing a goat into a cave near Khirbet Qumran, about 8.5 miles south of Jericho. Subsequent explorations until 1956 revealed scrolls in eleven different caves, all told. Photographs and transcriptions of virtually all of the scrolls are now published, most in forty volumes of the official edition, the Discoveries in the Judean Desert (DJD) series (DSS line number references in this article use the system found in the DJD series). A steady stream of translations and commentaries continues to appear, but much of the interpretive work on the scrolls still awaits the attention of students and scholars.

The *Yahad* at Qumran was a scribal, scroll-producing community; plaster tables and inkwells were found at the site, and the presence of tabs and ties in Cave 8 suggests that at least some of the scrolls were prepared at Qumran. Most sectarian compositions and copies of preexisting scrolls conformed to “Qumran scribal practice,” characterized by a *plene* (“full”) spelling system incorporating additional vowel letters. However, the community also collected scrolls copied elsewhere and brought to Qumran by its members.

Representative sectarian and presectarian texts from a broad range of compositional dates may be roughly divided according to genre. Of the 944 scrolls, 211 are “biblical” (206 in Hebrew, with Aramaic portions in Daniel and Ezra; 5 in Greek) and 733 are “nonbiblical” (608 in Hebrew; 118 in Aramaic; 7 in Greek). The distinction between “biblical books”—those later canonized within both the HB and the Protestant OT—and “nonbiblical books,” though anachronistic, is familiar and convenient. The number of extant copies of each may be an indication of their relative importance for the community: Psalms (34), Deuteronomy (30), Isaiah (21), Genesis (20), Exodus (17), Leviticus, (15), Numbers (8), Daniel (8), Minor Prophets (8), Ezekiel, (6), Jeremiah (6), Ruth (4), Job (4), 1–2 Samuel (4), Lamentations (4), Judges (3), 1–2 Kings (3), Ecclesiastes (3), Joshua (2), Proverbs (2), 1–2 Chronicles (1), Ezra (1), Song of Songs (1), Nehemiah (0) and Esther (0). *Jubilees* (15) and some of the constituent books of *1 Enoch* (20) may have been received as authoritative scripture at Qumran, while the absence of the book of Esther, for example, and the few remains of 1–2 Chronicles and other historical books suggest a somewhat lesser importance. Collected together with the biblical psalms in the great *Psalms Scroll* (11Q5) are those previously known from the Greek psalter (Ps 151) and Syriac manuscripts (Pss 154–155) as well as

some psalms not canonized in any tradition.

Among a rich collection of songs, prayers and liturgies in the DSS are those written in the first person and expressed as prayers. The *Hodayot*, or *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH^a; 1Q35; 4Q427; 4Q428; 4Q429; 4Q430; 4Q431; 4Q432), reveal an intimate spirituality and personal identification with the biblical psalmists and prophets. Repeatedly, the author expresses thanksgiving in the midst of suffering, loss, illness, attack by enemies and betrayal by friends. Psalms attributed to Solomon and David (11Q11) proclaim authority over *demons, while *Exorcism* (4Q560) names male and female “wasting demons,” the “fever demon,” the “chills demon” and the “chest-pain demon” (cf. Mt 12:22–24; Mk 9:14–29; 10:46–52; Lk 4:38–39; 8:26–39). Other psalms are attributed to David and to Manasseh (4Q380; 4Q381) and the songs in *Barkī Napshi* (“Bless, O My Soul”) (4Q434; 4Q435; 4Q436; 4Q437; 4Q438) weave scriptures within new expressions of praise—for example, “Bless the Lord, O my soul, ‘for He has saved the life of the poor’ and the humble he has not spurned . . . paid attention to the cry of orphans for help . . . multiplying his mercies . . . He has saved them” (excerpted from 4Q434 1 I, 1–8 [cf. Jer 20:13; Lk 1:46–55, 68–79]).

Festival Prayers (1Q34; 4Q507; 4Q508; 4Q509 + 4Q505) were to be recited at the Day of Atonement and Feast of Weeks (see Feasts), the *Daily Prayers* (4Q503) recited morning and evening, and the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400; 4Q401; 4Q402; 4Q403; 4Q404; 4Q405; 4Q406; 4Q407; 11Q17) at *Sabbath burnt offerings, bringing the worshiper into unity with worshipping *angels. *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504; 4Q505; 4Q506) are prayers for forgiveness and portray an acceptance of God’s discipline of the worshipers as God’s chosen, “first-born” son (cf. Mt 12:18; Lk 9:35;). The *War Scroll* (1QM) is a dramatized liturgy of eschatological war, replete with banners and blessings in which the “Children of Light” battle against the “Children of Darkness” alongside tens of thousands of angels (cf. “children of light” who do not walk in darkness in Jn 12:35–36, and the eschatological role of angels in the separation of the evil from righteous in Mt 13:49–50). *Curses* (4Q280) and *Blessings* (4Q286; 4Q287; 4Q288; 4Q289 [cf. 1QS II, 1–18]) reminded this newly redefined priesthood whom they needed to bless and whom to curse (cf. Deut 27–28; *blessings and woes in Mt 5:3–12; 23:13–36; Lk 6:20–26).

The community’s scriptures were also interpreted in various types of commentaries, narrative retellings and parabiblical writings. In the *Pesher to*

Habakkuk (1QpHab) quotations from the biblical prophet are followed by a pesher, a contemporizing, sometimes eschatological interpretation. For example, the “righteous” man and the “wicked” man are interpreted as the “Teacher of Righteousness” and the “Wicked Priest” (probably the high priest) (1QpHab I, 13 [cf. Hab 1:4b]). Commentaries on Genesis (4Q252; 4Q253; 4Q254; 4Q254a) contain pesherim together with interpretive retellings of selected passages. For example, the anticipated righteous messiah, the Branch of David, was expected to fulfill the blessing upon Judah (4Q252 V, 2-3; cf. Gen 49:10; Mt 22:42; Jn 7:42). Meanwhile, *Testimonia* (4Q175) anticipates the coming of a Moses-like prophet (cf. the appearance of *Moses and *Elijah in Mt 17:3-4; Mk 9:4-5; Lk 9:30-33), a “star” (cf. Mt 2:2) and “scepter” representing a messianic king and a future priest, and *Tanhumim* (4Q176) seeks to comfort the oppressed and abandoned with its collection of consoling passages.

Other texts are apocalyptically oriented. Typically associated with Enoch (4Q201; 4Q202; 4Q204; 4Q205; 4Q206; 4Q207; 4Q208; 4Q209; 4Q210; 4Q211; 4Q212), and later preserved in portions of 1 *Enoch*, these purport to reveal matters both of origins and end times, from the origin of evil through to eschatological judgment and restoration at the end of days (cf. Mt 25:31-46). The *Book of Giants* (1Q23; 1Q24; 2Q26; 4Q203; 4Q530; 4Q531; 4Q532; 4Q533) records the nightmares of giants who ask Enoch to intercede for them; however, Enoch returns a message of judgment for their acts of bloodshed and violence (cf. Gen 6:1-5, 11-13). *New Jerusalem* (1Q32; 2Q24; 4Q554; 4Q554a; 4Q555; 5Q15; 11Q18) envisions a new temple surpassing the dimensions even of the temple in Revelation (cf. Jn 2:13-22). *Melchizedek* (11Q13) anticipates a priestly “Melchizedek” who would announce the *Jubilee; God’s judgment would be executed, captives delivered, and the “Children of Light” atoned for on this eschatological Day of Atonement, the “year of Melchizedek’s favor” (cf. Lk 4:16-30). The *Aramaic Apocalypse* (4Q246) proclaims a coming “son of God,” a “son of the Most High” (cf. Mt 4:3; Mk 5:7; Lk 1:32; Jn 5:25).

Other important texts render legal interpretations and guidelines for community life. The *Damascus Document* (CD-A; CD-B; 4Q266; 4Q267; 4Q268; 4Q269; 4Q270; 4Q271; 4Q272; 4Q273) exhorts the atoned for and forgiven “members of the new covenant” (CD-A VI, 19 [cf. Lk 22:20]) to hold fast in order to receive everlasting life (CD-A III, 13-20). Because regulations concerning sexual activity

and childbirth and penalties for complaining against the “mothers” of the congregation are included in this particular catalogue, the *Damascus Document* may have addressed the broader movement of the *Yahad*, including women, of which the Qumran community was a desert-dwelling planting. The *Community Rule* (1QS; 4Q255; 4Q256; 4Q257; 4Q258; 4Q259; 4Q260; 4Q261; 4Q262; 4Q263; 4Q264; 4Q264a; 5Q11) served as an instructor’s manual for teaching the sectarians to seek God “with all their heart and all their soul” and to do everything commanded through Moses as interpreted within the *Community Rule* (1QS I, 1-3). Included are descriptions of initiation, the annual covenant renewal ceremony, a teaching on the two spirits that prompt good and evil actions, and instructions on living together in truth, humility and loving-kindness (1QS V, 3-4). *Halakhic Letter* (4Q394; 4Q395; 4Q396; 4Q397; 4Q398; 4Q399) contained “some of the works of the law,” such as regulations concerning sacrifices and restrictions on foreigners, the castrate, blind and deaf with respect to the sanctuary (4Q394 8 III, 6—IV, 4) (cf. accounts of Jesus’ healings and the invitation to the disabled in Mt 11:4-5; Mk 7:37; Lk 14:13).

Examples of wisdom literature are also found among the DSS. “Folly” is the antithesis of Wisdom as a woman in the *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* (4Q184). Wisdom is accessed specifically through Torah in *Ben Sira* (2Q18) in contrast to an esoteric understanding of poverty and the mysteries of existence accessed only by special divine revelation in *Mysteries* (1Q27; 4Q299; 4Q300; 4Q301) and *Instruction* (1Q26; 4Q415; 4Q416; 4Q417; 4Q418; 4Q418a; 4Q418c; 4Q423). Found among the wisdom texts is an Aramaic Targum of Job (11Q10) and a copy of *Beatitudes* (4Q525) with eight blessings followed by a longer one (cf. Jesus as the implied source of wisdom in the beatitudes of Mt 5:3-12; cf. Lk 6:20-23). The persecuted follow the Torah of the Most High and do not abandon wisdom in 4Q525. These beatitudes promise happiness for the present and hint at blessedness in the future, in contrast to Jesus’ words that anticipate blessings to be realized more explicitly at the end of the age.

3. The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Scriptures.

The DSS reveal a broader range of authoritative “scripture” than is found in any Bible today. Some of the writings possessed a persistent and timeless authority, while the authority of others was transient, bound more closely to the times and places in which they were composed. The sheer number of different interpretations found among the DSS attests to the

deep love that members of the *Yahad* had for their scriptures. For them the revelation of God through their various ancestors still lived and breathed in their day, and by interpreting this revelation for a new generation, scribes extended and enlarged the authority of these texts. Some examples in this section are taken from G. J. Brooke, J. J. Collins and C. A. Evans (see the bibliography).

3.1. Scripture and Authority. One measure of each biblical book's authoritative strength is the number of times it is cited. Compared to the NT, which cites Psalms most frequently, followed by Isaiah, Deuteronomy, Exodus and Genesis, the nonbiblical scrolls cite Isaiah most frequently, followed by Psalms, Deuteronomy, Numbers and Genesis. In contrast, the historical books are cited only infrequently in the DSS. Citations were sometimes prefaced with formulas, following patterns in already recognized Scripture: "As it is written, 'In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God'" (1QS VIII, 13-14, citing Is 40:3; cf. 1QS IX, 19-20). Here is a fine example of the practice in the sectarian scrolls and in the Gospels of contemporizing prophetic Scripture differently for the purposes of self-expressed identity. John the Baptist, the desert dweller, is identified as the voice calling from the wilderness (Mt 3:1-6; Mk 1:1-4; Lk 3:1-6; Jn 1:19-23), while the members of the *Yahad* perceived themselves to be the chosen ones called into the wilderness where they were "paying" for iniquity and preparing for the coming of God (1QS VIII, 1-14; cf. Is 40:1-3). While "wilderness" may have also been understood metaphorically (see *Mountain and Wilderness*), the physical move into the desert would have served to reliteralize the metaphor and to legitimate claims made for the fulfillment of Isaiah 40:1-3.

The rewriting of Scripture was a well-established practice in the Second Temple period, possibly legitimized by examples in which "original" and "updated" versions coexisted as authoritative scripture (Ex 20:1-17; 34:1; Deut 5:1-22). By linking their own interpretations to Moses or to other scriptural figures and texts, interpreters could stand in the prophetic tradition of authentically expressing scriptural traditions, even claiming to be writing new, authoritative scripture (cf. Mt 5:17-48). Variations between already recognized scripture and interpretation ranged from the relatively minor in the *Reworked Pentateuch* (4Q158; 4Q364; 4Q365; 4Q365a; 4Q366; 4Q367), to more significant reworkings in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19), through to substantial re-

interpretation in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Qap-Gen ar). The large number of different rewritings of Genesis, Exodus and Deuteronomy served to honor and authorize the original tradition. Perhaps the choice to scripturalize four different *Gospels instead of one harmonized account might be understood in this context.

The sectarians made intertextual connections between their scriptures. In instructing members of the covenant concerning how accusations should and should not be brought against other members, the *Damascus Document* cites excerpts from Leviticus 19:16-18 and appeals to Nahum 1:2 for reassurance that God himself would take care of vengeance (CD IX, 2-8; cf. Mt 18:15-20 with Lev 19:17; Deut 19:15). Specific combinations of Scriptures may have been associated with a specific stance on an issue. For example, when the Pharisees asked Jesus about an interpretation of Moses that was more "lenient" toward men who wanted to *divorce and dismiss their wives, Jesus appealed to Genesis 1:26; 7:9 in support of a "stricter" view (Mt 19:3-12; Mk 10:2-12). The *Damascus Document* also appeals to Genesis, adding another Scripture in support of its own "strict" view: "The foundation of creation is 'male and female He created them' [Gen 1:27] . . . those who went into the ark 'went into the ark two by two' [Gen 7:9] . . . concerning the Leader it is written 'he shall not multiply wives to himself' [Deut 17:17]" (CD-A IV, 19—V, 2).

Importing proof texts from scriptures was another common practice. The "star" to come out of Jacob and the "scepter" to arise out of Israel (Num 24:17) were interpreted as the "Interpreter of the Law" and the coming Davidic "Leader of the whole nation" (CD VII, 16-21 [cf. Mt 2:2; note also Is 7:14; 11:1; Jer 31:15; Mic 5:2 in Matthew's infancy narrative]). From their point of view, what the biblical prophets had foretold finally was being fulfilled or about to be fulfilled (cf. Lk 24:27; Jn 5:45-47). Proof texts were also placed within new contexts clearly dissonant from their original contexts, a hermeneutical practice apparently acceptable to the sectarians. While Habakkuk 1:13 directs a complaint against the silence of God, the interpreter nuances the text, finding both traitors and God's chosen ones in the text (1QpHab V, 6-12; cf. Hos 11:1 ["Out of Egypt I called my son"] in Mt 2:14-15; cf. Jer 31:15 in Mt 2:17-18). The importation of the entire original context was not necessary for a "correct" interpretation because it was believed God revealed the "hidden meaning" from recorded Scripture to inspired interpreters, the prophets of that day.

3.2. Shifting Authoritative Figures. In the Aramaic texts figures such as Enoch (1 *Enoch*), Noah (*Genesis Apocryphon*) and Levi (*Aramaic Levi Document*) appear as primary authoritative recipients and transmitters of divine revelation. In *Jubilees*, written in Hebrew, divine revelation to these three figures is recontextualized within an expanded revelation given to Moses on Mount Sinai (*Jub.* 1:1). Authority thus shifted more securely to Moses and the texts associated with him. In the NT the teachings of Moses were recontextualized within the teachings of Jesus, who speaks explicitly on his own authority: “You have heard that it was said. . . . But I say to you” (Mt 5:17-48). For the early Christians, Jesus superseded Moses as the primary authoritative revealer, and Jesus’ reinterpretation of Moses became Scripture.

4. Theological Conversations in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The sectarians disagreed bitterly with a Jerusalem group they called the “Flattery-Seekers” (CD-A I, 18-19; 4Q163 23 II, 10-11; 1QH^a X, 15). Otherwise known as lying “Shoddy-Wall-Builders” and “White-Washers” (CD-A VIII, 12-13; CD-B XIX, 24-25 [cf. Mt 23:27-28]), these were likely the Pharisees (cf. accounts of conversations between Jesus and the Pharisees shaped to emphasize them as adversaries in Mt 22:15-46; Mk 12:13-17; Lk 20:20-26). Other adversaries of the *Yahad* included the “Wicked Priest,” the “Man of the Lie,” the Kittim and the “Children of Darkness.” Yet, not all communication between leaders of different movements was adversarial. The *Halakhic Letter* is conciliatory, expressing hope that its interpretation of “some of the works of the Law” might act as a beneficial corrective for the other group (4Q398 14-17 II, 2-4). In the Gospels certain conversations are also friendlier—for example, the rich young ruler (Mt 19:16-22; Mk 10:17-22; Lk 18:18-23), the scribe (Mk 12:28-34) and Nicodemus (Jn 3:7:50-52). While a greater theological coherence characterizes the collection of the DSS than the whole of Second Temple literature, there was not uniformity. The selected theological questions below are drawn from texts from the overall history of the *Yahad*, and although the responses were not necessarily held concurrently, they do reflect a range of perspectives.

4.1. How Does God Communicate with His People? Ways that God’s people could receive special knowledge and revelation were in conversational textual tension. While written Scriptures were the most obvious source (see 3 above), the astrological texts show that some Jews studied the stars, inter-

preting the thunder occurring in various signs of the zodiac as omens of violence, famine and sickness (4Q318; cf. 4Q208; 4Q209; 4Q210; 4Q211). Angels could transmit either harmful or beneficial knowledge (1 *En.* 1–11), and an angel dictated the story of Israel to Moses (*Jub.* 1:27; 2:1). Dreams and visions are recorded, such as Noah’s dreams of eschatological judgment by fire (e.g., 1QapGen ar XIII–XV). Finally, the meaning of Scripture was revealed to inspired, priestly interpreters who contemporized biblical prophetic words and explained the mysteries of God’s insights to their followers (1QpHab II, 7-10; 1QH^a XX, 14-16). In comparison, Jesus’ birth was revealed through the more important ways Jews understood God could communicate with his people: through a sign in the stars (Mt 2:1-2), contemporizing interpretation from the biblical prophets (Mic 5:2 in Mt 2:5-6), angels and dreams (Mt 1:20; Lk 1:26-38; 2:9-14) and Holy Spirit-inspired speech in the mouth of a priest (Lk 2:25-35).

4.2. Who Are the True People of God? Language previously applied to all Israel now applied exclusively to this “remnant” that would inherit the land (CD-A I, 4-8) as the “blameless and true house in Israel” (1QS VIII, 9), language betraying a particularly “sectarian” mindset. In 1QS VIII, 1-10a the community identified itself as the eternal planting (cf. Jn 15:1-11), temple (cf. Mt 26:61; Jn 2:19-21), acceptable sacrifice (cf. Jn 1:29, 36), tested wall and cornerstone (cf. Is 28:16; Mt 21:42-43; Mk 12:10; Lk 20:17). As the “Children of Light,” they were distinguished from the “Children of Darkness” (1QS III, 13; 1QM I, 1; cf. Mt 5:14; Lk 16:8; Jn 1:1-9; 12:36) and had chosen the “Way,” living literally and figuratively in the wilderness as a repenting, immersing community (1QS IX, 17-22; V, 13-14; cf. Is 40:3; Mt 3:1-2; Mk 1:2-4; Lk 3:3-6; Jn 1:23). In contrast to the “Wicked Priest,” who became wealthy by forcibly seizing riches (1QpHab VIII, 3-13), the sectarians consciously identified with “the poor” and “meek” who would inherit the earth (4Q171 1-2 II, 8-11; cf. Ps 37:11; 1QH^a X, 34-37). Metaphorical and literal interpretations of “poverty” permeate the presectarian and sectarian texts, challenging the blessedness of prosperity and encouraging followers to show their poverty to “all who seek pleasure” (4Q418 81, 18-19; cf. 1QH^a XIII, 16-18; Mt 5:3; 19:21; Lk 6:20) (see Rich and Poor). By reaccentuating shared scriptural language and applying this language to itself, a group could, in effect, claim to be the true people of God. Differences in praxis also served to distinguish groups from each other.

4.3. What Is True Worship? The sectarians ob-

jected to the misuse of the temple, viewing it as impure because of the failure of the Jerusalem priesthood to distinguish between what was clean and unclean—for example, the practice of lying with a menstruant woman (CD-A V, 6-9). The community perceived itself as “temple” (1QS VIII, 8-10) and did not require the Jerusalem temple for true worship (cf. Jn 4:19-24). Jesus objected to the misuse of the temple, but for other reasons (Mt 21:12-13; Mk 11:15-17; Lk 19:45-46; Jn 2:14-22). As an alternative to worship at the temple, Mosaic Torah, newly interpreted, informed “true worship” by means of particular observances, such as fasting, purity, calendar and festivals.

In keeping with Mosaic Torah, the sectarians advocated *fasting (4Q266 11, 5-8), and the Day of Atonement was termed a “festival of fasting” (4Q508 2, 2-3). In the NT the disciples of John and the Pharisees fasted, but the disciples of Jesus reportedly did not (Mt 9:14; Mk 2:18; Lk 5:33; but cf. Mt 6:17-18). Whether and when *table fellowship should be open or closed was viewed and practiced differently; Pharisees observed certain hand washings and questioned the practice of Jesus’ disciples (Mk 7:1-23; cf. Mt 15:1-3; Lk 11:37-41). Those joining the *Yahad* participated in pure community meals only after a two-year initiation period (1QS VI, 16-23). Jesus ate with tax collectors and sinners (Mk 2:15-17; cf. Mt 9:10-13; Lk 5:28-32) but alone with his disciples when celebrating the Passover with them (Lk 22:7-17). The sectarians sought to purify themselves from both ritual and moral impurities, repenting of evil before stepping into the purifying waters of the immersion pools (4Q278; 4Q512; cf. Lev 11—15; 1QS V, 13-18; Mt 3:7-10; Mk 1:2-4) (see *Clean and Unclean*). The presence of multiple calendar texts (e.g., 4Q317—330) confirms the importance of the “right” calendar for the practice of true worship. The scrolls rejected the lunar calendar followed by most Jews, instead ordering feast days and priestly rotations according to a 364-day lunisolar calendar. Therefore, the “Wicked Priest” from Jerusalem was free to attack the “Teacher of Righteousness” on the sectarians’ differently scheduled Day of Atonement (1QpHab XI, 4-8). The extent to which additional Sabbath laws were authoritative expansions of Mosaic Torah was also discussed. No caregiver was to carry a baby on the Sabbath, and no one should help an animal give birth on the Sabbath or rescue an animal from the well into which it had fallen (CD-A XI, 11-14; cf. Deut 5:12; Is 58:13-14). These regulations imply a polemical response to a more lenient, compassionate trajectory of Sabbath laws reaching also into the Gospels (cf. Mt 12:1-14; Lk 14:1-6; Jn 5:9-18).

4.4. What About Evil? Transgressing boundaries between heaven and earth, angels intermarried with women, fathered giants, and brought destructive knowledge onto the earth (1 En. 6—11; cf. Mt 4:1-11; Mk 1:12-13; Lk 4:1-13). In the DSS evil was viewed more consistently as originating from this fall than from the fall of humans in Eden (cf. Gen 3; 6:1-4). The giants died in the flood (4Q370 1 I, 5-6), but their spirits survived as demons (1 En. 15:4-11). Satan is named (*Jub.* 46:2; 11Q5 XIX, 15), as is the Satan-like Mastema and his demons responsible for disease (4Q390 2 I, 7; 11Q11 II, 4; *Jub.* 10:8-13). Belial and his spirits exercised control over humans (CD-A XII, 2; 1QM XIII, 1-2), his “three traps” described as fornication, wealth and defiling the sanctuary (CD-A IV, 15-18) (see *Demon, Devil, Satan*).

Evil spirits could be contained and controlled by prayer (4Q560; 11Q11). Noah asks God to imprison all of the demons, but Mastema successfully appeals for one-tenth to remain. Yet, the good angels provide Noah with medicines to counteract their work (*Jub.* 10:4-14). Abram lays hands on Pharaoh, successfully praying for deliverance from an impotence-causing evil spirit for which none of the Egyptian healers had the remedy (1QapGen ar XX, 16-29; cf. Mk 5:1-13; Lk 11:14-23; 13:11-13).

Responsibility for evil was linked to culpability and consequent eschatological punishment. Earlier texts suggest that the “fiery abyss” was prepared specifically for the fallen angels (1 En. 10; 21; cf. Mt 25:41), but there was a strengthening affirmation of human responsibility. For example, “flames of fire with all the angels of destruction” were expected to come against those who rebelled against the “proper way” (CD-A II, 5-6; 1QS IV, 11-12).

4.5. Messianic Expectation. The priestly Teacher of Righteousness, leader of the sectarians, was remembered not as a messianic figure but rather as an eloquent speaker and inspired interpreter of scriptures (4Q171 III, 15-17; IV, 27; CD-B XX, 32-33; 1QpHab VII, 4-5). Likely the author of many of the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the words given to him by God were as a “spring of living waters” (1QH^a XVI, 17; cf. Jn 4:10-15; 7:38). He understood suffering, having been persecuted and betrayed (1QpHab V, 9-12; XI, 4-6; cf. Mt 26:45-46). An eschatological, messianic, suffering servant high priest with teaching and atoning functions was modeled after the Servant Songs in Isaiah (4Q541; cf. Mt 12:15-21; Lk 22:37) (see *Servant of Yahweh*). However, although crucifixion was approved as a death sentence for a man who betrayed his own people (11QT19 LXIV, 6-9; cf. Deut 21:22-23), the messiah was expected to kill his ene-

mies, not be crucified by them (4Q285 7 1-5).

The *Yahad* expected several messiahs to fulfill different roles in the end times (1QS IX, 9-11), anticipating a prophet like Elijah (4Q558 1 51 II, 4; cf. 4Q521), a princely or Davidic messiah, (4Q174 1 I, 11-13; 4Q285 6 + 4, 1-10), and a priestly messiah who would take precedence over all others at the messianic banquet in the last days (1Q28a [1QSa] II, 11-22). Among the Gospels, Matthew emphasizes the Davidic aspect of a messiah (Mt 1:1; 21:1-11) (see Son of David), while Luke and John emphasize the prophetic (Lk 4:24; 13:33; Jn 7:52), and Jesus' seamless robe (Jn 14:23; cf. Heb 5:5-6) evokes the robe of the high priest (LXX Ex 28:4; Lev 16:4). In the DSS, the Davidic messiah was expected to defeat Israel's enemies (4Q285), and an eschatological priestly messiah was expected in fulfillment of Isaiah 61:1 (11Q13 II; cf. Lk 4:16-21). The *Messianic Apocalypse* (4Q521) anticipated the coming of the messiah, for that was when the Lord would set prisoners free, open the eyes of the blind, raise up the bowed down, heal the critically wounded, revive the dead, send good news to the afflicted, satisfy the poor, guide the uprooted, and make the hungry rich (4Q521 2 II + 4 1-13; cf. 4Q521 7 + 5 II, 5-11). The *Messianic Apocalypse*, Luke and Matthew all based their lists loosely on Isaiah 35:5; 61:1 from either the Hebrew or the Greek texts; however, the "raising" or "reviving of the dead" was a shared development not present in Isaiah (Mt 11:2-6; Lk 7:18-23; cf. Lk 18:35-43).

Metaphorically, Israel was God's son, Ephraim his firstborn (Jer 31:9), and David was the firstborn son of God (Ps 89:20-29). While the DSS followed the metaphorical use of the language, naming the coming Davidic messiah as prince, ruler and God's firstborn son (4Q369 1 II, 1-11) and also "son of the Most High" (4Q246), in the Gospels Jesus was received as the true son of God (Mt 1:20; Lk 1:32-35; Jn 10:22-39).

See also ESSENES; JERUSALEM; JUDAISM, COMMON; MIDRASH; PHARISEES; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS; SADDUCEES; SCRIBES; TARGUMS; TEMPLE.

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DEAFNESS. See BLINDNESS AND DEAFNESS.

DEATH OF JESUS

That Jesus was executed under *Pontius Pilate is a firm fact of history. But the Gospels see in this fact the accomplishment of the plan of God for the redemption of his people and the world. As we seek to understand Jesus' death in the Gospels, we must remember that, as ancient historical biographies (*bioi*), the Gospels do not present systematic treatises of the meaning of the cross or, for that matter,

of any other theological theme (*see* Gospel: Genre). Each Gospel's theology of the cross is embedded in its plot structure. Therefore, this article attempts to unpack the Gospels' narrations of Jesus' death by paying particular attention to the contribution of each Gospel.

1. Crucifixion in the Ancient World
2. The Crucifixion of Jesus
3. Why Was Jesus Crucified?
4. Dating the Crucifixion
5. The Death of Jesus in Mark's Gospel
6. The Death of Jesus in Matthew's Gospel
7. The Death of Jesus in Luke's Gospel
8. The Death of Jesus in John's Gospel
9. Conclusion

1. Crucifixion in the Ancient World.

There has been a lack of precision in scholarship in terms of defining what "crucifixion" entailed in the ancient world, as well as imprecision in the lexical study of the key terms used for the practice in the Gospels (*see* Samuelsson). The verb *stauroō*, customarily translated "to crucify," occurs thirty-five times in the Gospels, twenty-nine of which refer to the act of "crucifying" Jesus. The noun *stauros* ("cross") occurs sixteen times in the Gospels, eleven of which refer to the vertical wooden object, with an attached crossbeam (cf. Lk 24:39; Jn 20:27), to which Jesus was nailed. But the verb and the noun do not simply mean "to crucify" and "cross." Rather, the noun seems to have originally referred to an upright pole or stake, and the verb, following suit, indicated the action of "driving in stakes" or the "setting up of poles" (LSJ, 1635; Kuhn, 270; Chapman, 10). There are contexts, of course, where the noun indicates a stake or pole (with or without crossbeams) on which a person is impaled or nailed, dead or alive, and where the verb indicates the action of suspending people on a stake or pole, dead or alive. But these terms in the ancient literature do not in themselves distinguish between the varied forms of penal suspension or between antemortem and postmortem suspension (Chapman, 21-31). Thus, there was no unique Greek terminology for "crucifixion" in the sense of the English usage of the term (Chapman, 21; Samuelsson, 143; Pounds, 401). However, it seems clear enough that the semantic range of the terms *stauroō* and *stauros* can and does include the general punishment by human suspension in its varied forms found in Greek literature, including those found in the Gospels' descriptions of Jesus' execution. Thus, the general form (and associated acts) of Jesus' "crucifixion" is a particular and identifiable

type (allowing for variations in method) of penal suspension in the Roman world (Pounds, 403-4; *contra* Samuelsson), and as such, his "crucifixion" should be identified as an "executionary suspension of a person on a cross-shaped object" (Chapman, 32). In what follows here "crucifixion" and "crucify" are consistently employed for the sake of uniformity, but it should be noted that some of the passages mentioned are insufficiently clear as to the precise form and procedure of the execution. Nevertheless, the texts below do witness to the practice of penal suspension in its varied forms, and many of the passages reveal comparable, and sometimes identical, elements with Jesus' penal suspension or crucifixion.

"Crucifixion" (from Lat. *crux* ["cross"] and *figere* [to "attach"]) was a widespread and common method of capital punishment in the ancient world. Crucifixion was a horribly violent, sadistic and cruel affair. Cicero speaks of the punishment as the "most cruel and disgusting penalty" (*Verr.* 2.5.64.165-70) in which victims "died in pain and agony" and suffered the "worst extreme of the tortures inflicted on slaves" (*Verr.* 2.5.66.169). The main reason for the use of crucifixion as a punishment was its deterrent value (Hengel), which is noted by Josephus (*J.W.* 5.449-51). This is why the ancients placed crosses along well-traveled highways, on hilltops and at city gates.

Even before Roman times crucifixion was widely practiced among the Persians, Assyrians, Scythians, Indians, Carthaginians, Celts, Britons and Germans. The Romans may have taken over the practice from the Carthaginians (Hengel, 23; O'Collins, 1207). During the Hellenistic period crucifixion was used in military campaigns for instances of high treason, social rebellion, crime against the state and insubordination to the king. For example, on one occasion Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.), well known for employing crucifixion, had two thousand survivors from the siege of Tyre crucified (Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 4.4.17). Perdikkas (360-321 B.C.), the administrator of the kingdom after Alexander's death, had the Cappadocian king Ariarathes and his relatives tortured and crucified in 322 B.C. (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 18.16.3), and in 314 B.C. a rebellion in Sicyon, near Corinth, led to "about thirty" of the inhabitants being crucified (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 19.67.2). Josephus reports that Antiochus IV (r. 175-164 B.C.) crucified many Jews, "while still alive and breathing," who resisted forced Hellenism (*Ant.* 12.256).

Under the Romans crucifixion increased, and even by modest estimates at least thirty thousand

people were crucified by the Romans (Cook 2013, 1). In Roman times the practice was reserved for slaves, criminals and for the most part noncitizens (*peregrini*), although sometimes freedmen, freedwomen and soldiers were subjected to the punishment. Roman citizens and the upper classes were largely exempt from this form of punishment. The practice was identified by Cicero as *supplicium servile* ("the punishment of slaves"), and thus to him it was unthinkable for a Roman citizen to be crucified (*Verr.* 2.5.64.165-70). Roman crucifixion was employed for similar crimes as in the Hellenistic period: high treason against the state (such as desertion from the military), perceived threats to Roman rule and social order, brigandage and especially for sedition against the empire. For example, after a revolt following the death of Herod (4 B.C.), Varrus, the Roman governor of Syria, crucified two thousand Jews (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.295). Similarly, during the reign of Caligula (r. A.D. 37-41), Flaccus, the Roman prefect of Egypt, tortured and crucified Jews in the amphitheater of Alexandria as a spectacle of entertainment (Philo, *Flacc.* 83-86). Instances may be multiplied.

Crucifixion was rare among the Jews. However, there is evidence that the practice was adopted from the Hellenistic world in the pre-Roman Hasmonean period and used in cases of betraying one's people to a foreign enemy (Hengel, 84). The best-known example is Alexander Janneus (r. 102-76 B.C.), who crucified eight hundred Pharisees who opposed him (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.97-98; *Ant.* 13.380-83). Based on Deuteronomy 21:22-23, Jewish law allowed that blasphemers and idolaters be hanged on a tree (cf. *m. Sanh.* 6:4-5) to show that they were "cursed by God" (Deut 21:23). In Qumran's *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 LXIV, 6-13), Deuteronomy 21:22-23 was applied to crucifixion as a punishment for treason (see Chapman, 128-32).

The form and procedure of crucifixion varied considerably, and this gave free rein to executioners' sadistic ingenuity. Seneca bears witness to the variations in the method of crucifixion and the sadistic torture that often accompanied it: "I see before me crosses not all alike, but differently made by different peoples: some hang a man head downwards, some force a stick upwards through his groin, some stretch out his arms on a forked gibbet. I see cords, scourges, and instruments of torture for each limb and each joint: but I see death also" (*Marc.* 20.3). There were, however, certain "common" procedures and accompanying practices in Roman crucifixion. There was usually one vertical beam to which a crosspiece was attached either at the top to give the shape of a T

(*crux commissa*) or just below the top, as in the form most familiar in Christian symbolism, † (*crux immissa*) (O'Collins, 1208-9). Other shapes, however, are also attested, such as *crux decussata* (X) and *crux simplex* (I). Various forms of torture usually preceded crucifixion. The victim often was forced to carry the cross to the place of execution, which was sometimes the location of the offense or outside the city (Cook 2013, 28), perhaps to symbolize ostracization from society. The victim was stripped, bound or nailed to the beam with outstretched arms. The feet or heels were bound or nailed to the upright beam. Sometimes a placard (*titulus*) was placed on the cross or around the victim's neck announcing the crime(s) (Suetonius, *Cal.* 32.2; cf. Mk 15:26). The victim may have had a seat (*sedile*) or a small wooden peg for a footrest that would prolong the torturous pain and stave off death by asphyxiation. Sometimes victims would remain alive for days, with death coming by either loss of blood (due to previous tortures) or asphyxiation.

2. The Crucifixion of Jesus.

The Gospels' passion narratives provide us with the most detailed accounts of Roman crucifixion. The basic presentation of Jesus' crucifixion and the events that immediately led up to it accord well with what we know from the limited literary descriptions of Roman crucifixions. That the Roman soldiers scourged Jesus (Mt 27:26; Mk 15:15) and stripped him of his clothes (Mt 27:28; Mk 15:16-17) would not have been considered unusual treatment (cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 2.306; 5.449; *Ag. Ap.* 1.191; 2.53; Livy, *Hist.* 2.5.8; 26.40.13; Cicero, *Verr.* 5.62.162; Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.77). The soldiers' mocking and ridiculing of Jesus as a pretender king have ample parallels in accounts of crucifixion (Philo, *Flacc.* 36-39) (see further 5.2 below). Victims often were forced to carry their crosses to the place of execution (Jn 19:17). However, according to the Synoptic Gospels, Simon of Cyrene was compelled to carry Jesus' cross at some point along the way (Mt 27:32; Mk 15:21; Lk 23:26), probably because Jesus was physically unable to do it after having been weakened and traumatized by the scourging. Although it is not explicitly stated, Jesus was nailed to the cross by his hands and feet (implied in Lk 24:39; Jn 20:27). Also consistent with normal protocol, a placard was placed on the cross outlining the "charges" that warranted crucifixion (Mt 27:37; Mk 15:26; Lk 23:38; Jn 19:19-20). That Jesus was crucified with two "brigands" (*lēstēs*) (Mt 27:38; Mk 15:27 [Lk 23:33 has *kakourgos*, "evildoer"]) is consistent with the kinds of crimes that would lead to

crucifixion. Pilate allows Jesus' corpse to be removed the day of his crucifixion for proper Jewish burial (Mt 27:57-59; Mk 15:42-47; Lk 23:50-56; Jn 19:38-42), and this corresponds to the fact that Jews often were allowed to give proper burials to their own (Philo, *Flacc.* 83-86; cf. Deut 21:23), especially on feast days.

In addition to the limited literary remains of Roman crucifixions, we have one archeological remnant of a crucified victim from roughly the time of Jesus. In 1968 archeologists found four cave tombs at Giv'at ha-Mivtar (Ras el-Masaref), just north of Jerusalem. One of the skeletons was of a man named "Jehohanan," who was between twenty-four and twenty-eight years of age when he was crucified by the Romans in the A.D. 20s. It was originally concluded that Jehohanan's arms were nailed to the *patibulum* ["crossbeam"] through the forearms (Charlesworth). But now it appears that his arms were tied rather than nailed to the cross. Also, the initial investigation concluded that a nail penetrated Jehohanan's right and left heel bones, piercing the right heel bone (*calcaneum*) first, then the left. But it now appears that only the right heel bone was penetrated by the nail. And finally, Jehohanan's legs probably were not broken as a final act of mercy (*coup de grâce*) as previously thought (see Zias and Sekeles; Zias and Charlesworth). Differences in the precise method of Jehohanan's crucifixion and Jesus' crucifixion witness to the varied methods of Roman crucifixion. But this finding also provides concrete evidence that Pilate (or the centurion) allowed the burial of a crucified Jewish individual, just as the Gospels report happened in Jesus' case.

That Jesus was executed by the Romans as a would-be "king of the Jews" is considered by E. P. Sanders to be a "firm fact" of history (Sanders, 294). The most important text for this fact of history outside of the Gospels is Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* 18.63-64. The pertinent lines are as follows: "And he [Jesus] gained a following both among Jews and among many of Greek origin. And when Pilate, because of an accusation made by the leading men among us, condemned him to the cross, those who loved him previously did not cease to do so." Josephus's account reveals that Jesus was in fact crucified under Pontius Pilate, and that Jesus' execution came about by some kind of cooperation between the Romans and Jewish "leading men" who made accusations against Jesus. Evidence for Jesus' crucifixion is also found in the Roman historian Tacitus's (A.D. 55/56-120) account of the fire of Rome (A.D. 64). He reveals that Nero blamed and punished Christians, "from whose name comes from Christ,

who suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of the procurator Pontius Pilate, and a most mischievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judea but also in Rome" (*Ann.* 15.44). Tacitus thus reports that Jesus was executed under Pilate by means of the "extreme penalty," which could only be crucifixion. The most relevant Jewish source, perhaps from the Tannaitic period (A.D. 10-220), is *Sanhedrin* 43a in the Babylonian Talmud, which states that Jesus was "hanged" on the eve of the Passover because he "practiced sorcery and enticed Israel to apostasy." Clearly, Jesus was crucified and not hanged, but his execution on the eve of the Passover corresponds to John's chronology (Jn 19:14).

3. Why Was Jesus Crucified?

Attempts to answer why Jesus was executed must account for the two players who had a hand in Jesus' arrest, trial and condemnation: Pilate and the Jewish authorities. As mentioned above, what Josephus tells us accords with what we find in the Gospels: Pilate authorized Jesus' execution, and he did so because "leading men among us" made certain "accusations" against Jesus (*Ant.* 18:63-64).

Why did the Jewish authorities perceive Jesus to be deserving of death? Scholars used to point to Jesus' controversies with the *Pharisees about the Torah as the impetus for Jesus' execution (see Dunn, 784-85). In fact, many controversies concerning halakhah issues feature the Pharisees (Mk 2:15-27 par.; Mk 3:6 // Mt 12:14 // Lk 6:11; Mk 7:1-23 // Mt 15:1-20 // Lk 11:37-41; Mk 8:11-13 // Mt 16:1-4; Mk 8:14-21 // Mt 6:5-12 [with the *Sadducees] // Lk 12:1 [Pharisees only]; Mk 10:2-12 // Mt 19:3-12; Mk 12:13-17 [Pharisees and Herodians] // Mt 22:15-22). In addition, Mark 3:6 plainly states that the Pharisees took counsel "as to how they might destroy him." But there is no evidence that the Pharisees ever tried to arrest or execute people for differing with them over Torah interpretation, nor did they have the political power to do so. Rather, it appears that the chief priests are the main instigators in the narratives of Jesus' arrest and his being delivered to the high priest and then to Pilate (Sanders, 309; Dunn, 784-85) (sometimes the *elders, *scribes [associated with the temple] and temple officers are present as well [the arrest: Mt 26:47-56; Mk 14:43-52; Lk 22:52; Jn 18:3; Jesus delivered to the high *priest: Mt 26:57-68; Mk 14:53-65; Jesus delivered to Pilate: Mt 27:1; Mk 15:1; Lk 22:66; 23:1]). The exceptions are Matthew 27:62 and John 18:3, where the Pharisees appear with the chief priests. This suggests that the main factors behind

Jesus' arrest and death sentence were not Torah controversies but rather issues surrounding the *temple and the priestly authorities who maintained the temple's function.

Many of Jesus' sayings and actions no doubt were viewed as being critical of the temple. For instance, Jesus' extending *forgiveness to the paralytic in Mark 2:5 (cf. Mt 9:2; Lk 5:20), especially if Jesus did such a thing on more than one occasion, would have outraged the temple priests because Jesus would be offering forgiveness outside the temple and the sacrificial cult officiated by the authorities. Furthermore, many of Jesus' activities could be judged as disregarding purity laws (see Clean and Unclean): he touched *lepers (Mk 1:40-45), a "dead" girl (Mk 5:41), and a woman with a hemorrhage (Mk 5:24-34); he had *table fellowship with tax collectors and sinners (Mk 2:16), and he did not follow purity washing rites (Mk 7:1-8, 14-23). But Jesus not only was known for compromising the temple cult and associated purity rites (see Dunn, 789; Theissen and Merz, 431-32); he actually threatened the temple establishment itself.

Most would agree that Jesus' demonstration in the temple (Mt 21:12-13; Mk 11:15-17; Lk 19:45-46), along with his pronouncement of the temple's destruction (Mt 24:2; Mk 13:2; Lk 21:6), amounted to the last straw for the chief priests. Immediately after Jesus' words in the temple (Mk 11:17) the chief priests and scribes "sought to destroy him" (Mk 11:18; Lk 19:47). Jesus' actions in the temple, especially if meant to symbolize its destruction, would have been seen as a threat to the temple itself, for even a minor gesture against the temple could elicit strong hostility or possibility the threat of death by the authorities (Sanders, 270-71, 302-3).

According to Mark, the chief priests' official charge leveled against Jesus at the hearing before the high priest was the following: "We heard him say, 'I will destroy this temple made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands'" (Mk 14:58 [cf. Mt 26:61]). Mark and Matthew maintain that this was a false charge. However, according to the Synoptics, Jesus did speak about the temple's demise (Mt 24:2; Mk 13:2; Lk 21:6). The closest testimony that we have to the chief priests' charge against Jesus is his saying in John 2:19: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." Since the Johannean temple saying is likely to be authentic (see Becker, 329; Theissen and Merz, 432), there is every reason to believe that the chief priests' charge in Mark 14:58 was grounded in sayings of Jesus about the destruction (and restoration) of the temple (though Jesus never said that he himself would de-

stroy the temple). That Jesus spoke about the temple's destruction would have been highly sensitive, both politically and theologically, especially for the temple *priests and Caiaphas, who maintained the temple establishment and for whom the temple was the power base. So Jesus' *temple action, along with his prophecy of its destruction, supplied the basis for bringing Jesus before Caiaphas (Dunn, 632-33; Theissen and Merz, 433).

Although the temple action seems to have pushed the chief priests over the edge regarding Jesus, it was Jesus' alleged *blasphemy that served as the legal offense to justify his death (Mt 26:65-66; Mk 14:63-64). In Jesus' hearing before the high priest, Caiaphas asked him, "Are you the Messiah, the son of the Blessed One?" (Mk 14:61). Jesus' response, which is met with the charge of blasphemy, follows: "I am; and you shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mk 14:62). It does not appear that Jesus' words here fall technically under the category of "blasphemy" that deserves death, since Jesus did not "blaspheme the Name" (Lev 24:16; *m. Sanh.* 7:5). However, blasphemy was used in a wider sense to indicate any insult against God and especially ascribing to oneself prerogatives that belong to God alone (Brown 1994, 523; Hagner, 2:801; Bock, 77-78). Jesus' words here, with their allusions to Psalm 110:1 and Daniel 7:13, could have been perceived as a claim to do just that: when Jesus is vindicated, he will take his place alongside Yahweh (cf. Dan 7:13), thus threatening the unique otherness of God (cf. Mt 9:2-6; Mk 2:5-10; Lk 5:20-24; Jn 10:30-33) (Dunn, 751-52; Golden, 66).

What convinced Pilate to authorize Jesus' crucifixion? Jesus' trial before Pilate focused on Jesus' claim to kingship (Mt 27:11; Mk 15:2; Lk 23:3; Jn 18:33), sometimes combined with the claim to be the Messiah (Mt 27:17, 22; Lk 23:1) (see Christ). Although implied in Mark and Matthew, it is Luke and John that emphasize the political nature of Jesus' kingship and the threat that it would have been to Rome. In Luke 23:2 the chief priests and scribes charge Jesus with sedition. They testify that Jesus was "forbidding us from paying taxes to the emperor, and saying that he himself is the Messiah, a king." The former charge was a false accusation (cf. Lk 20:20-26). But even the possibility that a person, especially one with a following, had spoken against paying taxes to the emperor and had claimed to be a king would have amounted to a direct challenge to the emperor's sole rule (see Rome). In John 19:12 Pilate is portrayed as wanting to release Jesus, but he is forced to act on the basis of

this charge leveled at him by Jesus' opponents: "If you release this man, you are no friend of Caesar; everyone who makes himself out to be a king opposes Caesar." To Roman ears Jesus would be claiming to be the authentic king instead of Caesar (Blinzler, 213).

The setting and timing of Jesus' trial would be even more reason for Pilate to give into the pressure to do away with the Jewish troublemaker. Flocks of people descended on *Jerusalem at Passover, and so the threat of popular unrest, and even desires for God's deliverance from foreign occupation, would have been heightened. Josephus describes the tense atmosphere in Jerusalem during such occasions, "when the multitude came together to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread, and a Roman cohort stood over the cloisters of the temple, for they always were armed and kept guard at the festivals, to prevent any sedition which the multitude thus gathered together might make" (*J.W.* 2.224). Josephus also notes that Roman authorities had little patience with Jewish prophetic figures (*Ant.* 20:97-98, 167-70; *J.W.* 2.258-63), and he maintains that most crucifixions in Palestine were political executions that functioned to put down seditious movements (cf. *Ant.* 17.295; *J.W.* 2.253) (see *Revolutionary Movements*).

It is likely, then, that Pilate would have moved against Jesus even over an accusation that he was a political "rebel" with seditious motives (similarly Sanders, 304). The fact that Jesus was crucified with two "rebels" or "brigands" (*lēstēs*) (Mt 27:38; Mk 15:27), and that the placard on the cross announced his crime, "king of the Jews," supports the conclusion that Jesus' crucifixion was a political one (Cook 2011, 197-98; Bruce, 17). This background encourages us to take seriously the Johannine account of the *Sanhedrin's fear that if Jesus continued to gain a following, the Romans could hold Jerusalem and its leadership accountable (Jn 11:48). In a move of political expediency, Caiaphas concludes that the miracle worker Jesus must be sacrificed (Jn 11:50).

4. Dating the Crucifixion.

The Gospels agree that Jesus was crucified on a Friday, the day before the *Sabbath (Mt 27:62; Mk 15:42; Lk 23:54; Jn 19:31, 42). The difficulty arises as to how this Friday relates to the Passover. The Synoptics clearly say that the *Last Supper was the Passover meal (Mt 26:18-19; Lk 14:12; Mk 14:12), Nisan 14. This means that Jesus' arrest, trial, death and burial took place on Friday, the Passover of Nisan 15. But for John, Jesus was crucified on the "day of preparation for Passover" (Jn 18:28; 19:14), Nisan 14. Since the Jewish day began at sunset, the Passover would have

been eaten after the crucifixion in the early evening of Friday, Nisan 15 (see *Chronology*).

Some have suggested that the discrepancy may be understood on the basis of different reckonings of a "day" according to different calendar observances. For instance, Galileans, Pharisees and Mark, all of whom followed a Galilean calendar, understood a day from sunrise to sunrise. Thus, Jesus and the disciples would have eaten the Passover meal on Thursday evening, Nisan 14. Judeans, Sadducees and John, all of whom followed a Judean calendar, considered a day from sunset to sunset. Thus, the meal would have been celebrated on Friday evening, Nisan 15. The problem with these options is that they demand that there would have been two days of Passover sacrifices, which is highly unlikely. Others point to the theological motivations that stand behind the different chronologies: Mark wanted to make the Last Supper a Passover meal, and John was determined to portray Jesus as the final Passover sacrifice. A variant of this option is to argue that John's timing of Jesus' death is basically correct: Jesus died on Nisan 14 during the slaughter of the Passover lambs (Jn 19:31), but he celebrated the Last Supper earlier than the time of the Passover meal on Nisan 15, perhaps a day earlier or sometime during the Passover week. This would mean that Mark adjusted the Last Supper to make it a Passover meal (McKnight, 270-71). In this scenario Mark was not entirely unjustified in identifying the Last Supper with the Passover meal, since it probably was Jesus' intention to evoke Passover in his last meal even if it did not happen precisely on the day when Jews were eating their Passover meal. Regardless of the merit of this last view, the important fact remains that all four Gospels clearly associate Jesus' death with Israel's Passover, and in this regard the Gospels are in fundamental agreement.

What year was Jesus crucified? We know that Pontius Pilate was prefect of Judea during the years A.D. 26-36/37. If we follow the data from astronomical calculations (e.g., the Jewish table of new moons), we are left with two alternatives. On Johannine reckoning, Jesus was crucified on Nisan 14, April 7, A.D. 30, or April 3, A.D. 33. But on the Synoptic chronology, A.D. 34 or 27 is more likely (Donfried, 1016). If we follow the near consensus that John's chronology is preferable, then we are left with April 3, A.D. 33, or April 7, A.D. 30. It is notoriously difficult to choose between these valid options, and good arguments support both (for A.D. 30, see Meier, 406-7; Donfried, 1016; for A.D. 33, see Maier, 126; Riesner, 57-58). In the final analysis, the following conclusion

probably is best: "The various data do not, then, allow us at this time to decide the matter with certainty. But the A.D. 30 date is slightly preferable" (Carson, Moo and Morris, 127).

5. The Death of Jesus in Mark's Gospel.

Mark presents Jesus as the suffering Messiah whose ignoble death on a Roman cross, rather than shaming him, revealed his identity as God's *Son (Mk 15:39). Furthermore, Jesus' way of suffering and death, ordained by his Father, forms the pattern of true *discipleship and brings about redemption for his people.

5.1. The Death of Jesus in the Plot of Mark's Gospel. The beginning of Mark's Gospel (Mk 1:1-13) identifies Jesus as the messianic Son of God (Mk 1:1), who will bring about *God's promises to redeem his people (Mk 1:2-3; cf. Is 40:3). Jesus is empowered by God's Spirit (Mk 1:10) and authorized by the Father as his Son (Mk 1:11) to proclaim the arrival of God's rule (Mk 1:15) in his ministry, suffering, death and resurrection. Jesus' ministry is carried out in the context of intense conflict with the Jewish religious leaders (Kingsbury 1989, 55), though others (the crowd, Judas, Herod, Pilate) play important roles. There are indications early on that this conflict will lead to Jesus' death. *John the Baptist's arrest (Mk 1:14) and execution by Herod Antipas (Mk 6:16) foreshadow Jesus' own arrest and crucifixion by Pilate (Mk 10:33; 14:41; 15:1, 10, 15), and Jesus' veiled statement about the bridegroom in Mark 2:20 points to the fact that the conflict with the religious leaders will end in his death.

The Sabbath controversy (Mk 3:1-6) ends with the note that the Pharisees "took counsel with the Herodians against him as to how they might destroy him." This prepares for the *passion narrative (Mk 14:1-15:47), in which Rome (represented by Pilate) and the Jewish religious leaders (represented by the high priest) will come together to bring about Jesus' crucifixion. The second half of Mark's Gospel narrates Jesus' journey to Jerusalem (Mk 8:27-10:52) and ends with his arrest, suffering, death and resurrection (Mk 11:1-16:8). Here the conflict reaches its resolution in Jesus' death and resurrection (Kingsbury 1989, 42, 55). Despite his rejection by his people, Jesus is the messianic Son of God (Mk 1:1, 11; 9:7), and his crucifixion, suffering and death are consistent with God's redemptive plan in Scripture.

Jesus' passion predictions (Mk 8:31; 9:9-13, 31; 10:33-34) are located in Mark's central section (Mk 8:22-10:52), in which Jesus' teachings emphasize discipleship as he moves toward his fate in Jerusalem

(Mk 11:1-15:47). The Markan passion predictions share several common elements: as the *Son of Man, Jesus will suffer, be mistreated, rejected, put to death and then vindicated from the grave (Mk 8:31; 9:9-12, 31; 10:33-34), all of which accords with the divine plan (cf. the divine "must" [*dei*] in Mk 8:31; 9:12) and Scripture (Mk 9:13; 14:21). There continues to be debate concerning the scriptural background to the passion predictions. Were they primarily modeled on the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53 (Jeremias 1971) (see Servant of Yahweh), the Son of Man in Daniel 7 (Moule; Hooker; Barrett) or the suffering righteous one in the psalms of lament (Pesch)?

In Mark 9:11-13 Jesus relates his suffering and death as the Son of Man to the eschatological figure of *Elijah. Jesus affirms the tradition of the eschatological coming of Elijah (Mk 9:12) and identifies John the Baptist with Elijah (cf. Mk 6:15; 8:28) when he says, "Elijah has come, and they did to him whatever they wished, just as it is written of him" (Mk 9:13). The reference here is to John's rejection by Israel's leaders and his execution by Herod Antipas (cf. Mk 1:14; 6:25-28). Thus, the fate of John the Baptist, as Elijah, parallels Jesus' fate (cf. Mk 6:14-17; 11:29-32) as the Son of Man (Mk 9:12). Some scholars believe that it is significant that Malachi 4:5-6 and some early Jewish texts (Sir 48:10-11; 4Q521; 4Q558; 4 Ezra 6:24-26) link Elijah's coming with the eschatological time of distress (see Bryan, 92-103; Pitre, 181-85), so that Jesus' suffering and death, as well as his forerunner's (Mk 1:2-15; 6:14-29; 9:12-13), may be understood in the context of the eschatological time of distress.

That the Son of Man must "suffer many things" and "be treated with contempt" (Mk 9:12) has directed interpreters to the similar treatment of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 52:13-53:12 (France 2002; Cranfield). It is telling that Mark's verb *exoudenēō* ("to treat with contempt") in Mark 9:12 (only here in the NT) is used of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53:3 (he will "be treated with contempt") in the LXX versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. However, the noun form (*exoudenēma*, "object of contempt") of Mark's verb is also used of the righteous sufferer in LXX Psalm 21:7 (MT Ps 22:7; ET 22:6) (Pesch), and this psalm as well as other lament psalms will be important in Mark 15.

Three other important elements are present in Mark's passion predictions: Jesus will be "delivered over" (*paradidōmi*) to his death (Mk 9:31; 10:33; 14:21, 41), and he will rise again "after three days" (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:34), all as the "Son of Man." That Jesus will be "delivered over" seems to derive from

LXX Isaiah 53:6, 12 (Collins 2007; Marcus 1993), though it could have been inspired by LXX Daniel 7:25 (Allison; Evans; McKnight).

Jesus' predictions of vindication "after three days" seem to allude to Hosea 6:2 (Proctor; Evans; Delling), which probably was already interpreted as a reference to God raising his people from the dead. The later Hosea Targum interprets Hosea 6:2 eschatologically as a promise of Israel's resurrection from the dead, and as such the Hosea Targum stands in the interpretive trajectory that associates resurrection with eschatological national restoration (cf. Ezek 37; Dan 12) (Macintosh; Wright 2003) (see Exile and Restoration). This eschatological interpretation of Hosea 6:2 may have circulated in the time of Jesus (Bayer; Evans), and if this is a/the background to the phrase "after three days," then Jesus' resurrection vindication would be the beginning of the new age of resurrection of God's restored people. Some have argued that "after three days" could allude to the "time, times, and half a time" in Daniel 7:25 (Allison; McKnight; Pitre), which points to the divinely limited period in which God's people undergo eschatological distress (cf. Dan 7:21, 23-25; 12:1) until vindication (through resurrection [Dan 12:1-3]) and the arrival of the kingdom (Dan 7:18, 27; 12:1-3, 13). Since these two possible scriptural backgrounds (Hos 6:2 [and its later interpretations] and Dan 7:25) to Mark's "after three days" concern God's vindication of his people in his divinely set time frame, they are not mutually exclusive.

The unifying aspect of the passion *predictions is that Jesus suffers, dies and is vindicated as the Danielic Son of Man. The structure and movement of the eschatological scenario in Daniel 7—12 and the passion predictions are similar (see Allison): the saints of the Most High, identified with the Son of Man, are delivered into the time of distress and suffering (Dan 7:19-21) but will, in God's timing, receive the kingdom and final vindication (Dan 7:22, 27; 12:1-3). Similarly, Jesus the Son of Man, as the representative of the messianic community, will be delivered into the hands of his enemies only to be vindicated by resurrection from the grave after three days.

Mark 10:45 is unique in that Jesus, for the first time, clearly indicates the saving significance of his death: the Son of Man came "to give his life as a ransom [*lytron*] for many." Jesus' service of others by giving his life for them (Mk 10:45) provides the basis or ground (*gar* [Mk 10:45]) for his expectation that his disciples will likewise give their lives in service to others (Mk 10:43-44). Thus, the Son of Man's way of suffering and death is the pattern for life in God's

kingdom (cf. Mk 8:31-38). Although some scholars have not been convinced (e.g., Hooker; Barrett; Gundry 1993), many see the terminology in Mark 10:45 ("serving," "giving life," "ransom [*lytron*] for many") as evocative of LXX Isaiah 53:10-12 (Collins; France 2002; Jeremias 1971). Although Mark's *lytron* ("ransom") is not a translation of *ʾāšām* ("guilt offering" or "offering for sin") in Isaiah 53:10, some interpreters argue that the semantic domain of *lytron* can approximate the notion of *ʾāšām* (Davies and Allison; Evans; Moo; Jeremias 1971), so that in Mark 10:45 Jesus' giving of his life as a ransom for many essentially fulfills the task of the Servant of the Lord (Cullmann; Watts; France 2002; Davies and Allison; Evans). The presence of Isaiah 53 in the passion narrative (e.g., Is 53:7 in Mk 14:16; 15:5; Is 53:12 in Mk 14:48; 15:27; Is 53:9 in Mk 15:43-46; for additional parallels, see Edwards; Marcus 1993) often is highlighted to support further the Isaianic background of Mark 10:45. In addition to the general connections between Mark 10:45 and Isaiah 53:10-12, *lytron* can be used as a synonym for "expiation" or "propitiation" (esp. LXX Ex 21:29; 30:11-16) (Collins 2009; Jeremias 1971), and the verb *lytroō* ("to ransom, redeem") is used often of God's redemptive release of *Israel from the bondage of exile (Ps 78:42; Is 43:14, 22, 23; 51:10-11; 52:3, 9; Jer 31:11; Mic 4:10; 6:4; Zech 10:8), a redemptive activity that implies dealing with Israel's sins (Pitre, 412-13). If *lytron* in Mark 10:45 draws on these Septuagintal uses, Jesus would be giving his life as a *lytron* ("ransom") understood metaphorically as an atonement for the sins of many (Collins 2009) in fulfillment of prophetic promises of Israel's second-exodus restoration.

What of the indications that Jesus gives his life as the Danielic Son of Man in Mark 10:45? One of the problems with seeing Daniel 7 as a background to Mark 10:45 is that the exalted son of man in Daniel 7 is served by others, but Jesus as the Son of Man in Mark 10:45 serves others by dying for them. Mark (and Jesus) may have intended a reference to the Danielic Son of Man in order to redefine the son of man in light of Jesus' destiny as the Suffering Servant of the Lord (Black). That is, Jesus will fulfill the full destiny of the glorified and powerful Son of Man (cf. Mk 13:26; 14:62), but only after he has suffered and died.

In the end, it is best to conclude that, in regard to Mark's passion predictions in general and Mark 10:45 in particular, Mark (and perhaps traditions before him and Jesus himself) has drawn together various streams of scriptural expectation (lament psalms; Is 53; Dan 7) to interpret Jesus' sufferings

and vindication (Davies and Allison; Marcus 1993; Telford; Bayer) (see Old Testament in the Gospels).

5.2. The Death of Jesus in Mark's Passion Narrative. The religious leaders' opposition to Jesus reaches its climax in the passion narrative (Mk 14:1–15:47). Having concluded that Jesus must be eliminated, the temple authorities instigate Jesus' arrest (Mk 14:46–49), his hearing before the high priest (Mk 14:53–65) and his trial before Pilate (Mk 15:1–14), all of which lead to Pilate's decision, in capitulation to the chief priests and the crowd, to crucify Jesus (Mk 15:11–15). For Mark, these events are fulfillments of Jesus' words in Mark 10:34 as well as God's will revealed in the Scriptures (Mk 14:49).

With his arrest and crucifixion looming, Jesus calls his disciples together for the Last Supper (Mk 14:22–25). The supper is placed in the context of Israel's Passover feast (Mk 14:1, 12–16; cf. Mt 26:17–25; Lk 22:7–23) and is identified as the Passover meal (Mk 14:12–18; cf. Mt 26:17–20; Lk 22:8–15). With the normal Passover lamb absent from this meal, Jesus' words "This is my body" (Mk 14:22) suggest that he interprets the Passover lamb in terms of himself (Jeremias 1966). It would follow, then, that Jesus' interpretation of the cup is intended to evoke the blood of the Passover lamb (Ex 12:7, 13). Jesus reinterprets Israel's great paradigmatic experience of deliverance in light of the giving of his own life "for many" (Mk 14:24; cf. Mk 10:45). Now God's final act of deliverance, a kind of second exodus, is centered on Jesus as the eschatological Passover sacrifice (Jeremias 1966), a sacrifice that constitutes the new messianic people of God around the Jesus the Messiah. As the Last Supper commemorates this second-exodus event in Jesus' death, it also points ahead to an eschatological meal "in the kingdom of God" (Mk 14:25 [cf. Mt 26:29; Lk 22:16, 18]).

After Jesus' trial Pilate orders the soldiers to scourge and crucify Jesus. The treatment of Jesus that follows (Mk 15:17–19, 29–32) and, of course, the crucifixion itself (Mk 15:22–25) probably echo the abuse of the Suffering Servant (Is 50:6, 53:7–9) (Dodd; Lindars; Green 1988), but similar echoes can also be found in the experiences of the suffering righteous in the psalms (Ps 22:7; 31:18–24; 35:15–16; 70:5; 102:8). From the soldiers' perspective, their treatment of Jesus in Mark 15:17–19 is aimed at mocking his kingly aspirations. This fact may parallel similar parodic treatment of royal figures in the ancient world. Philo's account of the Alexandrians' treatment of Karrabas contains some remarkable parallels with Jesus' treatment by the soldiers (*Flacc.* 36–39). In Mark, the soldiers dress Jesus in purple

and place a crown of thorns on his head (Mk 15:17), all meant to parody Hellenistic royalty (Jeremias 1966; Mann). Having dressed Jesus as a king, the soldiers pay homage to him with the exclamation "Hail, king of the Jews!" (Mk 15:18), imitating the customary Latin royal acclamation, *Ave Caesar* ("Hail, Caesar") (Mann; Evans, who cites Suetonius, *Claud.* 21:6; see also Philo, *Flacc.* 39). The soldiers continue their royal parody by genuflecting before Jesus as if he were a king (Mk 15:19). The reed used to beat Jesus' head was a stand-in for a scepter (Mk 15:19).

After Jesus is led to Golgotha (Mk 15:22), he is offered "wine mixed with myrrh," but he does not take it (Mk 15:23). Some have argued that the substance was intended as an anesthetic agent to dull the pain (Mann; Brown 1994). Appeal is often made to the merciful provision of "strong drink" and "wine" for the dying and suffering in Proverbs 31:6, cited in later Jewish tradition for this reason (*b. Sanh.* 43a). Jesus' refusal of the drink would then suggest his active acceptance of the Father's cup of suffering for him (cf. Mk 10:38; 14:36) (Cranfield). But the "strong drink" (*methē*) and "wine" (*oinos*) in LXX Proverbs 31:6 is not the "wine mixed with myrrh" in Mark 15:23. There is little evidence that "myrrh" was an analgesic agent (Gould; Evans), and the context (Mk 15:16–22) strongly suggests that it was the soldiers, who express no desire to alleviate Jesus' suffering, who offered Jesus the drink. Another interpretation suggests that the offer was a form of torture (Kostenniemi, Nisula and Toppari). Although this view makes sense in the context of the soldiers' ill treatment of Jesus, it rests on the unproven premise that a large amount of myrrh was used in the wine, which would make it impossible to consume. Some evidence suggests that wine mixed with myrrh was a delicacy. According to Pliny the Elder, "The finest wines in early days were those spiced with the scent of myrrh" (*Nat.* 14.15.92 [cf. *Nat.* 14.19.107]). If this is the substance referred to in Mk 15:23, then soldiers would be offering a drink fit for royalty as another gesture of mockery aimed at Jesus' supposed kingship (Evans).

The final act of kingly mockery is the crucifixion itself (Mk 15:25–27). In the Greco-Roman world crucifixion functioned as a parody of kingly enthronement (Marcus 2006), and this is precisely what we find in Mark. On the cross, Jesus is flanked on his right and left by his royal entourage, in the persons of two brigands (Mk 15:27), recalling James and John's request to sit at Jesus' right and left "in your glory" (Mk 10:37) (cf. Philo, *Flacc.* 38). Jesus is raised or, better, enthroned high on a cross (Marcus 2006;

Schmidt; Nickelsburg), with the charge “king of the Jews” (“above his head” [Mt 27:37]). The Markan irony is deafening. The mockery of Jesus’ kingship by the soldiers, the passers-by and the chief priests (Mk 15:17-32) unwittingly but correctly identifies Jesus as Israel’s king (Green 1988). The crucifixion as a mockery of enthronement turns out to be Jesus’ exaltation as God’s messianic Son, correctly recognized by, of all people, a Roman centurion (Mk 15:39).

Psalms of lament dominate Mark 15, associating Jesus’ suffering with the figure in the psalms (Marcus 1993; Landowska) (cf. Ps 22:18 in Mk 15:24; Ps 22:7 in Mk 15:29; Ps 22:1 in Mk 15:34; Ps 69:21 in Mk 15:36). One such psalm is quoted by Jesus before his last breath: “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” (Ps 22:1 [LXX 21:2] in Mk 15:34). It may be that the entirety of Psalm 22 is being evoked so that Jesus’ sense of abandonment would be read in light of the psalmist’s renewed faith in God and the vindication at the end of the psalm (Ps 22:25-31) (Dodd; Marcus 1993). But this possibility should not deflect from the fact that Jesus quotes only the first verse of Psalm 22, in which the psalmist communicates his real sense of abandonment from God and struggle in his suffering (cf. Mk 14:36). In first-century A.D. Judaism the sufferer in the psalms of lament was King David himself. Thus, the laments in these psalms would have been understood as David’s laments (Ahearne-Kroll). By associating Jesus’ experiences of suffering and abandonment with the similar experience of David in the lament psalms, Mark has undercut the dominant view of the Messiah as a militant Davidic king (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17) with another tradition about King David: his sufferings and sense of abandonment. In the end, Jesus, like David in Psalm 22, did not ultimately lose trust in God (Evans, 507).

After Jesus’ cry of Psalm 22:1, some of the bystanders said, “He is calling for Elijah” (Mk 15:35), after which “someone” (*tis*) ran and soaked a sponge with “sour wine” (*oxos*) and attempted to get Jesus to drink it (Mk 15:36). It is not entirely clear how this attempt is related to what is said in the next line: “Permit me; let us see if Elijah comes to take him down” (Mk 15:36). The offer of “sour wine” is likely the last of the Markan evocations of a lament psalm (Moo; Juel): LXX Psalm 68:22 (MT 69:22; ET 69:21). “Sour wine” (*oxos*) was an ordinary drink (Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 23.27.54-55; see BDAG; Brown 1994; Cranfield; Lane cites Num 6:3; Ruth 2:14) used for quenching thirst (Plutarch, *Lives* 2.306-7) in the ancient world. Accordingly, the offerer would be hoping to extend Jesus’ life to see if Elijah would appear

(Collins 2007; Pesch). This could be read as a genuine hope to see the eschatological Elijah usher in the kingdom (cf. Mal 4:5; Mk 6:15; 8:28; 9:11-12; 15:35), but the Markan context suggests that the Elijah comment is also mockery. Furthermore, the motivation of those who offer sour wine in Psalm 68:22 is clearly one of ill treatment (cf. LXX Ps 68:22 [MT 69:22; ET 69:21]). Thus, it must be judged that the offer of sour wine is another gesture mocking Jesus’ supposed kingship (Brown 1994) and thus supports the Markan ironic contrast between Jesus’ shameful treatment and his true identity as Israel’s king. This certainly is how Luke understood Mark (Lk 23:36).

Jesus’ sense of abandonment evident in his words from the cross (Mk 15:34) and his agonizing death (Mk 15:37) are accompanied by two *apocalyptic events: darkness falling over the land (Mk 15:33), probably indicating *judgment (cf. Joel 2:2, 31; Amos 8:9; Zeph 1:15) (Brown 1994), and the tearing of the temple’s veil (Mk 15:38), the significance of which is less clear. That the veil was “torn” (*schizō*) recalls the theophany in Mark 1:10-11, where the heavens were “torn open” (*schizō*) and God speaks. Thus, the tearing of the veil, whatever else it may symbolize, suggests that God is not absent after all from the events surrounding the crucifixion. Many have interpreted the tearing of the temple’s veil as a sign that Jesus’ atoning death has made God’s temple presence available to all (Hagner, 2:849), with the result that the temple cult is no longer needed (Kingsbury 1989, 54). Recent research has shown that the temple’s inner “veil” (*katapetasma*), which certainly is in view here (cf. Mt 27:51), functioned to separate the holy of holies (the location of God’s presence) from the holy place, or, the holy (God) from the less holy (human-kind) (Ex 36:31-33; cf. Lev 16:2, 15) (Gurtner). Jesus’ death in Mark 15:37, which seems to effect the tearing of the veil in Mark 15:38, would be seen as removing the prohibition against access to the holy God. But in the narrative context the symbolism may also indicate a sign of judgment, first on the temple (Senior 1991, 126-29; Evans, 509) as the seat of the temple authorities (chief priests, scribes, elders) who make up the main opposition to Jesus (Mk 11:18, 27) (Pesch, 2:498-99), and also on those who carry out Jesus’ arrest (Mk 14:43, 55; 15:1). God’s judgment on the temple symbolized by the tearing of the veil is a precursor to the temple’s complete destruction predicted by Jesus in Mark 13:2 because the temple authorities who represent Israel have rejected God’s messianic Son. The tearing of the temple’s veil therefore indicates God’s displeasure but also his desire to draw people into his gracious presence made possi-

ble by the death of his Son (Green 1988).

The events at the cross end with a confession-like statement from the centurion who saw Jesus die: "Truly this man was (the) Son of God" (Mk 15:39). On the narrative level, the Roman centurion has observed all the events leading up to Jesus' last breath, and his response contrasts sharply with the chief priests, scribes and the Jewish crowd (Kingsbury 1989, 129). Regardless of what a Roman centurion could have meant by such designation ("son of God"), his statement in Mark (cf. Mt 27:54) amounts to extreme irony. Whereas the Roman soldiers disrespect Jesus by mocking his kingship (Mk 15:16-26) and crucifying him as a pretend king (Mk 15:24), a centurion, of far higher rank, agrees with Mark and, most importantly, with *God the Father about the true identity of Jesus. In the midst of the sadistic, dishonorable and parodic treatment of Jesus' crucifixion, his dignity and identity as God's messianic Son remain intact. Jesus' glory shines through his suffering and death (Gundry 1993; Marcus 2006; Evans).

6. The Death of Jesus in Matthew's Gospel.

Jesus' sacrificial death in Matthew's Gospel is the ultimate fulfillment of the divine plan to save the Messiah's people from their sins (Mt 1:21; 26:28). Although he is the innocent Son of God, Jesus will not buckle under satanic temptation to forgo his Father's will for him to suffer and die for his people. What is more, the event of the cross in Matthew is a unique apocalyptic event in which the prophetic promises of Israel's restoration as resurrection are inaugurated.

6.1. The Death of Jesus in the Plot of Matthew's Gospel. The phrase "from that time Jesus began" in Matthew 4:17; 16:21 has long been recognized as an important structural clue to the Gospel of Matthew (Kingsbury 1988; Powell). While Matthew 4:17 formally marks the beginning of Jesus' public ministry, Matthew 16:21 comprises the first passion *prediction, in which Jesus "began to show his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised up on the third day." As such, at Matthew 16:21, the narrative shifts in focus to Jesus' impending passion in Jerusalem. These two indicators of narrative flow, Matthew 4:17 ("preaching") and Matthew 16:21 ("passion"), are significant to Matthew's plot and reveal the importance of Jesus' death for Matthew's story (Powell). At the beginning of the Gospel the narrator says, "And she will bear a Son; and you shall call his name Jesus, for it is he who will save his people from their sins" (Mt 1:21). We are not told how *salvation from sins will be ac-

complished or that it is in any way connected to Jesus' death. However, when the reader reaches the Last Supper and hears Jesus say that his blood is poured out "for many for forgiveness of sins" (Mt 26:28), it becomes apparent that Matthew 1:21; 26:28 form a kind of frame around the story and thereby suggest that the promise in Matthew 1:21 is ultimately fulfilled in Jesus' death, which effects the forgiveness of sins (Mt 26:28) (Gurtner, 127-28). It is now clear why Jesus "must" go to Jerusalem and die (Mt 16:21).

The real conflict in Matthew's story is between God and Satan, a conflict that forms the main plot line (Powell) (see *Demon, Devil, Satan*). This plot line is played out through two subplots: Jesus' conflict with the religious leaders and his conflict with his disciples. In the temptation narrative (Mt 4:1-11) Satan attempts to thwart God's purposes in his Son made clear in Matthew 1:21. Immediately after God declares Jesus to be his "beloved Son" at the *baptism (Mt 3:17), Satan tempts Jesus precisely as God's Son (Mt 4:3, 6). Satan's *temptations are aimed at Jesus' exercising of his sonship in a way that would bypass the necessity of suffering (cf. Mt 16:21). In the passion narrative we hear the temptations of Satan in the words of the passers-by: "If you are the Son of God, come down from the cross" (Mt 27:40; cf. Mt 26:63). The taunt in Matthew 27:43 also echoes Satan's temptation in Matthew 4:6. After having confessed Jesus as "the Christ, the Son of God" (Mt 16:16) and having heard that Jesus "must" suffer and die (Mt 16:21), Peter unwittingly takes the view of Satan when he rebukes Jesus for saying that he would have to die (Mt 16:22). This confirms that Satan's goal is for Jesus to renounce suffering and death, but Jesus will not forgo the cross because he is determined to provide forgiveness for his people's sins (Mt 26:28).

After Jesus' temptation and before the beginning of his ministry (Mt 4:17), Matthew tells us that "when he heard that John had been taken into custody, he withdrew into Galilee" (Mt 4:12). Later, John is killed by Herod Antipas (Mt 14:10), and again Matthew states that "when Jesus heard it, he withdrew from there in a boat" (Mt 14:13). The reader can see here a connection between the adversity that John experienced and the adversity threatening Jesus (cf. Mt 11:18-19). If John the Baptist, the "greatest" prophet (Mt 11:11-12) and the preparer for the Messiah, has been defeated in death, then God's Son may be at risk by the powers as well.

Although the first allusion to Jesus' impending death comes in the "bridegroom" saying in Matthew

9:14-17, the first sign that Jesus' conflict with the religious leaders will end in his death is found in the controversy with the Pharisees about the Sabbath (Mt 12:1-14). At the end of the story the Pharisees plan how they might "destroy him" (Mt 12:14). Following this, in response to the scribes' and Pharisees' request for a sign, Jesus offers the *"sign of Jonah" (Mt 12:40). Although not so clear at this point in the narrative, certainly at the end of the story (cf. Mt 27:63) the sign of Jonah would be seen as a reference to Jesus' death and probably also his resurrection (Mt 12:39-40).

The first passion prediction, in Matthew 16:21 (cf. Mt 17:12, 22-23; 20:18; 26:2, 24), makes explicit what is implicit in the sign of Jonah (Mt 12:40): Jesus the Messiah must suffer, die and be raised from the dead. Matthew sees this as a divine necessity (*dei*, "it is necessary"), as did Mark. Also as in Mark, Jesus' way to the cross is the way of discipleship in which one must take up a cross and follow Jesus (Mt 16:24). This is also made clear in Matthew's "ransom" saying but in a slightly different way than in Mark 10:45. Matthew uses a comparison: "just as" (*hōsper*) the Son of Man serves the needs of others by giving his life as a ransom for many, so also should his disciples (Mt 20:26-28).

6.2. The Passion Narrative in Matthew's Gospel.

Matthew follows Mark in setting Jesus' passion in the context of Israel's Passover feast (Mt 26:1-2, 17-19, 20-29). One of the most distinctive Matthean elements is found in Jesus' words at the Last Supper. After giving the cup to the disciples, Jesus states, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for forgiveness of sins" (Mt 26:28). The unique Matthean phrase "for forgiveness of sins" functions as a flashback to and an inclusio with the stated purpose of Jesus' ministry in Matthew 1:21: "he will save his people from their sins." This means that Jesus' death is the supreme soteriological event in Matthew. The same biblical background discussed in relation to Mark 14:24 is operative for the phrase "my blood of the covenant" in Matthew 26:28 in that it likely alludes to the covenant-renewal ceremony in Exodus 24:8 and perhaps also to the sin-offering rituals in which blood played an important role and the forgiveness of sins is said to be the result of the rituals (Lev 4:13-35; 5:11-13; cf. Lev 16:15-16, 19; Num 15:22-26, 27-28). What may support Exodus 24:8 as the primary background for Matthew is the cry of the people in Matthew 27:25: "His blood be on us and our children." This cry may have an ironic double meaning (Hamilton) in that the people accept guilt for the shedding of Jesus' blood, but at the same

time Jesus' cleansing blood is applied to these guilty Israelites just as the sacrificial blood is sprinkled "on" (*al*) Israel in Exodus 24:8.

At Jesus' hearing before the high priest, Caiaphas begins the proceedings with the following question: "I adjure you by the living God, that you tell us whether you are the Christ, the Son of God" (Mt 26:63). Jesus' responds in two parts. First, his response in Matthew 26:64a, "You have said so" (*su eipas*), confirms the truth implied in Caiaphas's question (cf. Mt 26:25) (Senior 1998, 213). Second, Jesus makes further claims about himself: "Nevertheless I tell you, from now on you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven" (Mt 26:64b). Jesus' statement here is a combination of Psalm 110:1 and Daniel 7:13. Prior to the passion narration, *"Son of Man" referred mainly to Jesus' rejection and suffering (cf. Mt 8:20; 11:19; 12:40; 17:12, 22-23; 20:18), but the designation is also used to refer to Jesus when he returns as the eschatological judge (Mt 16:27-28; 24:27, 30-31), and this is the reference in his response to Caiaphas. Also as in Mark, Jesus is charged with *blasphemy, which in turns warrants his death (Mt 26:65-66). It is likely that the same theological issues that we observed in Mark 14:61-64 stand behind the charge of blasphemy here in Matthew.

From this point on there is a striking emphasis on bloodguilt and Jesus' "blood" (Mt 27:6, 8, 24, 25), particularly his "innocent blood" (Mt 27:4, 14, 19). Judas confesses his complicity in "betraying innocent blood" (Mt 27:4), and his money is identified as "blood money" (*timē haimatos* [Mt 27:6]). The reader has already been told in Jesus' rebuke of the scribes and Pharisees (Mt 23) that these leaders stand in a long line with their ancestors of persecuting, "crucifying" and shedding the blood of God's messengers (Mt 23:34). The crucifixion of Jesus is, of course, the apex of this unjust activity. The result is expressed in Matthew 23:38: "Your house is being left to you desolate." Jesus' prediction of the temple's destruction follows a few verses later (Mt 24:2). But, as mentioned above in connection with the cry of the people in Matthew 27:25, there is another, more hopeful line running through the story: Jesus saves his people from sins (Mt 1:21) by the shedding of his blood (Mt 26:28) (Hamilton; Cargal). "The death of Jesus—precisely because it is the shedding of innocent, sacrificial blood—creates the possibility of forgiveness even for the persons who bear responsibility for putting him to death" (Carroll and Green, 48).

Matthew takes over the Markan scene of the mockery of Jesus in the praetorium through to the

insults leveled at Jesus by the brigands crucified on either side of him (Mt 27:27-44; cf. Mk 15:16-32). There are, however, a few notable differences. Matthew intensifies the disgraceful treatment of Jesus by making it explicit that the soldiers “stripped” him of his clothes (Mt 27:28a; implied in Mk 15:17). Furthermore, the soldiers put a “scarlet robe” (*chlamys kokkinē*) on Jesus (Mt 27:28b) as opposed to Mark’s “purple cloak” (*porphyra*) (Mk 15:17). Whereas Mark’s “purple” color was associated with royalty, Matthew’s “scarlet” color was cheaper to produce and was the color of Roman soldiers’ cloaks (Davies and Allison; Luz). The Matthean context nevertheless demands that the “robe” functions as a mock royal garb (Senior 1985)—that is, a “cheaper imitation” (Luz, 3:514) of a proper royal robe. In Matthew 27:34 the soldiers offer Jesus “wine” mixed “with gall” (*oinos meta cholēs*) instead of Mark’s “wine mixed with myrrh” (Mk 15:23). Matthew’s use of “gall” (*cholē*) echoes the first line of LXX Psalm 68:22 (MT 69:22; ET 69:21), in which the psalmist is given “gall” by his foes. In Matthew 27:48 the evangelist retains Mark’s echo of the second line of LXX Psalm 68:22 in the offer of “sour wine” (*oxos*) (cf. Mk 15:23). The result is that Matthew has split LXX Psalm 68:22 between Matthew 27:34 and Matthew 27:48 (Luz) and by doing so has brought Jesus’ sufferings and ill treatment more in line with the unjust treatment of David in LXX Psalm 68:22.

In another reference to a lament psalm, the religious leaders mock Jesus (LXX Ps 21:9 [MT 22:9; ET 22:8] in Mt 27:43): “He trusts in God; let him deliver him now, if he takes pleasure in him.” This is the last of three challenges to Jesus on the cross that are directed at him as “Son of God” and “King of Israel”: (1) the passers-by (Mt 27:40a); (2) the passers-by and the religious leaders (Mt 27:40b, 42); (3) the chief priests, scribes and elders (Mt 27:43). These taunts form one challenge to Jesus: bypass the cross (Davies and Allison, 620). This challenge harkens back to Satan’s threefold attempt to convince Jesus to bypass his sufferings and death. But Jesus’ royal divine sonship is revealed precisely in his ill treatment, suffering and death, as recognized by the centurion and companions (Mt 27:54: “Truly this was the Son of God”) and further authenticated by the sovereign authority given to him at the close of Matthew’s story (Mt 28:19).

Matthew’s crucifixion account (Mt 27:45-54) largely follows Mark’s (Mk 15:33-39). The apocalyptic tearing of the temple veil (Mt 27:50-51) likely signifies judgment on the temple leadership in light of Jesus’ oracles of judgment against the temple in Mat-

thew 23:38; 24:2 (Carroll and Green, 48; Senior 1998, 334) and judgment on the religious leaders’ and the crowds’ complicity in the spilling of Jesus’ innocent blood (Hamilton). But there is also a positive connotation to the tearing of the temple’s veil. Since the temple’s inner veil separated God’s holy presence from an unholy people, its tearing symbolizes that God’s presence has now been made available to all by the atoning blood of Jesus (Mt 26:28) (Gurtner). Between the tearing of the veil (Mt 27:51) and the confession of Jesus as Son of God (Mt 27:54) Matthew has placed two additional apocalyptic happenings: an earthquake and the resurrection of the saints (Mt 27:51b-53). For Matthew, Jesus’ death effects both the rending of the veil and the resurrection of the saints (Senior 1998). The resurrection of the saints draws on OT and Jewish eschatological expectation (cf. Dan 12:2; Ezek 37:12-13) (Allison; see also Sim; Gundry 1994), especially Ezekiel 37:12-13 (Luz; Davies and Allison; France 2007; Senior 1998; Brown 1994). Ezekiel’s prophecy, linked with the eschatological reign of the Davidic Messiah (Ezek 37:24-25) (Brown 1994), promises to Israel, dead in “exile, that one day “you will come up out of your graves” (Ezek 37:12) and experience final restoration from the judgment of exile (Ezek 37:14, 21-22; cf. Is 26:14; Dan 12:2-3). The centurion and companions’ realization of Jesus’ true identity is their response to “what took place” (Mt 27:54), which includes all of the events in Matthew 27:50-53 (Jesus’ death, the rending of the veil, an earthquake, the resurrection of the saints). Thus, they bear witness to the revelation of Jesus’ death and its eschatological life-giving effects (Gurtner; Senior 1998). The prophecy of restoration as resurrection in Ezekiel 37 concludes with God’s sanctuary and dwelling place returning to be with his restored people “forever” (Ezek 37:26, 28). Similarly, Matthew’s Gospel ends with the promise of the divine presence in Jesus; Emmanuel (“God with us” [Mt 1:23]) has returned to his new people and will be with them “until the end of the age” (*heōs tēs synteleias tou aiōnos*) (Mt 28:20) (Kupp; Davies and Allison).

7. The Death of Jesus in Luke’s Gospel.

In Luke’s Gospel the opposition to Jesus culminates in Jerusalem with his death. The opposition is not simply human, since it will become clear that satanic darkness looms over Jesus’ arrest and cross. Nevertheless, Jesus is intent on going to Jerusalem, and he fully embraces his fate as the innocent Suffering “Servant. Although Luke does not portray Jesus’ suffering and death in atoning terms as clearly as do the

other Gospels, Jesus' death is sacrificial and is tied directly to the establishment of a new covenant relationship between God and his people.

7.1. The Death of Jesus in the Plot of Luke's Gospel. Luke's Gospel is organized around three sections: a beginning (Lk 1:5—2:52) that presents Jesus to the reader; a middle (Lk 3:1—21:38) in which Jesus focuses his ministry to Galilee (3:1—9:50), journeys to Jerusalem (9:51—19:48) and ministry in Jerusalem (Lk 20:1—21:38); and an ending (Lk 22:1—24:53) that narrates Jesus' passion and resurrection. Conflict is important to Luke's plot, and central to this conflict is Jesus' death. Although an explicit reference to the religious leaders' desire to kill Jesus is not expressed until Luke 19:47, as early as Luke 2:34 readers are told that Mary's child is appointed "to be a sign to be opposed," and in Luke 4 the evangelist states that synagogue leaders "were filled with rage" (Lk 4:28) at Jesus' teaching and tried "to throw him down the cliff" (Lk 4:29), but Jesus slipped through their midst (Lk 4:30). In Luke 6:7–11 the scribes and Pharisees, indignant at Jesus' activities on the Sabbath (Lk 6:1–8), are "filled with fury" and counsel together about "what they might do to Jesus" (Lk 6:11).

A shift in the narrative toward the events of Jesus' *passion, *resurrection and *ascension in Jerusalem is indicated in Luke 9:51, where Jesus expresses his determination to go to Jerusalem to fulfill his God-given fate there: "When the days were approaching for him to be taken up [*analēmpsīs*]," Jesus "set his face toward Jerusalem" (cf. Lk 9:53; 13:22, 33–35; 17:11; 18:31; 19:11, 28, 41). The noun *analēmpsīs* ("to be taken up" or "ascension") can mean simply "death" (Pss. Sol. 4:18), and some believe this is the primary reference in Luke 9:51 (Marshall). However, in Acts the corresponding verb "to take up" (*analambanō*) refers to the ascension (Acts 1:2, 11, 22; cf. Mk 16:19; 1 Tim 3:16). In light of the fact that Luke 9:51 anticipates the events that will take place in Jerusalem (which include Jesus' suffering, death and resurrection [Lk 19:31–33]) and the presence of *Elijah *typology in Luke 9:54 (cf. 2 Kings 2:10–11 [note the use of *analambanō* there]), Jesus' being "taken up" (*analēmpsīs*) probably refers most immediately to his ascension (Green 1997), although an allusion to the crucifixion and resurrection is also possible (Grundmann 1966).

As Jesus journeys closer to his fate in Jerusalem, the scribes and Pharisees' hostility toward him and their plots to trap him increase in intensity (Lk 11:53–54). Jesus' response to the Pharisees in Luke 13:33–35 reveals his single focus to reach Jerusalem (Lk 13:32),

where he will die (Lk 13:33), because Jerusalem (i.e., its religious elite) has a habit of killing God's prophets and will do so again, but this time it will be God's *prophet par excellence, his Son (cf. Lk 20:9–16). The consequence of killing Jesus will be that Jerusalem will be judged (Lk 13:35). By the time the reader reaches the explicit notice in Luke 19:47 that the chief priests and scribes want to "destroy" Jesus, it is clear that his conflict with them will end in his death, which is, paradoxically, God's will for him evident in Luke's first passion prediction (Lk 9:22; cf. Lk 22:20; 22:22, 37; 24:7, 26, 44). As in Mark and Matthew, the resolution to this conflict comes in the culmination of the story in Jesus' passion (Lk 22–23) and resurrection (Lk 24). But for Luke, the resolution is not yet realized; it must await Jesus' parousia at the end of the age (Kingsbury 1991) (cf. Acts 1:11). The irony in Luke's conflict is that although the religious leaders and Satan win the battle (Jesus has died as a false prophet, a messianic claimant and a Roman lawbreaker [cf. Lk 23:2]), God has won the war in that death did not defeat Jesus but rather effected God's redemptive purposes (Lk 22:20; cf. Lk 1:32–33, 68, 72; 2:25, 38).

The role of the demonic in Luke's portrayal of Jesus' death deserves special focus. After it is clear that the devil will not succeed in his attempt to draw Jesus away from his God-given mission, we are told that the devil left Jesus "until an opportune time" (Lk 4:13). It probably is correct to see the devil's "final assault" against Jesus (Lk 22:3–6) as the narrative fulfillment of the devil's "opportune time" in Luke 4:13 (Kingsbury 1991; Green 1997; Garrett 1990). In Luke 22 the evangelist states that "Satan entered into Judas" (Lk 22:3) right before he betrays Jesus by colluding with the religious authorities (Lk 22:4). Furthermore, there may be an intended linguistic connection between Judas seeking a "good opportunity" (*eukairia*) to betray Jesus in Luke 22:6 and the devil's "opportune time" (*kairos*) in Luke 4:13 (Green 1997, 753–54). Satan continues to make the most of his "opportune time" by attempting to "sift" Peter (Lk 22:31), and Luke 22:53 makes clear that Jesus' arrest is under the "power/authority of darkness" (*exousia tou skotous* [Lk 22:53]), a phrase that is clearly equated with the "power/authority" of Satan in Acts 26:18 ("darkness" [*skotos*] = "power/authority of Satan" [*exousia tou satana*]).

Some have argued that Jesus' statement "I saw [*etheōroun*] Satan fall" in Luke 10:18 is a prophetic visionary utterance on analogy with Daniel's use of the same verb form (*etheōroun*) to introduce future events (cf. LXX Dan 7:2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13). One inter-

pretation is that the occasion of Satan's downfall is Jesus' resurrection and ascension to his heavenly throne (Garrett 1990; 1992). Alternatively, the reference could be to the future defeat of Satan at the end of the age anticipated in many Second Temple Jewish texts and in Revelation (cf. 11Q13 II, 2-13; 1 En. 10:4-5; T. Dan 5:10-13; T. Levi 18:2-12; T. Naph. 8:2-4; Rev 20:10) (so Green 1997). Both views probably have merit: Jesus' death, the goal of Satan's conspiracy through willing human subjects, has been overturned in Jesus' vindication from the grave, which in turn anticipates Satan's ultimate downfall at the end of the age. Luke's understanding of Jesus' death therefore has clear satanic and cosmic dimensions, not completely unlike the views of Matthew and John.

7.2. The Death of Jesus in Luke's Passion Narrative. Luke begins his passion narrative (Lk 22:1–23:56) by indicating that the Feast of Unleavened Bread and the Passover were drawing near (Lk 22:1; cf. Mk 14:1) and with the ominous note that “the chief priests and scribes were seeking how to put Jesus to death” (Lk 22:1; cf. Mk 14:1). Luke then moves directly into the narrative about Judas's betrayal of Jesus to the chief priests (Lk 21:3-6). In Luke 22:7 the day of unleavened bread and the sacrifice of the Passover lamb have now come. The *Last Supper (Lk 22:15-20) points to the great paradigmatic event of God's exodus deliverance commemorated by the Passover meal (Lk 22:1, 7-8, 11, 13, 15) and anticipates a future kingdom meal that Jesus will eat and drink with his people (Lk 22:15-17, 29-30).

Jesus uses the elements of the meal (bread, cup, wine) to interpret his impending death. Jesus sees his death as inaugurating the new covenant foretold in Jeremiah's promise (Jer 31:31-34) that one day God would restore Israel from *exile. Luke's phrase “covenant in my blood” probably alludes to Exodus 24:8, with the result that Jesus' new covenantal sacrifice enables people to participate in the eschatological new-covenant relationship with God promised in Jeremiah 31:31-34 (Green 1997).

After the Last Supper (Lk 22:15-20) and before the betrayal and arrest (Lk 22:47-54), Jesus interprets his nearing fate in Jerusalem in light of the Suffering Servant (Lk 22:37, citing Is 53:12; cf. Is 53:7-8 in Acts 8:32-33). This quotation of Isaiah raises the issue of the meaning of Luke's identification of Jesus with the Isaianic Servant. It seems clear that, broadly speaking, Luke patterns Jesus' death and resurrection/vindication on the paradigm of Isaiah's Servant (Is 52:13–53:12) (see esp. Green 2012, 80-84; cf. Koet). The career of the Servant is marked by rejection and

unjust suffering and death at the hands of his oppressors, even though he was completely innocent (Is 53:8-9). He is therefore designated “the righteous one” (*dikaïos*) (LXX Is 53:11). The suffering and death of the Servant is God's will for him (Is 53:6, 10). But, since God is faithful to his Servant, he will vindicate him from death (Is 53:10). This pattern of suffering, death and vindication that Jesus shares with the Servant is nowhere more apparent than in Luke's passion predictions: “Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and rise again from the dead the third day” (Lk 24:46 [cf. Lk 9:22]).

The Lukan Jesus recapitulates the pattern of the Suffering Servant (from suffering and death to vindication), but Luke nowhere directly associates Jesus' death with the Servant's vicarious death for sin (although it could be argued that this is implied). Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that a sacrificial and atoning interpretation of Jesus' death is not absent in Luke-Acts. This is evident in Luke 22:19-20, where Jesus interprets his death as a sacrificial event that effects redemption for and transformation of his people. Furthermore, it is clear that Luke is comfortable with an atoning interpretation of Jesus' death when, in Acts 20:28, he has Paul say that God has “obtained” the church by means of “the blood of his own Son.” Luke thus has portrayed Jesus' death as a salvific event without specifically citing the portions of Isaiah 53 that speak of the Servant's vicarious death for sins (cf. Is 53:5-6, 11, 12).

In his passion narrative Luke emphasizes Jesus' innocence. The chief priests and scribes attempt to convince Pilate that Jesus must die a criminal's death. Their accusation is found in Luke 23:2: Jesus has “misled/corrupted our nation,” “hindered us from paying taxes to Caesar,” and claimed to be “the Messiah, a king.” Immediately following this three-fold charge, Pilate, apparently not threatened by Jesus' claim to be a king, says to the religious leaders that he finds no fault in Jesus (Lk 23:4). But the chief priests press their charges even further in Luke 23:5. The threat of the spreading of a seditious movement provides Pilate with his cue to send the matter to *Herod. Still, Pilate is not fully convinced of the charge, and neither is Herod (Lk 23:13-15). And a third time Pilate addresses the leaders: “I have found in him no cause deserving of death” (Lk 23:22).

The responses to Jesus' crucifixion by the two criminals on either side of Jesus mirror the two possible responses to Jesus' crucifixion. The first criminal “was hurling abuse” (lit., “blaspheming” [*blasphēmō*]) at him (Lk 23:39), recapitulating charges and abuses leveled at Jesus by the religious

leaders and mockers (Lk 22:65; 23:2, 35, 37). The second criminal's response partly serves to further Luke's emphasis on Jesus' innocence: "We indeed have been condemned justly, for we are getting what we deserve for our deeds, but this man has done nothing wrong" (Lk 23:41). The criminal's request that Jesus remember him when "you come in your kingdom" (Lk 23:42) reveals that he recognizes that Jesus will survive his cross, and that he is in fact a king, the Messiah, and not a pretender or criminal after all. It is correct, then, to conclude that this criminal "implicitly confesses his faith that Jesus is the Christ or Son of Man" (Marshall, 872) (cf. Lk 24:26). Remarkably, and uniquely in Luke, Jesus, as he hangs on the cross, *prays for his Father to forgive his tormentors and executioners (Lk 23:34).

The events and sayings at the cross (Lk 23:44-47) follow some of the content and order of Mark 15:33-39, but there are important differences, especially when reading these in the context of Luke's narrative. Read in the context of Luke-Acts, the reference to the "darkness" that covered the land (Lk 23:44) is a metaphor for diabolical forces (Fitzmyer 1985), particularly related to Satan's conspiracy in Jesus' arrest and death (Lk 22:53; cf. Acts 26:18). The intended symbolism of the tearing of the inner veil (surely the one intended, as in Mark and Matthew, by the term *katapetasma* [Lk 23:45]) is notoriously difficult to pinpoint. The occurrence in Luke may suggest less about judgment on the temple and/or Jerusalem (so Green 1997; *contra* Marshall) and more about the revelation of God's presence so inextricably linked with inner sanctum behind the veil. God's presence is now revealed outside the confines of the temple and its symbolic cultic world (Green 1997; similarly, Nolland) and ultimately in Jesus. At his death, Jesus prays a Davidic psalm of lament, Psalm 31:5: "Father, into your hands I commit my spirit" (Lk 23:46). Jesus' prayer here, as does the psalmist's prayer, communicates trust in God (cf. Ps 31:14) in the face of "adversaries" and "enemies" (cf. Ps 31:11, 15).

When the centurion at the cross "saw what had taken place," he "glorified/praised God" and confessed, "Indeed, this man was innocent/righteous" (Lk 23:47). In Luke, "glorifying/praising" (*doxazō*) God is a common human response when one experiences God or a mighty act of God (Lk 2:20; 5:25, 26; 7:16; 13:13; 17:15; 18:43), and thus the centurion recognizes God's presence and activity in the events narrated in Luke 23:44-46. The adjective *dikaïos* in Luke 23:47 can mean either "righteous/just" or "innocent" or perhaps both (Brown 1994). The term probably emphasizes that Jesus is innocent of the crimes that

warranted his death, and therefore the centurion echoes the theme of Jesus' innocence evident in Luke's passion narrative (see above). However, in Luke's second volume Jesus is identified as the "righteous one" (*dikaïos*) in the context of his unjust crucifixion (Acts 3:14; 7:52), and the designation here alludes to the messianic Davidic "righteous one" (Jer 23:5; Zech 9:9) and/or the Suffering Servant as the "righteous one" (Is 53:11). The centurion's confession of Jesus as *dikaïos*, then, may mean that Jesus is God's messianic righteous one, who was unjustly put to death.

8. The Death of Jesus in John's Gospel.

In John's Gospel Jesus' death is ultimately the expression of God's *love for the world in that it mediates eschatological life to others and inaugurates a new-exodus redemption. The cross is also the location of a cosmic battle between Satan ("ruler of this world") and God, a battle in which God's Son is shown to be the glorious Son of Man, who defeats the cosmic enemy and therefore provides release from satanic bondage.

8.1. The Death of Jesus in the Plot of John's Gospel. In John's Gospel the pursuit to kill Jesus is particularly prominent and more violent than we find in the other Gospels. Early on Jesus' conflict with the Jewish leaders turns to their "seeking all the more to kill him" (Jn 5:18 [cf. Jn 7:1, 19, 25; 8:37, 40]). In fact, even when it is said simply that the Jews and others "seek" (*zēteō*) Jesus, the implication is almost always "to seek" to kill him (Jn 7:11; 10:39; 18:4, 7, 8; 11:56; 18:4, 7, 8). John is unique among the evangelists when he states that the Jews were "seeking" (*zēteō*) "to stone" Jesus on a number of occasions (Jn 10:31, 32, 33; 11:8), as well as directly identifying Jesus' opponents as those who are in league with the murderous desires of the devil (Jn 8:44). This death pursuit ultimately wins out when Jesus is arrested by a Roman cohort, then tried and crucified as a criminal (Jn 18:28—19:18).

This conflict and successful death plan are part of a greater cosmic conflict that begins in the prologue. The *Logos, as the light of the new creation, shines "in darkness," and "the darkness could not overcome/overtake [*katalambanō*] the light" (Jn 1:5) (see Light and Darkness). This assures readers from the outset that the darkness will not succeed in its opposition to destroy Jesus and his salvific mission. This theme of cosmic conflict between the forces of light and darkness—that is, between the Logos and Satan—anticipates the opposition to Jesus as the "light of the world" in the ensuing story. In John

1:10-11 it becomes clear that the cosmic battle between light and darkness will play out on the stage of human history in Jesus' ministry: he will be rejected by the cosmos (Jn 1:10) and then by "his own" (Jn 1:11b), with "his own" taking the role of the Jewish leaders in the narrative.

In John 1:29 (cf. Jn 1:31) we find one of the quintessential Johannine christological and soteriological statements: "Behold, the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" (see Lamb of God). Most have concluded that the "lamb" identifies Jesus as the final Passover sacrifice, though other backgrounds may be operative as well. The Passover reference in John 1:29 is supported by clear associations between the Passover sacrifice and Jesus' death in the passion narrative (Jn 19:14, 29, 31-37). As in the other Gospels, Jesus' death inaugurates a new exodus.

The first explicit reference to Jesus' death in John's Gospel comes in John 2:21-22 in the context of the temple pericope. The narrator quotes LXX Psalm 68:10 (MT 69:10; ET 69:9) in John 2:17: "His disciples remembered that it was written, 'Zeal for your house will consume/devour [*katesthiō*] me.'" But John has changed the psalm's aorist tense verb (*katephagen*, "has consumed") to the future tense (*kataphagetai*, "will consume") so that it concerns Jesus' future death. Jesus' prophetic statement in John 2:19, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," which the narrator tells us has to do with "the temple of his body" (Jn 2:21), functions as an ironic prophetic imperative statement (Wilckens) that calls the Jewish leaders to carry out their opposition to its desired end, Jesus' death. Jesus' zeal for God's temple will "devour" him and lead to his premature death.

The controversies between Jesus and the "Jews" in John 8:31-59 provide important clues about the death of Jesus in the plot of John's Gospel. After Jesus informs the Jews that he can make them free (Jn 8:32, 36), they counter by claiming that they are "descendants of Abraham" and thus are not enslaved by anyone (Jn 8:33). But, because they are "seeking to kill" Jesus (Jn 8:40, 59), they are not acting in accordance with God as their Father (Jn 8:42) but rather unwittingly in accordance with the "desires" of another, the devil, who "was a murderer from the beginning" (Jn 8:44). This state of affairs suggests that the plot of the chief priests, Pharisees and the high priest in John 11:47-50, 53 is part of the cosmic conflict hinted at in John 1:5. The personified "darkness" (the devil/Satan) attempts to destroy God's Son through his willing human accomplices (see Demon, Devil, Satan). Nevertheless, God's saving plan in his Son will not be thwarted: Jesus' death indeed will

benefit "the nation" (Jn 11:51) and will bring about the redemptive gathering into one of God's children (Jn 11:52, cf. Jn 1:12-13).

John 12:31 plays a crucial and highly ironic role in the devil's plot to kill Jesus. At the moment when the devil's plot to do away with Jesus seems to have worked—at the cross—we are told in John 12:31 that Jesus' death will effect the "casting out" of the devil (as the "ruler of this world") from his realm of authority. As the cross looms closer, the devil's role in Jesus' death is evident in the context of the Johannine Last Supper (Jn 13) and the *farewell discourse (Jn 14-17). In John 13:2 the narrator states that the devil had "put into the heart of Judas Iscariot . . . to betray him," and in John 13:27 readers are informed, "Satan then entered into him. Jesus therefore said to him, 'What you do, do quickly.'" Jesus himself had previously predicted Judas's betrayal and identified him as "a devil" (Jn 6:70). Later, Jesus looks back to what was said to be accomplished at the cross in John 12:31: "The ruler of this world has been judged" (Jn 16:11). Consistent with John's eschatology elsewhere (Jn 3:19; 4:23; 5:24; 11:25-26), he has presented the cross event as the defeat of the cosmic enemy, a defeat that in Second Temple Judaism was reserved for the end of the age.

The cross event has other salvific effects. The Johannine *hyper* texts present Jesus' death as an event that is "on behalf of" (*hyper*) others in some way. The precise benefit for others pertains to the context: Jesus' death will effect "life for the cosmos" (Jn 6:51), protect his sheep and unify them (Jn 10:11, 15-16) and bring about the long-awaited gathering of God's children (Jn 11:50, 52; cf., e.g., Deut 30:3-4; Is 11:12; 40:11; 43:5; 56:8; Jer 31:8, 10; Ezek 34:13, 21; 39:27). In the passion narrative the water that came out of Jesus' body, which John associates with the Spirit (Jn 7:39), signifies that Jesus' death imparts life eternal to those who believe (Carroll and Green).

Another Johannine way of describing Jesus' death is found in the "lifting up of the Son of Man" texts (Jn 3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34). "To lift up" (*hypsōō*) is classic Johannine double entendre. The verb can mean "to lift up" in the figurative sense of "exalt," but it can also mean to "to lift up" in the literal sense (i.e., raised up in crucifixion). When used of Jesus' death in John, it means both. Most scholars agree that these texts were inspired by Isaiah's fourth Servant Song (Is 52:13-53:12) (e.g., Brown 1966; Reim), and this connection is particularly evident in John 12 (see Servant of Yahweh). As Isaiah's Servant is "lifted up" (*hypsōō*) and "glorified" (*doxazō*) in LXX Isaiah 52:13, so also Jesus is "glorified" (*doxazō*) (Jn 12:23) and

“lifted up” (*hypsoō*) (Jn 12:32). But whereas the Servant in Isaiah is “lifted up” and “glorified” after his humiliation and death (Is 53:2-10), Jesus is exalted and glorified in the cross event (Jn 12:23), so that Jesus’ exaltation/glorification and death appear to be an indivisible event in John (Blank). The cross, then, reveals Jesus’ true divine identity (Jn 8:28), his oneness with his Father (Appold; Nicholson) and ultimately is the pathway back to his heavenly abode with his Father (Jn 13:1). The cross truly is a revelatory event in John. But it would be a mistake to characterize John’s understanding of the cross only as a revelatory event or as a pathway back to the Father, as some have argued (Käsemann; Nicholson; U. Müller). Rather, the Fourth Gospel holds together, without contradiction, the cross as a revelation of glory and the cross as a soteriological event (Zumstein; Turner; T. Müller).

John’s christological reflections on Isaiah 52:13—53:12 have profound theological and christological implications. Strikingly, not only is Isaiah’s Servant portrayed as the “lifted up” and “glorified” one (Is 52:12), but also Yahweh appears on his “exalted” (*hypēstos*) and “lifted up” (*epairō*) throne with his “glory” (*doxa*) filling the earth (Is 6:1-3) as well as he himself being identified as the “exalted” and “lifted up” one (Is 57:15). This connection between Isaiah 52:12 and Isaiah 57:15 (cf. Is 6:1) suggests that in Isaiah 52:12 the Servant is exalted to the unique heavenly throne of God after having suffered and died (Is 53). “The Servant . . . in both his humiliation and his exaltation belongs to the identity of the unique God. This God is not only the high and lofty one who reigns from his throne . . . ; he also abases himself to the condition of the crushed and lowly (Isa 57:15)” (Bauckham, 51). Isaiah’s portrayal of the Servant as the one who shares the divine identity of the lifted-up and glorified God but who is also the one who suffered and died seems to have informed John’s view of Jesus and his death. In this connection, it is significant that John brings together Isaiah 53 and Isaiah 6 in John 12:38-41. Referring to Isaiah 6:1, John says that Isaiah saw Jesus’ “glory” (Jn 12:41), whereas in Isaiah 6:1-3 the prophet sees Yahweh “high” and “exalted” on his throne (Is 6:1). This suggests that in John’s Gospel the glory of Jesus that Isaiah saw (Jn 12:41) was the glory that the Son shared with the Father “before the world began” (Jn 17:5; cf. Jn 1:1). The Son became a human being, and his divine glory was perceived in his humanity (Jn 1:14). As a human being, the divine Son is humiliated at the “hour” of the cross and dies there, and it is in this event that the Father glorifies his name and his

Son (Jn 12:27-28; 17:1). But it is not as though the Son lost his glory in the incarnation or the cross event; rather, in the cross Christ’s divine glory and identity (Jn 1:1, 14) shine through and are revealed anew (Jn 17:5). When John insists that Jesus’ glory and identity are revealed in and through his cross, Jesus takes on the task of the high and lifted-up Yahweh in Isaiah 57:15 who humbles himself to minister to the situation of the “lowly of spirit” and the “contrite” (see Bauckham, 48-51) while always remaining the glorious sovereign God.

With Jesus’ arrest and death drawing near, in John 12:12-36 he enters into Jerusalem for the last time. He is welcomed by the Passover crowd “that had come to Jerusalem to the feast” (Jn 12:12). The crowd cries out Psalm 118:26 and identifies Jesus as the “King of Israel” (Jn 12:13). John’s quotation of Zechariah 9:9 in John 12:15 (“Look, your king is coming”) follows. These details make clear that John intends his readers to see Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem as the entry of Israel’s messianic king. But there is great irony in John 12: “the hour has come” for this king of Israel to be glorified in death (Jn 12:23). This prepares readers for the soldiers’ mocking comment hurled at Jesus at his trial, “Hail, King of the Jews” (Jn 19:3), and Pilate’s question to the chief priests, “Shall I crucify your king?” (Jn 19:15).

8.2. The Death of Jesus in John’s Passion Narrative. The Johannine passion narrative (Jn 18—19) emphasizes themes that have already been broached in the previous chapters. The setting of Jesus’ arrest, trial and crucifixion is specifically said to be Passover on three occasions (Jn 18:28, 39; 19:14). Other allusions in John 19 indicate that John wants his readers to see Jesus as the final Passover sacrifice that inaugurates a second-exodus deliverance: Jesus’ crucifixion at the precise time of the Passover sacrifice (Jn 19:14); the mention of “basin” and “hyssop” at the moment of Jesus’ death (Jn 19:29-30; cf. Ex 12:22); the “blood” from Jesus’ side (Jn 19:34), echoing the use of blood in the Passover rituals (Ex 12:13, 22); Jesus’ legs not being broken (Jn 19:31-33, 36), which recalls the same treatment of the Passover lamb (Ex 12:46). These associations probably are to be read in light of the previous identification of Jesus as the “Lamb of God” in John 1:29.

Another clear theme displayed in the passion narrative is that Jesus’ trial and crucifixion happened in the context of a clash between Jesus’ kingship, the power of Rome and the Jewish leaders’ plot to kill him. The chief priests pressure Pilate to put Jesus to death for being an “evildoer” (Jn 18:30) and for claiming to be the Son of God (Jn 19:7). Pilate’s inter-

rogation of Jesus concerns his supposed kingship (Jn 18:37), and he is crucified for ostensibly being the "King of Jews" (Jn 19:16-19, 21). The official death plan made in John 11:48-50 has come to pass. But neither the ruler of this cosmos nor his subjects (Jewish leaders and Pilate) are really in control of these events. The events of the passion happened in accordance with Jesus' word (Jn 18:9; cf. Jn 18:32) and his Father's will revealed in Scripture (Jn 19:24, 28, 36-37). The divine Son is in total control of his death, as has been made clear already (cf. Jn 10:17-18).

The crucifixion could be viewed as evidence that Jesus was defeated as a false prophet and a blasphemous claimant to be God's Son. However, in John's theology of the cross Jesus' death was the ultimate revelation of his glory and union with the Father, an event that accomplished eschatological life for his newly gathered children (Jn 11:52; cf. Jn 1:12-13) and their release from the enemy who held the cosmos in bondage to sin and unbelief (Jn 1:29; 8:39-44; 16:8-11). Jesus' death is also an expression of God's love for the world (Jn 3:14-16) and Jesus' love for his own (Jn 10:15; 15:12-13). Jesus' love for his friends is proved in the laying down of his life for them, which is the ultimate exemplar for obeying Jesus' command "Love one another, just as I have loved you" (Jn 15:12).

9. Conclusion.

The death of Jesus the Messiah was a scandal for early Christians. How could God's Son and Israel's Messiah be killed on a shameful Roman cross? This is simply unthinkable. Nevertheless, the four Gospels, while maintaining their own unique presentations of Jesus' death, are in full agreement that Jesus' shameful suffering and death fulfilled God's will to bring about the redemption of his people. As such, Jesus' death was the culmination of scriptural motifs such as Passover and Isaiah's Servant, so that Jesus' death effected a new exodus, a new Passover, deliverance for those who believe. Finally, the Gospels, to one degree or another, make clear that Jesus' death was an "apocalyptic event in which the enemy of God and his people—Satan of old—was conquered and the new age of God's righteous rule inaugurated.

See also BLASPHEMY; BURIAL OF JESUS; DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; GOLGOTHA; LAST SUPPER; PASSION NARRATIVE; PONTIUS PILATE; PREDICTIONS OF JESUS' DEATH AND RESURRECTION; RESURRECTION; SANHEDRIN; SERVANT OF YAHWEH; TEMPLE; TRIAL OF JESUS.

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DECAPOLIS. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

DEITY OF CHRIST. See CHRISTOLOGY; GOD; INCARNATION.

DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN

Although the concepts of demons and the devil are foreign to much of contemporary thought (including some modern Christian thought), the defeat of these beings is central to the Gospel tradition. The defeat of Satan is viewed as a fundamental aspect of the redemption of the human being, and it is achieved through the obedience of Jesus, through his exorcisms and through his *death and *resurrection. Although many today find "talk of the devil" an embarrassment, ignoring this aspect of redemption inevitably leads to an impoverishment of NT theology.

1. Devil and Demons in the Old Testament and Ancient Judaism
2. Terms for the Devil and Demons in the Gospels
3. Temptations of Jesus
4. The Devil as an Enemy of the Kingdom of God
5. The Judgment of the Devil
6. Exorcisms by Jesus as Defeat of Satan's Kingdom
7. Historicity of the Exorcisms
8. Deliverance and Miracles
9. The Devil in the Final Hours of Jesus
10. Demons and the Death of Jesus
11. Demons and the Resurrection of Jesus
12. Questions of Interpretation

1. Devil and Demons in the Old Testament and Ancient Judaism.

1.1. The Devil in the Old Testament. Whereas in the NT "Satan" is always a proper name, this is generally not the case in the OT. Indeed, it is only in 1 Chronicles 21:1, a late text, that the Hebrew *śātān* is used as a proper name (where he tempts David to hold a census [cf. 2 Sam 24:1]). In other texts *śātān* refers rather to an office. So in Zechariah 3:1-2 we have the definite article before *śātān*; likewise the definite article appears before *śātān* in Job (Job 1:6, 7, 9, 12; 2:1, 2, 4, 7), where he appears as a son of God, a member of the heavenly council. Then there are texts that refer to *śātān* as "an adversary" without the definite article (e.g., Ps 109:6). In 1 Kings 11:23, 25 *śātān* could simply mean "adversary" in the sense of leader of a faction; however, the term could have the more fundamental sense of a "legal adversary" (i.e., an accuser) and be related to the guilt of Israel and particularly of Solomon (von Rad, 73). Especially striking is Numbers 22:22, 32, where the angel of the Lord appears in the way of Balaam as a *śātān* (i.e., an adversary).

Apart from Sirach 21:27, the LXX does not use *satanas*; rather, *diabolos* is employed, rendering the Hebrew term *śātān* in eighteen instances. The Greek term *diabolos* normally means "slanderer," and this captures much of Satan's activity in the OT. Although the term *satanas* itself is not generally used, *śātān* is rendered by the Greek *satan*, but only in three instances (1 Kings 11:14 [twice], 23). Then *śātān* is rendered by *epiboulos* ("traitor") in 1 Samuel 29:4 (see 9 below, on Judas Iscariot).

Another OT term that proves important for the Gospels is *ba'al zēbūb*, the god of Ekron (2 Kings 1:2-3, 6, 16). *Zēbūb* is the collective noun for "flies," and as "lord of the flies" (cf. LXX: *baal muian*) he is a god who could cause or cure disease. However, it has been suggested that the MT should read *ba'al zēbūl* (cf. *beelzeboul* in Mt 10:25; 12:24, 27; Mk 3:22; Lk 11:15, 18-19), meaning "baal the prince" or "baal of the high house."

1.2. Demons in the Old Testament. The term *daimonion* is used eighteen times in the LXX (eight of them in Tobit); for example, in Isaiah 65:11 (BA; S has *daimōn*, the word's only occurrence in LXX) it renders *gad*, the Syrian god of fortune, and in LXX Psalm 95:5 (MT 96:5) all the gods of the peoples are called *daimonia*. But there are in addition a variety of other "demonic" beings: satyrs (Lev 17:7; 2 Chron 11:15; Is 13:21; 34:14), the leech (Prov 30:15), Azazel (Lev 16:8, 10, 26) and Lilith (Is 34:14). "Demons" are in fact "worldly" beings (this, as we will see, will have important implications for the Gospels). Isaiah

34, in speaking of the judgment on the nations, tells of how God will employ “demonic” beings as a judgment: their lands will be possessed by the hawk, hedgehog, owl, raven, jackals, ostriches, wildcats, hyenas, goat-demons, and by Lilith (Is 34:11-15).

1.3. The Devil and Demons in Ancient Judaism.

In certain ancient Jewish texts a fundamental development occurs that explains many of the thought structures concerning the devil and demons in the Gospel narratives. First, a number of texts develop Genesis 1—3 (the devil being identified with the serpent) in such a way as to explain how sin, illness and physical death entered the world as a result of the devil’s temptation of Adam and Eve (Barr, 16-20). Second, a number of texts, many of them belonging to the apocalyptic tradition, develop Genesis 6:1-4 to account for the presence of “fallen angels.” Therefore although the tradition of the “fall” was not greatly developed in the OT itself, it takes on a central role in some later Jewish texts, and this becomes fundamental in understanding Jesus’ battle with the devil in his temptations, exorcisms, preaching ministry, and his death and resurrection.

An example of this development is in Wisdom 2:24: “but through the devil’s envy death entered the world, and those who belong to his company experience it” (NSRV). The association of the devil and death (see 10 below) was extended to the devil and illness, and this forms the fundamental paradigm for Jesus’ healing and exorcism ministry. Also because the devil tempted Eve (in the Jewish tradition Eve, not Adam, carries the blame [Sir 25:24]), he came to be associated with false teaching; hence the demons’ confession of Jesus’ sonship can hardly be viewed as “intelligent” (see 12 below).

Together with Genesis 3, Genesis 6:1-4 was fundamental for the development of demonology. In ancient Judaism the devil becomes a figure of evil, and a mythology is developed mainly around Genesis 6:1-4. So 1 Enoch 6—11 relates the rebellion of the angels (“the Watchers”), which in turn influenced Jubilees (e.g., 1 En. 5:10-11). Jubilees, written in the middle of the second century B.C., is one of the earliest and most extensive retellings of the stories of Genesis and the first half of Exodus, and it is significant that angels, which occasionally appear in Genesis, are given a more prominent role, and demons, which never appear in Genesis and Exodus, are also prominent. Other significant examples of the fall of the angels are in the *Dead Sea Scrolls (CD-A II, 18-21; 4Q203; 4Q531; 4Q532; 4Q533).

Hence the devil, who in the OT is an accuser, becomes a figure of evil. Therefore we see an increasing

dualism developing in the intertestamental period and an increasing interest in demons. An interesting example of this is Belial, who in the OT denotes something like “uselessness” or “wickedness” but not in any sense a heavenly figure opposed to God. But in the intertestamental period he becomes a satanic figure (e.g., T. Dan 1:7-9; 1QM I, 13-15; 1QH^a XI, 28-29).

The devil is noticeably absent in 4 Ezra and has a negligible role in rabbinic literature, which can be explained by there being no expectation of his destruction in the end time, by his role being replaced by the “evil urge,” and by rabbinic reaction to Christian theology.

2. Terms for the Devil and Demons in the Gospels.

Following the LXX, the NT uses the term *diabolos*; although the Greek term usually means “slanderer” (“Slanderers [*diabolous*] he hated more than thieves” [Xenophon, Ages. 11.5]), the term in the NT is used for the chief enemy of Jesus and of the kingdom of God. The term *diabolos* is never used in Mark but occurs six times in Matthew, five times in Luke (2x in Acts) and three times in John. The other major term is *satanas*, occurring four times in Matthew, six times in Mark, five times in Luke (2x in Acts) and once in John.

Beelzeboul is employed in Matthew 10:25; 12:24 (// Mk 3:22; Lk 11:15); Matthew 12:27 (// Lk 11:18-19). The intended sense is “lord of the house” (see Mt 10:25b), *zēbūl* meaning “height, abode, dwelling” (see 1 above).

The devil is referred to as “the evil one” (*ho ponēros*) in Matthew 13:19, 38 (see also Jn 17:15). The final petition of the Lord’s Prayer (Mt 6:13; Lk 11:4) traditionally has been understood in the West as “deliver us from evil” (*rysai hēmas apo tou ponērou*); however, the Eastern tradition may be correct in understanding this as “deliver us from the evil one” (Davies and Allison, 1:614-15); Matthew 5:37 may also refer to “the evil one” rather than the abstract “evil.” The term “the tempter” (*ho peirazōn*) is used just once (Mt 4:3); “prince of demons” (*ho archōn tōn daimoniōn*) is used in Matthew 9:23; 12:24 (// Mk 3:22; Lk 11:15); in the parable of the tares he is “the enemy” (*ho echthros* [Mt 13:39; Lk 10:19]); in John 12:31; 16:11 he is “the ruler of this world” (*ho archōn tou kosmou toutou*) (cf. John 14:30).

The usual term for “demon” is *daimonion*, used eleven times in Matthew (but note the use of *daimōn* in Mt 8:31), thirteen times in Mark, twenty-three times in Luke and six times in John. Other terms include “evil spirits” (Mt 12:45; Lk 7:21; 8:2) and “unclean spirit/s” (Mk 1:23, 26; 3:11; 5:2, 13; 6:7; 7:25 and par.).

3. Temptations of Jesus.

The first explicit appearance of the devil in the Synoptic Gospels is the *temptation of Jesus (this is not in John). He is led by the Spirit into the wilderness, where he is tempted by Satan (Mk 1:13) or the devil (Mt 4:1; Lk 4:2). Compared to Mark, Matthew and Luke give a more extensive narrative: Jesus fasted “forty days and forty nights” (Mt 4:2 [cf. Ex 24:18]), and three temptations are described (commanding stones to become bread, throwing himself down from the pinnacle of the temple, and worshiping the devil in order to gain the kingdoms of the world). In each of the temptations the devil begins the dialogue with “If you are the son of God,” suggesting that the main emphasis of the text is christological. Satan’s plan is to separate Jesus from his Father, and the emphasis of the temptation narrative is that Jesus protects his status as *Son of God through his obedience to the word of God as witnessed in the OT. The devil is portrayed as an imposter: he quotes Scripture in the second temptation in Matthew (third in Luke) (Ps 91:12) and claims in the third temptation in Matthew (second in Luke) to be in possession of the “kingdoms of the world” (*tas basileias tou kosmou* [Mt 4:8]). Although Satan does in fact have his “kingdom” (see 6 below), the temptation narrative hardly suggests that the devil is in possession of the “kingdoms of the world.”

Matthew’s version ends with Jesus saying, “Depart, Satan” (Mt 4:10), and the devil leaving him (Mt 4:11). But Luke ends tellingly: “When the devil had finished every test, he departed from him until an opportune moment” (Lk 4:13 NRSV). Many understand the “opportune moment” to be the arrest of Jesus, when Jesus tells those who arrest him, “This is your hour, and the power of darkness” (Lk 22:53 NRSV). But already in Luke 4:16–30 we see satanic activity in human opposition to Jesus, such activity also being manifest in the “cosmic” evil of demon possession, illness (e.g., Luke 4:31–41) and the untamed forces of nature (Luke 8:22–25).

4. The Devil as an Enemy of the Kingdom of God.

The Synoptic Gospels portray two kingdoms at war with each other: the *kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan. Although Satan cannot be said to possess “the kingdoms of the world” (Mt 4:8), he does have his own kingdom, as is suggested by Jesus’ teaching in Mark 3:24–27 (// Mt 12:25–29; Lk 11:17–20). Jesus explains how a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand; on the assumption that Satan has a kingdom, he thereby argues that it is impossible to

cast out demons by the prince of demons. But through the exorcisms Satan’s kingdom is diminishing, and God’s kingdom is growing.

The devil is seen as an opponent of the kingdom in some of the *parables of the kingdom. In the parable of the sower, Satan (Mk 4:15; Mt 13:19 [the evil one]; Lk 8:12 [the devil]) snatches the seed that is “sown in the heart.” In the parable of the tares, the enemy who sows weeds among the wheat (Mt 13:25, 28) is identified with the devil in the interpretation (Mt 13:39). God’s kingdom is being established through the actual preaching of the parables understood as “speech events” (Jüngel, 135–38).

In John the opponents of Jesus are the Jewish people who take on a “demonic aspect”; although there are “Jews” who follow Jesus (e.g., the disciples, Nathaniel), they clearly are the exceptions. A particularly difficult passage is John 8:30–59. Although Jesus addresses those who believed in him (Jn 8:31), their faith is so seriously defective that they accuse Jesus of having a demon (Jn 8:48, 52), and Jesus accuses them of having the devil as their father, who is both a murderer and a liar (Jn 8:44–46).

5. The Judgment of the Devil.

In the Synoptic tradition this *judgment is seen in the parable of the tares, where the “fruit” of the devil’s work is destroyed at the harvest time (Mt 13:30). This points to the principle that judgment of the devil and his works is delayed until the final day of judgment. This view is also found at the end of the judgment of the nations (Mt 25:31–46), where the king tells those on his left, “You that are accursed, depart from me into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels” (Mt 25:41 NRSV).

Although there is this emphasis on the judgment of the devil on the last day in the Synoptic Gospels, judgment is also realized in the present through the preaching (see 4 above), through the exorcisms, and through the cross and the resurrection (see 10, 11 below).

John also writes explicitly about the judgment of the devil. The “ruler of this world” is driven out because of Jesus’ sacrificial death (Jn 12:31–32); ultimately, he has no power over Jesus (Jn 14:30), and the Paraclete will convince the world that “the ruler of this world” has been condemned (Jn 16:11).

6. Exorcisms by Jesus as Defeat of Satan’s Kingdom.

In the strict sense of the word, *exorcism* means that someone is possessed by an evil spirit and this evil spirit is driven out (Twelftree, 13). This must be dis-

tinguished from those cases where someone is oppressed by an evil spirit and the spirit is driven away (Deines, 368). This corresponds to the distinction that many make between demonic possession and demonic oppression, a point to which we will return.

In the Gospels “exorcism” certainly is seen as a type of “healing,” and in each of the Synoptic Gospels (John does not relate any exorcisms) a particular relationship between exorcism and healing can be discerned.

Mark has ten healing stories, but only once is an illness explicitly attributed to demonic activity (Mk 9:14-29). Of the nine other healings, one perhaps could infer demonic cause (Mk 1:29-31; 1:40-45; 2:1-12; 3:1-6; 5:21-43; 6:54-56; 7:31-37; 8:22-26; 10:46-52). Overall, there are four “exorcism” stories. Three of these (Mk 1:21-28; 5:1-20; 7:24-30) could be understood as healing of “mental illnesses.” A fourth, Mark 9:14-29, already mentioned, is definitely a healing of a physical illness. Then there are summary passages where Jesus is described as healing the sick and casting out demons of those possessed (Mk 1:32-34; 3:10-12). Mark 1:34 distinguishes between sicknesses that are healed and demons that are cast out. There is also the description of the disciples as healing and exorcising (Mk 6:13) that makes the same sort of distinction. Although one could make a case that the two groups of stories—healing and exorcism—are to be distinguished (Mk 9:14-29 being an exception), one could legitimately argue that the evangelists assume that Satan was the “cause” of illness, and therefore all healings are to be understood as “deliverances” (see 10 below); however, in view of the distinction made above between demonic possession and demonic oppression, it would be mistaken to understand all healing as “exorcism” (a view suggested by Böcher, 80).

Matthew seems to make the boundaries between healing and exorcism more fluid. He assigns to demons cases of muteness (Mt 9:32-33 [this story is not in Mark]), blindness and muteness (Mt 12:22-23 [not in Mark]) and epilepsy (Mt 17:14-21 [this parallels Mk 9:14-29, but only in Matthew is the boy said to be an “epileptic” [Mt 17:15]]). Further, he lists demon possession along with epilepsy and paralysis as infirmities that Jesus “healed” (Mt 4:24). Like Mark, he also has summary statements about Jesus’ healing and exorcising activity (Mt 8:16-17), although the distinction between healing and exorcism is not as sharp as in the parallel of Mark 1:32-34. Matthew has no parallel to Mark 6:13, which tells of the disciples’ healing and exorcising activity.

Luke “blurs the lines between healing and de-

monic activity more than any other New Testament writer” (Thomas, 225). In the summaries we see a mixing of healing and exorcism; so in Luke 4:40-41 there is a sentence structure that suggests two parts of one activity. As J. Nolland argues, “Exorcising is not, as in Mark, a separate activity: as many of the sick were healed, demons came out of them. As had the teaching of Jesus (v 33), so now his healing hands flush out the demons” (Nolland, 214).

Then again, Luke 6:18-19 is striking in that “those who were troubled with unclean spirits were healed.” This suggests a close link between healing and exorcism. The report to *John the Baptist in Luke 7:21-23 also links demon possession (note the use of the term “evil spirits”) and illness. In Luke 8:2 we read of “some women who had been cured of evil spirits and infirmities.” In Luke 10:17-20 the subjugation of demons most likely includes both exorcism and healings. The story of the mute demon in Luke 11:14 again brings together the demonic and physical illness. Then the story of the healing of the crippled woman “whom Satan bound for eighteen long years” in Luke 13:10-17 could again suggest that, for Luke, illness is generally caused by the devil. Striking also is the story of the healing of Peter’s mother-in-law, in which Jesus stood over her and rebuked the fever, and it left her (Lk 4:38). As J. Green points out, “Luke paints this scene very much as an exorcism, even if no mention is made of demons *per se*” (Green 1997, 225). That is, Jesus “stood over her,” a practice paralleled in exorcisms in the Magical Papyri (PGM 4:745, 1229, 2735), and he “rebuked” (*epetimēsen*) the fever just as he rebuked (*epitimēsen*) the demon in the previous story (Lk 4:35), the healing of a man with an unclean spirit (Lk 4:31-37). One of the striking things here, however, is that we have what could be described as a “devout” person afflicted by Satan (cf. Paul and his affliction caused by a “messenger of Satan” [2 Cor 12:7-9]).

Although Luke, like Mark and Matthew, often distinguishes between “healing” and “exorcism,” his overall view is that demons/Satan are responsible for illness. As Green emphasizes, “Almost every account of healing in the Third Gospel is portrayed as an encounter with diabolic forces” (Green 1995, 78). This, as he points out, is particularly apparent in Luke 13:10-17. Green’s claim may seem exaggerated if certain healings are examined in isolation; so the following texts do not appear at first sight to be “an encounter with diabolic forces”: Luke 5:12-16 (cleansing of a leper); Luke 5:17-26 (healing of a paralytic); Luke 6:6-11 (healing of a man with a withered hand); Luke 7:1-10 (healing of a centurion’s servant);

Luke 7:11-17 (raising of widow of Nain's son); Luke 8:40-56 (girl restored to life and healing of a woman with a hemorrhage); Luke 14:1-6 (healing of a man with dropsy); Luke 17:11-19 (cleansing of ten lepers); Luke 18:35-43 (healing of a blind beggar). However, when these healings are seen in the context of the temptation of Jesus (Lk 4:1-13), Green's point holds because this forms a "prelude" (my term) to the opposition to Jesus, which begins at Luke 4:14. So there is human opposition (e.g., Lk 4:16-30), demonic opposition seen in the exorcisms (Lk 4:33-36, 41; 8:26-39), demonic opposition in sickness that Jesus encountered, and demonic opposition in the forces of nature. All are manifestations of "cosmic evil." However, there is a clear exception. The muteness of Zechariah (Lk 1:18-20) is seen as an act of God, and such an illness (and subsequent healing [Lk 1:64]) stands out on its own in this Gospel. But this narrative also occurs in the first two chapters of Luke, which have their own special "Septuagintal" flavor. Not only is the language "Septuagintal," but so too are some of the theological ideas. So Zechariah and Elizabeth are "righteous before God, living blamelessly according to all the commandments and regulations of the Lord" (Lk 1:6). Prior to the coming of the Messiah, there is an openness to good works and piety. Perhaps there is also an "openness" to God making someone mute. Any work of the devil is somewhat veiled in Luke 1—2 (Lk 1:79; 2:34), but this changes in Luke 4 when the devil "steps out from behind the curtain for a direct confrontation with the one through whom God would manifest his redemptive will" (Green 1997, 192).

The general picture, therefore, is that as we move from Mark to Matthew and then to Luke, the distinction between exorcism and healing becomes less clear. But in all three Gospels there are cases where Jesus heals by an exorcism (see below on how this could possibly be understood).

It is striking that in the exorcisms by Jesus "ritual" plays virtually no part. In comparison with other "exorcists," Jesus refrained from using physical means to achieve an exorcism. Compare, for example, the exorcism (or, to be more precise, the "driving away" of the demon) achieved by burning the heart and liver of a fish in Tobit 8:2-3 (cf. Tob 6:6-7, 16-18a). There is also a report by Josephus of a "ring" being used in an exorcism (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.46-48). By comparison, there is a remarkable lack of ritual in Jesus' exorcisms. However, a "ritual" in the broadest sense could be said to be involved in the story of the Gerasene demoniac in that with the swine rushing down the cliff into the sea, "an unmistakable sign is

given that the exorcism has been effective" (Barrett, 56). Further, one could also say, with T. Klutz, that there is a "ritual of relocation and 'anti-rite' in Jesus' performance of exorcism" (Klutz, 144). He compares Luke 8:26-39 with Leviticus 16:1-34, the Yom Kippur ritual. On the one hand, there are similarities. Both texts concern an elimination rite or a "rite of relocation" (Klutz, 145). So the transfer of impure spirits to the pigs corresponds to the scapegoat carrying the sins of Israel into the desert (Lev 16:20-21). But, on the other hand, Klutz argues that there are also deep oppositions. For example, the scapegoat ritual serves the "collective interest" of atoning for the sins of the people Israel (Lev 16:15-22), whereas Jesus subordinates collective purity for the individual (Lk 8:35-39); further, the scapegoat ritual is "iterative," whereas Jesus' exorcisms are "eschatological, climactic and once-for-all." Jesus' exorcisms stood in a "partly countercultural and partly contracultural position vis-à-vis the Jewish ethnic subculture of Palestinian society" (Klutz, 144). Klutz believes that Jesus' specific (perhaps unique) views on ritual may add to the historicity of episodes like that of the Gerasene demoniac and suggests that Jesus was more critical of Jewish codes of impurity than some scholars have allowed. Therefore, even in this exorcism, which has ritual elements, Jesus' approach seems to be distinctive.

Another distinctive element is that generally Jesus does not lay on hands as Abraham does in *1QGenesis Apocryphon*, where Abraham (Abram) is reported to say, "So I prayed [for him] [i.e., the king of Egypt] and I laid my hands on his [head]; and the scourge departed from him and the evil [spirit] was expelled [from him], and he lived" (1QapGen XX, 28-29). Although generally Jesus does not lay on hands in exorcism, there are one or two possible exceptions that we know of. One is Luke 13:13: "When he laid his hands on her, immediately she stood up straight and began praising God" (NRSV). This, as noted above, probably is to be understood as an exorcism. Another possible exception is Luke 4:40-41. Although laying on of hands is related to healing (Lk 4:40), this healing, as we noted above, is integrally related to exorcism (Lk 4:41).

It sometimes has been argued that Jesus' exorcisms are rather unusual in that he does not usually "pray" in his exorcism activity. This is sometimes contrasted with the activity of Hanina ben Dosa in *b. Berakot* 34b. Here Hanina ben Dosa prays for Rabbi Gamaliel, who had fallen ill. Afterwards he explains, "If my prayer is fluent in my mouth, I know that he is accepted: but if not, I know that he is rejected."

Likewise, Hanina ben Dosa prays for the son of Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai. However, it should be noted that this healing and the previous one are not described as exorcisms. The contrast therefore between Jesus and Hanina ben Dosa is not as stark as some have seen it to be. This is especially so since Jesus himself in his “healings” sometimes does “pray.” A better contrast is between Jesus and the Abraham of *1QGenesis Apocryphon*, who prays for the king of Egypt (quoted above). It must also be pointed out that although Jesus does not usually “pray” in his exorcisms, his whole exorcism ministry is underpinned by an intense prayer life. In this connection, Mark 9:29 is of interest: “This kind can come out only through prayer” (NRSV). This suggests that prayer underpins his whole exorcism ministry rather than being used in that particular instance. In fact, in this exorcism (Mk 9:14-29) Jesus does not “pray” to cast out the spirit. The interpretation that the text is speaking of prayer life underpinning the exorcism appears to be held by later scribes who added “and fasting” (the best textual witnesses omit “and fasting” [N* B 0274]); hence, this later tradition is suggesting that just as prayer supports the ministry of exorcism, so does fasting.

A further difference between Jesus’ exorcisms and the few Jewish exorcisms that we know of is that Jesus does not use a powerful name as was typical of exorcisms (both Jewish and pagan). Neither does Jesus use the formula “I adjure you.” On the use of powerful names and the adjuration, see the *Paris Magical Papyrus*, lines 3018-3028 (but note that this is dated around A.D. 300): “After placing [the patient] opposite [to you], conjure [*horkize*]. This is the conjuration [*horkismos*]: ‘I conjure [*horkizō*] you by the god of the Hebrews, Jesus, IABA IAË ABRAÖTH AIA THÖTH ELE ELÖ AEÖ EOY IIBAECH ABARMAS IABARAO U ABELBEL LÖNA ABRA MAROIA BRAKION, who appears in fire, who is in the midst of land, snow, and fog, TANNËTIS; let your angel, the implacable, descend and let him assign the daimon flying around his form, which god formed in his holy paradise” (Betz, 96 [the capital letters indicate magical names that usually are untranslatable]). By contrast, in Jesus’ exorcisms there is simply a command: “I command you” (Mk 9:25). He does not use a powerful name; the power lies in his own “I.”

7. Historicity of the Exorcisms.

Six arguments can be advanced for the historicity of the exorcisms. First, it is unlikely that the early church fabricated exorcisms stories, since the narra-

tives belong to an early and primitive tradition. Note the very first exorcism in Mark (Mk 1:23-28), which contains an Aramaic idiom (lit., “a man in an unclean spirit” [Mk 1:23]) and an unusual messianic title (“the holy one of God” [Mk 1:24]). Second, Jesus’ opponents do not dispute that Jesus cast out demons; rather, they suggested that he casts out demons by the prince of demons (Mk 3:22-27 [// Mt 12:22-30; Lk 11:14-15, 17-23]). Already in Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 69.6-7) there is the tradition that Jesus was viewed as a sorcerer, a view found in late rabbinic tradition (*b. Sanh.* 43a). Third, Jesus’ name was used by others in exorcism (Lk 10:17; Acts 19:13), which suggests Jesus had a reputation as an exorcist. Fourth, there are exorcism sayings as well as stories (found in multiple sources). Fifth, if Jesus as an exorcist was a creation of the early church, we would expect forms that approximate those we know of from Jewish and Greco-Roman worlds. Two elements missing in Jesus’ recorded exorcisms are use of physical aids (cf. Tobit) and the use of a powerful name or formula (see 6 above, on the debate regarding prayer and laying on of hands). The only significant parallel to Jesus’ exorcisms is *b. Me’il.* 17b: in response to the demon that is believed to have entered the emperor’s daughter, Rabbi Simeon ben Yose (fourth-generation Tannaim) commands, “Ben Temalion, get out! Ben Temalion, get out!” Sixth, Jesus was the first to relate exorcisms to *eschatology (Mt 12:28). Jesus, in casting out demons, was casting out Satan himself (Lk 10:18).

The historicity of the exorcisms of Jesus appears to be widely established. However, some confusion reigns where scholars claim that Jesus cast out demons and yet do not believe that demons “exist” in any meaningful sense (on this, see Bell, 77).

8. Deliverance and Miracles.

Above, we noted a distinction between demonic possession and oppression. Whereas exorcism is required for the former, it is not required for the latter. A term that encompasses both is “deliverance.” Much literature assumes that deliverance from the devil is a subset of *miracles. However, deliverance could be a category that actually defines miracles themselves (“Miracle is the mighty act in which the one God confronts the demonic powers” [Heim, 190]). Since the Enlightenment, miracles often have been understood as “breaking/ changing a scientific law” (e.g., E. Andrews defines a miracle as “an event consequent upon a localized change in the laws of nature” [Andrews, 47]). However, “Nowhere in Scripture is the causal nexus

treated as the antithesis of miracle" (Heim, 189). In the Gospels it is not the power of laws of nature that is broken, but rather the power of the devil (as noted in Luz 2001, 57). Viewing "miracle" as an attack on the demonic not only is more faithful to the biblical tradition, but also brings together "healings," "exorcisms" and "nature miracles"; it also encompasses "providential acts" and "conversion" (Bell, 111-14). Healings are encompassed because illness generally is viewed as demonic in the Gospel tradition. Nature miracles such as the stilling of the storm are attacks on the demonic. The OT speaks of the threatening and chaotic forces of nature (e.g., 2 Sam 22:5), and there is the OT mythology of Leviathan and Rahab. The lives of Jesus and his disciples are threatened by the demonic forces of the wind and the waves (Mk 4:35-41). Jesus "rebukes" the wind (Mk 4:39; cf. Mk 1:25). It is significant that the stilling of the storm is followed by the story of the Gerasene demoniac.

9. The Devil in the Final Hours of Jesus.

In the hours leading up to Jesus' death there appears to be a concentration of demonic activity against Jesus, this activity being manifest principally in the human beings instrumental in killing Jesus.

Luke's Gospel is particularly graphic in this regard. His passion narrative begins by relating that "Satan entered Judas" (Lk 22:3), who then went away to plan Jesus' betrayal (Lk 22:4-6). In the *Last Supper narrative, Jesus tells Peter of how "Satan has demanded to sift all of you like wheat" (Lk 22:31 NRSV). The sense of this is not simply that Satan will test the faithfulness of the disciples as Satan did of Job (Job 1-2); rather, the emphasis is on Satan inciting the disciples. Jesus says that he has prayed for Peter so that his "faith may not fail." Yet we know that in the short term (Lk 22:34, 54-62) his faith did in fact fail (contrast Acts 2:14-42). The time of testing in Gethsemane is a diabolic assault (Lk 22:42-44), implied by Jesus' words to his inner circle: "Get up and pray that you may not come into the time of trial" (Lk 22:46). The gathering of satanic forces is again clear when Jesus says to those arresting him: "But this is your hour, and the power of darkness" (Lk 22:53). Judas and the temple leadership "share the bond of diabolic influence" (Green 1997, 785).

John in his own way portrays the demonic atmosphere in the betrayal of Jesus. The evangelist tells of how "Satan entered" Judas when he received the piece of bread (Jn 13:27) and ominously adds, when Judas leaves the assembled disciples, "And it was night" (Jn 13:30).

10. Demons and the Death of Jesus.

John makes it clear that the death of Jesus is to be seen as a "great exorcism" (Jn 12:31-32). The forces of evil gather against Jesus, but these forces are defeated.

The relation between the demons and the death of Jesus is not explicitly stated in the Synoptic Gospels; nevertheless, there is a clear theological theme running through the Gospels that requires some explanation. Here, Mark's Gospel will be the basis, but we will examine material from Matthew and Luke as well.

The exorcisms occupy the first part of Mark's Gospel, the first one occurring in Mark 1:21-28, the last one in Mark 9:14-29. If we consider healings as well, we find them limited also to this first half of the Gospel (the first in Mk 1:29-31, the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, and the last in Mk 10:46-52, the healing of Bartimaeus). But it would be a mistake to think that it was only in the first part of Mark's Gospel that Jesus was in conflict with demons. The fight runs throughout the entire Gospel: the temptations are an unsuccessful attempt to separate Jesus from his Father; in the cry of dereliction it appears that Satan has in fact achieved this (Mk 15:34 [// Mt 27:46; contrast Lk 23:46]). This is underlined by the darkness that appears "over the whole land" from noon until three in the afternoon (Mk 15:33 [// Mt 27:45; Lk 23:44]).

The darkness, representing demonic activity, is also reflected in human ignorance and confusion regarding the person of Jesus. This ignorance surfaces throughout the Gospel and reaches its climax in the events running up to the death of Jesus. This ignorance is demonically inspired. In this connection, one has to question the extent to which the various "christological" confessions of the demons (Jesus is "the Holy One of God" [Mk 1:24], "the Son of God" [Mk 3:11], "Son of the Most High God" [Mk 5:7]) are intelligent confessions. The so-called messianic secret in this case is not that the demons know Jesus' true identity as the Messiah (*see* Christ) and are commanded to be silent about this (Mk 1:34; 3:11-12); rather, in view of the fact that Jesus is a suffering Messiah (Mk 8:31; 9:30-32; 10:32-34) and redemption comes through his death (Mk 10:45; 14:22-24), their knowledge must be one of ignorance. Therefore, the command that the demons be silent is for the protection of human beings (Mittmann-Richert, 493). In contrast, the command to silence for the disciples or those he healed is for another purpose: to prevent a false understanding of Jesus' messiahship developing in the light of Jewish messianic expectations.

A striking example of the ignorance concerning Jesus' person and work is found in the center of

Mark's Gospel, in Jesus' rebuke to Peter: "Get behind me, Satan! For you are setting your mind not on divine things but on human things" (Mk 8:33 NRSV). Peter's ignorance anticipates the scorn poured upon Jesus (Mk 15:18, 32); these scorners, in calling on Jesus to save himself, are, like Peter, blinded by demonic powers (Mittmann-Richert, 490).

Satan, in separating Jesus from his father, achieves a Pyrrhic victory. For in Christ's death the blindness that has fallen upon human beings is lifted in a remarkable way. According to Mark 15:34, at the ninth hour Jesus cried out "with a loud cry" (*phōnē megalē*) the words of Psalm 22:1 in Aramaic ("My God, my God, why have you forsaken me"). In Mark 15:35-36 the bystanders misunderstand: they think that Jesus is calling for Elijah, and someone offers Jesus vinegar to drink. But the centurion does understand. In Mark 15:37, where Jesus "gave a loud cry [*phōnēn megalēn*] and breathed his last," the "cry" is not an unintelligible scream; rather, the content of the cry is that uttered in Mark 15:34, which is Psalm 22. In Mark 15:39 the centurion seeing that "in this way he breathed his last" (*houtōs exepneusen*), confesses, "Truly this man was the Son of God" (see Gese, 195-96). We do not know whether Jesus prayed just the opening line or the entire psalm, but it is highly significant that the end of the psalm points to the breaking in of the kingdom of God (Ps 22:28), to the deliverance of the righteous petitioner (Ps 22:20-23, 29b) and to the nations coming to God in repentance and adoration (e.g., "All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn to the LORD; and all the families of the nations shall worship before him" [Ps 22:27 NRSV]). According to Mark, then, the *blindness caused by the demons comes to an end as Jesus utters his final cry and looks to his deliverance from death, which is related to the breaking in of the kingdom of God.

11. Demons and the Resurrection of Jesus.

No explicit link is made in the Gospels between the *resurrection of Jesus and the defeat of the devil. However, if the death of Jesus is seen as a way of trapping the devil, Jesus' victory over death in his resurrection must be related to this defeat, if only implicitly. Further, there are some significant links made between resurrection and overcoming the demonic in Mark's fourth exorcism. Here we see a pattern of resurrection from death (Mk 9:26-27) and the faith-giving power of Jesus Christ (Mk 9:23-24) (Mittmann-Richert, 494). Significantly, this exorcism stands after the confession by Peter (Mk 8:27-33), which contains the themes of death, resurrec-

tion and faith and over against Jesus' rebuke to Peter that he understands virtually nothing about the Messiah's mission.

12. Questions of Interpretation.

Traditionally, the devil and demons have been viewed as "supernatural figures." But there are two possible problems with this. First, the distinction between nature and supernature is Aristotelian rather than biblical. Second, if God is also a "supernatural figure," then this categorization can lead to a God/devil dualism and can give the evil powers a dignity and status that they do not deserve.

An alternative approach is to view the devil and demons as mythological figures. This was the approach of R. Bultmann, but he went on to claim that modern persons no longer can believe in *angels or demonic beings (Bultmann, 5). However, we know that today many people do believe in angels and demons, and, conversely, there were those in the first century (e.g., *Sadducees) who did not believe in them. There is therefore no simple polarization between "primitive" ancient views and modern rationalistic views as Bultmann was trying to suggest.

Although Bultmann created some controversy regarding "myth," many still believe it is a helpful and indeed unavoidable term in coming to understand the theological significance of the devil and demons. The myth of the fall of humankind and the fall of angels (see Gen 3; 6:1-4; and also the development of these traditions in Hellenistic Judaism and Jewish apocalyptic) is a narrative that is inexchangeable. Myth is discovered, not invented, and its power lies in the way it can affect our human existence and access the deepest levels of the reality of the world.

But the myth of the devil and Jesus' victory over him can be received critically, and this can be seen in the various rationalistic understandings of the exorcisms of Jesus as simple psychosomatic cures (e.g., Dunn, 71). Alternatively, the myth of the devil bringing sin, illness and death into the world can be received positively. This is precisely what Jesus and the early Christians did, thereby enabling them to access levels of reality that are inaccessible to normal human reason and perception. Having accessed these deeper levels of reality, they were able by a word of command to effect a change in the world (exorcism, healing, stilling of the storm). Hence, there is a remarkable bridging of the world of "myth" and the world of "history."

Satan and demons can thereby be understood as "real" and "personal" but also as mythological fig-

ures; their reality depends on the fact that they are defeated by Jesus, the God-man, the most concrete of all realities, whose person spans the reality of the divine and the reality of the world in all its depths. Satan is defeated through Jesus' temptations, exorcisms, preaching and, ultimately, through his death and resurrection.

Understanding the devil in this way may help to make sense of the temptation narratives. Many interpreters have problems with these narratives because of the appearance of the devil and angels (Mk 1:13// Mt 4:11) and because of the physical implausibility of the second temptation (Jesus being taken to the "pinnacle" of the temple, even if "pinnacle" [*pterygion*] is understood as the "balcony" in the temple wall [Mt 4:5 // Lk 4:9]) or the impossibility of the third temptation (there is simply no mountain that can provide a view of the "kingdoms of the world" [Mt 4:8 // Lk 4:5]). One approach has been to understand this as a visionary experience that Jesus later narrated to his disciples (Origen, Theodore of Mopsuetia) or as a "legendary" or "mythological" story (Luz 1989, 191). Although there are "visionary" and "mythological" elements, neither view does full justice to the narrative or to the life of Jesus. Having fasted, Jesus was in a state of consciousness such that he was able to access deeper levels of reality where the usual categories of time and space no longer apply. Hence he is able to be taken to the "pinnacle" of the temple (according to rabbinic tradition, the highest point on the earth [*b. Qidd.* 69a]) or to be shown the "kingdoms of the world," even though in ordinary perception this is physically impossible.

In conclusion, a case can be made for demoting the devil from the realm of "supernature" to the realm of "the world." But the world in which we live is multi-layered, and it is in the deeper levels of the reality of the world that the spiritual battle takes place.

See also ANGELS; AUTHORITY AND POWER; DEATH OF JESUS; ESCHATOLOGY; GODS, GREEK AND ROMAN; HEALING; JUDGMENT; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; LIGHT AND DARKNESS; MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES; TEMPTATION OF JESUS.

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DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM. *See* JERUSALEM.

DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE. *See* TEMPLE; TEMPLE ACT.

DEVIL. *See* DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN.

DIALOGUES OF THE RISEN JESUS. *See* GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL.

DIONYSUS. *See* GODS, GRECO-ROMAN.

DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP

The first-century world displayed a variety of religious, philosophical and political leaders, all of whom had followers who were committed to their cause, teaching and beliefs. While several different terms designated these followers, *disciple* was one of the most commonly used, and *discipleship* referred to the process of growth and development as a disciple. These terms also became the most commonly used to designate the followers of Jesus, to the extent that in Jesus' Great Commission (Mt 28:19-20) the objective of the worldwide mission was to “make disciples” of all the nations.

This article focuses first on the unique nature of Jesus' disciples in comparison to other forms of disciples and discipleship in the ancient world. Then it compares the four Gospel records of Jesus and his disciples in order to appreciate the unique perspective of discipleship intended by each evangelist for his community.

1. Terminology and Concepts
2. Disciples of Jesus
3. Jesus' Unique Form of Discipleship
4. The Emphases of the Gospel Writers
5. Conclusion

1. Terminology and Concepts.

The English word *disciple* normally designates a “follower,” “adherent” or “student” of a great master, religious leader or teacher. In the ancient Jewish and Greco-Roman world *disciple* is the word used most commonly to translate the Greek word *mathētēs* and the Hebrew words *talmid* and *limmūd* (Wilkins 1988, chaps. 1-3).

1.1. Old Testament Background. “Disciple” ter-

minology is strikingly scarce in the OT, but other evidence points to master-disciple relationships within the national life of Israel. The single occurrence of *talmid* in the OT (*mathētēs* does not occur in the LXX) indicates a student or apprentice in musical instruction (1 Chron 25:8). The prophet Isaiah refers to the group gathered around him as “my disciples” (*limmūdāy* [Is 8:16]), and their relationship is characterized by an educational process accentuating speaking and listening (*limmūdīm* [Is 50:4]). The term *limmūdīm* was used to specify the “disciples” of Yahweh (Is 54:13), indicating that *limmūdīm* could be disciples of both Yahweh and a human master.

The existence of master-disciple relationships within the social structure of Israel is witnessed in and by the prophets associated with Samuel (1 Sam 19:20-24), the sons of the prophets associated with Elisha (2 Kings 4:1, 38; 9:1), the writing prophets Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer 36:32), Ezra and the scribal tradition (Ezra 7:6, 11) and the wise counselors within the wisdom tradition (Prov 22:17; 25:1; Jer 18:18). Each of these institutions was involved in the process of the communication of the revelation of Yahweh (prophecy, law, wisdom), and the suggested intimacy of the relationship indicates mutual support of master and disciple in the task of revealing the word of God to the nation.

However, a unique form of discipleship in the OT is most clearly seen as Israel is in relationship to God and as the people follow God: “I will walk among you and be your God, and you will be my people” (Lev 26:12). When the nation fulfills its commitment to the covenant, it is said to be following God (e.g., Deut 4:1-14; 1 Sam 12:14) and walking in his ways (e.g., Deut 10:12). The leaders of the people, such as Joshua (Num 32:12) and Caleb (Num 32:12; Josh 14:8, 9, 14), were evaluated by the criterion of whether or not they were following God and walking in his ways. David is the supreme example of the king whose life was characterized by following God: “my servant David, who kept my commands and followed me with all his heart, doing only what was right in my eyes” (1 Kings 14:8). The OT theme of God with his people prepares for Matthew's focus on Jesus as Emmanuel, “God with his people” (Mt 1:23), who would develop a following of disciples unique to his messianic status (Wilkins 1992, 51-69).

1.2. Greek-Speaking World. Discipleship was a common phenomenon in the ancient Mediterranean world. In the earliest classical Greek literature, *mathētēs* was used in three ways: (1) with a general sense of a “learner,” in morphological relation to the verb *manthanō*, “to learn” (e.g., Isocrates, *Panath.*

16.7); (2) with a technical sense of “adherent” to a great teacher, teaching or master (e.g., Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.6.3.4); (3) and with a more restricted sense of an “institutional pupil” of the Sophists (e.g., Demosthenes, *Lacr.* 35.41.7). Sophists such as Protagoras were among the first to establish an institutional relationship in which the master imparted virtue and knowledge to the disciple through a paid educational process.

Socrates and Plato objected to such a form of discipleship on epistemological grounds, instead advocating a relationship in which the master directs dialogue to draw out innate knowledge from his followers. Therefore, Plato records that Socrates (and those opposed to the Sophists) resisted using *mathētēs* for his followers in order to avoid Sophistic misassociations (Plato, *Soph.* 233.B.6-C.6). But he used the term freely to refer to “learners” (Plato, *Crat.* 428.B.4) and “adherents” (Plato, *Symp.* 197.B.1), where there was no danger of misunderstanding. Hippocrates likewise rejected charging fees for passing on medical knowledge, but he vowed in the famous Hippocratic oath that, in the same way his teachers and gods passed on the art of medicine to him, “By precept, lecture, and every other mode of instruction, I will impart a knowledge of the Art to my own sons, and those of my teachers, and to disciples.”

In the Hellenistic period at the time of Jesus, *mathētēs* continued to be used with general connotations of a “learner” (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 23.2.1.13, 26), but it was used more regularly to refer to an “adherent” (Dio Chrysostom, *Regn.* 1.38.6). The type of adherence was determined by the master, ranging from being the follower of a great thinker and master of the past like Socrates (Dio Chrysostom, *Hom.* 1.2), to being the pupil of a philosopher like Pythagoras (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 12.20.1.3), to being the devotee of a religious master like Epicurus (Plutarch, *Suav. viv.* 1100.A.6). The relationship assumed the development of a sustained commitment of the disciple to the master and to the master’s particular teaching or mission, and the relationship extended to imitation of the conduct of the master as it impacted the personal life of the disciple.

1.3. Judaism at the Time of Jesus. Within Judaism of the first century A.D. several different types of individuals were called “disciples,” using the essentially equivalent terms *mathētēs* and *talmid* (Wenthe). The terms designated adherents or followers who were committed to a recognized leader, teacher or movement. Relationships ran the spectrum from philosophical (Philo, *Sacr.* 7; 64; 79), to

technical (rabbinical scribes [*m. ’Abot* 1:1; *b. Šabb.* 31a), to sectarian (*Pharisees in Josephus, *Ant.* 13.289; 15.3, 370), to *revolutionary (Zealot-like nationalists in *Midr. Šir Haširim Zûta*). Apart from the disciples of Jesus, the Gospels present us with “disciples of the Pharisees” (e.g., Mt 22:15-16; Mk 2:18), who possibly belonged to one of the schools (cf. Acts 5:34; 22:3); “disciples of John the Baptist” (Mk 2:18), the courageous men and women who had left the status quo of Jewish society to follow the eschatological *prophet *John the Baptist; and the “disciples of Moses” (Jn 9:24-29), Jews who focused on their privileged position as those to whom God had revealed himself through *Moses.

The Pharisaic master-disciple relationship is the forerunner of the later talmudic rabbinic master-disciple relationships that evolved into a formal educational system for training rabbis that especially involved passing on the oral law (e.g., Neusner, 22-23). This is heard in a saying attributed to the Great Synagogue, which became a standard of Israel: “Be patient in [the administration of] justice, rear many disciples, and make a fence around the Torah” (*m. ’Abot* 1:1).

Jesus took a commonly occurring phenomenon—a master with disciples—and used it as an expression of the kind of relationship that he would develop with his followers, but he would mold and shape it to form a unique form of discipleship, far different than others. Some press too far the similarities between Jesus and other forms of master-discipleship relationships. For example, later rabbinic master-disciple relationships are sometimes too closely read back into Jesus’ relationship with his disciples (e.g., Neudecker). Jesus held scribal-literate authority, but it was not derived from formal education within the scribal/rabbinic traditions (see Keith, 189-92). There was a wide spectrum of other types of master-disciple relationships in existence that may have more relevance for understanding Jesus’ form (Hengel, 42-57). John the Baptist and his disciples appear more closely related to Jesus and his disciples than to the Pharisaic or later rabbinic system. But even in comparison to John and his disciples, Jesus developed a relationship with his disciples that was unique to his status as the messianic *Son of God, whose disciples would ultimately *worship him, an action reserved solely for God with his people (Mt 28:16-17).

2. Disciples of Jesus.

2.1. First Followers. From the beginning of his public ministry Jesus had followers. His first follow-

ers, according to the Johannine tradition, were originally disciples of John the Baptist. Since the Baptist's ministry prepared the way for Jesus, it is natural that some of John's disciples would make the transition to following Jesus. The first disciples of John to become followers of Jesus were Andrew and another unnamed disciple (possibly the apostle John). Andrew, convinced that Jesus was the Messiah (*see* Christ), brought his brother, Simon Peter, to Jesus. Philip, another person from the same hometown as Andrew and Peter, was next called by Jesus, and he in turn brought Nathanael to Jesus (Jn 1:35-49). These first followers were likely the "disciples" (Jn 2:2) who next traveled with Jesus to the wedding celebration at Cana, experienced the first miraculous sign, and believed in Jesus (Jn 2:11).

This early movement to follow Jesus gained momentum as the news of Jesus traveled through social relationships in a relatively localized area. Since Jesus focused his ministry in the *Galilee region, the early disciples were drawn from an existing network of relatives (e.g., brothers: Andrew and Simon Peter, John and James), business partners (e.g., Peter and Andrew were partners in the fishing industry with James and John [Lk 5:10]) and neighbors or acquaintances (most of the twelve disciples were from Capernaum and Bethsaida).

The Jesus movement accelerated rapidly. In the early stages of his ministry a great company of disciples attached themselves to Jesus (Lk 6:17; 10:1; Jn 6:60). Jesus appealed to the multitude of people, and a groundswell of followers came after him to become his disciples. But the early company of disciples was apparently a mixed sort. In John's Gospel there is a unique record of disciples who had followed Jesus for some period of time, but after a discourse by Jesus that they found particularly hard to accept, they left and no longer followed him (Jn 6:60-66). Apparently, they had followed Jesus because he was an exciting new *miracle-worker and *teacher (cf. Jn 2:23-25). They made some kind of a commitment to Jesus, but when his teaching did not conform to their expectations, they left him. They were only loosely attached to the movement (Wilkins 1992, chap. 6; Meier, chap. 25).

2.2. The Disciples and the Crowds. Two groups were in attendance for much of Jesus' ministry: the disciples and the "crowds," or "multitudes" (*hoi ochloi*) (Wilkins 1992, chap. 6; Meier, chap. 24) (*see* People, Crowd). The disciples were those who obeyed Jesus' call to follow him. They believed in Jesus as their master (Mk 1:16-20; cf. Lk 5:1-11) and committed themselves to his mission of establishing

the *kingdom of God and to the *salvation that he offered (Mt 19:16-29).

The crowds were those to whom Jesus continued to offer a call. The crowds were a neutral though curious group who were not attached in a serious way to Jesus. Although they followed Jesus (Mt 4:25), the crowds did not exhibit the twin prerequisites of discipleship: the cost of giving up their old lives and committing themselves to Jesus (e.g., Mk 8:34-38). They followed only in a physical sense, not in the true sense of devoting themselves to Jesus. They were the people of *Israel who were the object of Jesus' evangelistic ministry.

2.3. The Twelve. The four Gospels witness that in the ebb and flow of the popularity of the Jesus movement a core of twelve disciples were called by Jesus into a special relationship with him (McKnight; Wilkins 1992, chap. 8; Meier, chaps. 26-27) (*see* Apostle). Although the Twelve are disciples, examples of what it means to be a believer in Jesus, they also are designated as leaders among the disciples. Luke states that Jesus "called his disciples to him, and chose twelve of them" (Lk 6:13). The distinction between the general group of disciples and the specific group of the Twelve has to do with function or role, not status or worth. All disciples are equal with regard to their discipleship to Jesus, which speaks of their entrance into salvation and the kingdom of God. The role of the Twelve is also functionally oriented toward leadership. But this function did not elevate them to a higher status; calling to leadership is a calling to servanthood (Mk 10:45; Lk 22:24-30). The Twelve are examples of what Jesus accomplishes in believers, but they are also set apart as the leaders within this new movement (Nelson, 255-64).

2.4. The Twelve Disciples and Other Disciples. Mark gives evidence of disciples of Jesus outside the circle of the Twelve (Mk 3:13-15), and Matthew specifically speaks of them (Mt 8:19, 21) and alludes to a wider circle of disciples (Mt 10:24, 25, 42), even acknowledging through the verb *mathēteuō* that Joseph of Arimathea had "become a disciple of Jesus" (Mt 27:57). Luke indicates that Jesus chose the Twelve from among a much larger number of disciples (Lk 6:13-17), and John indicates that from the large group of disciples many abandoned their commitment to Jesus and left him (Jn 6:60-66).

"Following Jesus" is a technical expression for being his disciple. Some disciples physically followed Jesus around as disciples in his itinerant ministry (e.g., the Twelve), while a wider group of disciples followed Jesus in a more figurative sense. The latter was comprised of, among others, common

masses of people (Lk 6:13), a variety of men and women (Lk 8:2-3; 23:49, 55; 24:13, 18, 33), tax collectors (Lk 19:1-10), *scribes (Mt 8:18-21) and religious leaders (Mt 27:57; Jn 19:38-42). The difference between the Twelve and the broader group of disciples is the role to which they were called. The Twelve were called to be coworkers with Jesus, and leaving all to follow Jesus was a necessary sacrifice in order to join with him in the proclamation of the kingdom (Mt 10:1-15) and as a training time for their future role as apostles in the church (Mt 19:23-30).

2.5. The Women Who Followed Jesus. The Gospels and Acts give prominence to various *women who were disciples of Jesus (Meier, 73-80). These women were part of the wider group of disciples around him, but some of them physically accompanied Jesus during his itinerancy. On a preaching tour through Galilee Jesus had “with him” the Twelve and several women who had been healed by Jesus and who were now contributing to the support of Jesus and the Twelve (Lk 8:1-3). While parallels can be found for women supporting synagogues, rabbis and their disciples out of their own money, property or foodstuffs (e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 17.41-44; see Cohick, chaps. 5, 9), the wording indicates that these women were actual disciples of Jesus (Lk 8:19-21; cf. Mt 12:49-50). A great master with female disciples was an unusual occurrence in Palestine of the first century, yet these women exhibited the twin characteristics of Jesus’ disciples: they had given up their old lives and had committed themselves to Jesus (cf. Mk 8:34-38). This same group of women followed Jesus to *Jerusalem attended the crucifixion, and they were the first ones to arrive at the empty tomb (Mk 15:41, 47; 16:1; Lk 23:49, 55; 24:9).

Later, in the book of Acts, women had significant roles in the early church. Luke uses the feminine form of the word for disciple (*mathētria* [Acts 9:36]) in a casual way, indicating that women believers were commonly called “disciples.”

2.6. The Early Church. The term *mathētēs* is used regularly in Luke-Acts to designate persons who have placed their *faith in Jesus the Messiah. In Luke 6:13, 17 reference is made to a great multitude of disciples. These disciples of Jesus were convinced believers in Jesus’ messiahship and are set in contrast with the “great throng of people” (Lk 6:17), who were interested in Jesus but not committed to him. This can be compared with Luke’s usage of *mathētēs* in Acts, where he speaks of the multitude of “believers” (Acts 4:32) and the multitude of “disciples” (Acts 6:2). In Luke’s writings the expressions “those who believe” and “the disciples” signify the same group of

people (Acts 6:7; 9:26; 11:26; 14:21-22). As Acts records, by the time of the early church the term *disciple* had become synonymous with the true believer—all those who confessed Jesus as the Messiah, or, as they were first called at Antioch, “Christians” (*Christianoi* [Acts 11:26]).

3. Jesus’ Unique Form of Discipleship.

Jesus’ ministry of calling, training and sending out disciples stands as a captivating historical phenomenon. There have been numerous attempts at classifying his ministry according to other types of social/religious movements of the first century A.D. (e.g., as a wandering charismatic, Zealot brigand, *Cynic philosopher, Qumran/*Essene separatist, Jewish rabbi, *apocalyptic scribe, Israelite *prophet figure), which probably have revealed some authentic, parallel characteristics (e.g., Wenthe). On the surface, Jesus’ disciples appeared to be similar to other forms of Jewish disciples because he took a commonly occurring phenomenon—a master-disciple relationship—and used it as an expression of his kind of relationship with his followers. However, Jesus’ particular form of discipleship still defies classification according to other existing first-century A.D. paradigms. In the following ways Jesus developed a unique form of discipleship that was inaugurated with his announcement of the arrival of the kingdom of God and summoning men and women to be his followers.

3.1. Called by Jesus.

3.1.1. Responding to the Call to Kingdom Life. Jesus had many of the characteristics of a Jewish rabbi. He taught in their *synagogues and on the *Sabbath, he taught in accordance with Jewish customs, he was given respect due a teacher of the *law, his disciples followed him around, and he is even called “rabbi” (Mt 26:49; Mk 9:5; Jn 1:49). The apparent normal pattern in Israel was for a prospective disciple to approach a rabbi and ask to study with him. Joshua ben Perahyah said, “Provide yourself with a teacher and get you a fellow disciple” (*m. ’Abot* 1:6), which Gamaliel echoed: “Provide yourself with a teacher and remove yourself from doubt” (*m. ’Abot* 1:16 [cf. Mt 8:19]). Later rabbinic disciples followed their master around, often physically imitating the master’s teaching of Torah because imitating the master is imitating Moses’ imitation of God (Neusner, 7).

But as Jesus’ ministry unfolds, he begins to establish a form of discipleship that is unlike the rabbis. With Jesus, the initiative lay with his call (Mt 4:19; 9:9; Mk 1:17; 2:14; cf. Lk 5:10-11, 27-28) and his choice (Jn 15:16) of those who would be his disciples. The

response to the call involves recognition and belief in Jesus' identity (Jn 2:11; 6:68-69), obedience to his summons (Mk 1:18, 20), and counting the cost of full allegiance to him (Lk 14:25-28; Mt 19:23-30). His calling is the beginning of something new. It means losing one's old life (Mk 8:34-37; Lk 9:23-25) and finding new life in the family of God through obeying the will of the Father (Mt 12:46-50) (see Keener, 196-213).

3.1.2. Counting the Cost. In Jesus' lifetime the call to be a disciple meant counting the cost of allegiance to him; but this took various forms. The Twelve were called to leave all, including family, profession and property, and follow Jesus in his itinerant ministry. This was their training time for their future role in the early church (Mt 19:23-30). Apparently, others besides the Twelve were also called to this itinerancy (Lk 8:2-3; 23:49, 55; Jn 6:66). But while all disciples were called to count the cost of their allegiance (Mt 8:18-22; Lk 14:25-33), leaving everything and following Jesus around was not intended for all (e.g., Mk 5:18-19). Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea apparently became followers of Jesus sometime during his ministry (Jn 3:1-14; 19:38-42), yet presumably they remained within the religious establishment and retained their wealth. When demonstration of their faith and allegiance to Jesus was required, they came forward to claim the body of Jesus and provide for him a burial place (Mt 27:57-60).

3.1.3. Jesus Breaks Down Barriers of Status, Religion, Gender, Nationalism. Unlike some of the sectarians within Judaism, Jesus broke through the barriers that separated the *clean from the unclean, the obedient from the sinful. He summoned the fisherman as well as the tax collector and even a zealous revolutionary. He indicated that Jews and Gentiles would join him in the future kingdom banquet (Mt 8:10-12) (see Table Fellowship). Both men and women were his closest followers (e.g., Lk 8:1-3; 23:55). A decisive factor in his form of discipleship is that Jesus called to himself those who, in the eyes of sectarians, did not seem to enjoy the necessary qualifications for fellowship with him (Mt 9:9-13; Mk 2:13-17). In calling the despised to himself (Mt 9:9), in sitting down to a meal with tax collectors and *sinners (Mt 9:10), and in having women among his circle of disciples (Mt 12:49-50), Jesus demonstrates that they have been adopted into discipleship to him and fellowship with *God (Dunn, chap. 4).

3.2. Following Jesus. During Jesus' earthly ministry the disciple was to "follow" Jesus, an allegiance to his person that is regarded as the decisive act, whether it is a literal or figurative attachment.

3.2.1. Attachment to Jesus: A Disciple of Jesus Is

Always a Disciple of Jesus. Jewish disciples followed their master around, often literally imitating him. The goal of Jewish disciples was someday to become masters, or rabbis, themselves and to have their own disciples who would follow them. But Jesus' disciples were to remain disciples of their master and teacher and to follow him only (Mt 23:1-12). For Jesus, discipleship was not simply an academic or religious program. Discipleship was a life that began in relationship with him as master and moved into all areas of their experience. Even though his disciples were to be taught to obey all that Jesus commanded (Mt 28:20), and it is probable that they memorized much of his teaching and passed it on as the tradition of the church, the disciples were committed more to his person than to his teaching (Rengstorf, 447). Following Jesus means togetherness with him and service to him in his *mission.

3.2.2. Continuing to Count the Cost. Even as initially committing oneself to Jesus required the would-be disciple to count the cost, so following Jesus requires disciples to continue to count the cost (Mk 8:34). The disciples must daily deny themselves, take up the cross, and follow Jesus (Lk 9:23). It is possible for one not to be a true disciple while externally traveling with Jesus (e.g., Judas Iscariot). Therefore, the challenge is directed not only to the crowd, but also to the disciples (Mt 10:37-39; 16:24-26; Mk 8:34-9:1; Lk 9:23-27).

3.2.3. Becoming Like Jesus. Jesus declared that to be a disciple is to become like the master (Mt 10:24-25; Lk 6:40). Becoming like Jesus includes going out with the same message, ministry and compassion (Mt 10:5-42), practicing the same religious and social traditions (Mt 12:1-8; Mk 2:18-22), belonging to the same family of obedience (Mt 12:46-49), exercising the same servanthood (Mt 20:26-28; Mk 10:42-45; Jn 13:12-17), and experiencing the same suffering (Mt 10:16-25; Mk 10:38-39). This aspect of discipleship to Jesus prepares the way for the "transformation" language found prominently in the Pauline Epistles, as believers are transformed into the image of Christ (Rom 8:29; 2 Cor 3:18; Gal 4:19).

3.2.4. Growing in Discipleship. The evangelists unanimously testify to the imperfections of the disciples, both of the larger group and of the Twelve. But at the same time, they testify to the growth of the disciples. The evangelists give a realistic portrayal of good and bad traits in the disciples, yet they also show how Jesus taught them (Mk 4:10-12), corrected them (Mt 16:5-12), admonished them (Mt 17:19-20), supported them (Lk 22:31-34), comforted them (Jn 20:19-22), and restored them (Jn 21:15-19). In turn,

the disciples could become examples of what Jesus desires to do for the *church (Mt 28:19-20). All of those who truly believed were called “disciples” in Jesus’ day, and they are examples of how Christians today can and should grow in discipleship (Lunde).

3.3. Commissioned by Jesus. Jesus committed his earthly ministry to “making disciples” within Israel (Jn 4:1), and he commissioned his disciples to “make disciples” among the nations (Mt 28:16-20). The meaning of “making disciples” is to proclaim the gospel message among those who have not yet received forgiveness of sins, with the intent of them becoming Jesus’ disciple (cf. Lk 24:46-47; Jn 20:21). The command finds remarkable verbal fulfillment in the activities of the early church (e.g., Acts 14:21), where disciples went from Jerusalem to Judea, to Samaria, to the ends of the earth proclaiming the message of Jesus and making disciples (*see* Mission). In the early church, to believe in the gospel message was to become a disciple (cf. Acts 4:32 with Acts 6:2).

4. The Emphases of the Gospel Writers.

Each of the four Gospels presents the record of Jesus’ life from different perspectives. Each Gospel likewise offers different perspectives about his closest companions, his disciples. Each Gospel focuses on distinctive features that help us understand Jesus’ purpose in calling and training his disciples. Combined, the sketches of the disciples in each Gospel give us a well-rounded perspective of what Jesus intended discipleship to mean.

4.1. Matthew: Examples with a Commission.

Matthew views the disciples of Jesus from alternating perspectives that highlight his theological purposes. At times Matthew purposely projects a very positive picture of the disciples by including the term “disciples” when it is absent in the parallels (Mt 12:49), but at other times he includes the term in such a way that the disciples are singled out for negative associations not specified in the parallels (Mt 26:56). At times Matthew omits reference to the disciples sharing guilt with Peter (Mt 16:23), yet on other occasions they are singled out as sharing in his guilt (Mt 14:31). At times it appears that Matthew purposely carries forward the traditional association of the disciples with the apostolic title “the Twelve” (Mt 10:1), but on other occasions he implies a wider circle of disciples (Mt 8:21; 12:49-50; 27:55-57).

4.1.1. Understanding Jesus’ Teaching. Matthew has arranged his disciple material to accentuate Jesus as the teacher of his disciples. Each of the major discourses is primarily directed to the disciples (Mt 5:1; 10:1; 13:10, 36; 18:1; 23:1; 24:1-3), and teaching seg-

ments are often transformed into explicit discipleship-teaching pericopae by including the term “disciple” (Mt 8:21, 23; 9:27; 10:42; 12:49; 13:10; 15:23; 16:5; 17:6, 10; 18:1; 19:10; 21:20; 24:3; 26:8, 40, 45). On at least three occasions the teaching of Jesus leads to an explicit statement that the disciples understand (Mt 13:51; 16:12; 17:13), whereas Mark says that the disciples do not understand (Mk 6:52; 8:21; 9:10, 32). Some scholars take this contrast between the “understanding” of the disciples in Matthew and the “nonunderstanding” in Mark to mean that Matthew has idealized the disciples by omitting or toning down anything derogatory about them. On the contrary, although he does not focus on the disciples’ failure (e.g., Mt 8:25; 13:16; 14:23), Matthew explicitly tells of their deficient faith (Mt 14:31; 16:8, 22-23; 17:20) and does in fact present negative aspects of the disciples (e.g., Mt 26:8, 56). Jesus’ debriefings of the disciples highlight their continual nonunderstanding but also assure the reader that Jesus’ continual presence and teaching will be with the community to bring them into a more authentic discipleship (Brown; *contra* Luz, chap. 7).

4.1.2. Examples of Christian Existence. Matthew has not intended the disciples to be an idealistic paradigm. He shows both positive and negative traits. The positive aspect, which is especially present in the discipleship teachings, shows what will happen to true disciples who fully obey and follow Jesus. The negative traits show what can happen to disciples who do not identify with Jesus in his obedience to the will of the Father (e.g., they stumble [Mt 16:23], flee [Mt 26:56], fall asleep [Mt 26:40, 45], act in brash boldness [Mt 26:35]). Portrayed both positively and negatively (Mt 15:23; 16:5-12, 19; 17:6-7; 19:13-15), the disciples become examples of imperfect followers of Jesus who are taught to advance in their solidarity with Jesus. And, as an example for Matthew’s church, they become a very practical and realistic display of what it means to be called a “disciple” (Mt 28:16, 19).

4.1.3. With Jesus or Against Him. Three groups—Jesus’ disciples, the crowds, the Jewish leaders—provide a background for Matthew’s story of Jesus. The Jewish leaders are the antagonists, the ones who are against Jesus and who share responsibility with the Romans for Jesus’ crucifixion. The crowds are a basically neutral group who are the object of Jesus’ ministry of preaching, teaching and healing, but as a group they do not exercise faith in him. At first the crowds are amazed at Jesus’ teaching and miracles (Mt 7:28-29; 9:8), and they receive Jesus’ compassionate attention (Mt 9:35-38; 14:13-14), apparently

siding with Jesus. They went to him for healing (Mt 15:29-31) and teaching (Mt 5:28-29). But they increasingly demonstrate obduracy (cf. Mt 13:2-3, 10-17, 34-36), until at the end the Jewish leaders persuade the crowds to ask for the death of Jesus (Mt 27:15-25).

The disciples are Jesus' true followers, true believers. Only the disciples are "with" Jesus as his followers after the resurrection, including the women who are the first witnesses (see Love, 186-219). After his *resurrection Jesus sends the disciples to the nations to make disciples of them (Mt 28:16-20).

4.1.4. Simon Peter. Since the disciples function in Matthew's Gospel as an example, both positive and negative, of what it means to be a disciple, the portrait of Simon Peter in Matthew's Gospel provides a personalized example of discipleship for Matthew's church. Most of the time Matthew presents the disciples as a nameless, faceless, collective unity. Peter stands out in sharp relief against this backdrop of anonymity, being the only named disciple to become the focus of special attention. He functions as an example much like the disciples do as a group. In his strengths and in his weaknesses he can be an example to Matthew's church; so Matthew accentuates the truly human element in Peter. The church would find much in common with Peter's typically human characteristics. In his likeness to ordinary believers, with their highs and lows, he provides a means for instructing the church in the path of discipleship.

Peter likewise serves this function for the leaders of Matthew's church. In his success and failure as a leader Peter provides an instructive case study for the leadership of Matthew's church. In several instances the questions and responses that Peter voices to Jesus on behalf of the disciples were issues that still spoke to the church of Matthew's day (e.g., Mt 15:15; 17:24-25; 18:21). As Jesus instructs Peter, instruction is provided for the church and its leaders. Peter will have a foundational role in establishing the church, but the focus is still on Jesus, who says, "I will build my church" (Mt 16:18). As Jesus had called Peter, corrected him and instructed him, so Jesus would with the church (Wilkins 1992, chap. 5; Meier, 221-45; more broadly on Peter, see Wiarda).

4.1.5. Commissioned to Make Disciples. Matthew concludes his Gospel with Jesus' commission to "make disciples" among the nations (Mt 28:18-20). The injunction is given at least to the eleven remaining disciples (Mt 28:16-17), and as he commands them to "make disciples of all the nations," Jesus is telling them to continue the disciple-making that he began with them.

The imperative "make disciples" (*mathēteusate*)

implies both the call to discipleship and the process of growth in discipleship. Even as men and women are called from among the nations to start life as a disciple, they must in turn follow Jesus through baptism and through obedience to his teaching. The participles "baptizing" (*baptizontes*) and "teaching" (*didaskontes*) describe activities through which the new disciple grows in discipleship. Growth in discipleship includes both identification with Jesus' death and resurrection (baptism) and obedience to all that Jesus had commanded the disciples in his earthly ministry (teaching them to obey all Jesus commanded).

Jesus concludes the commission with the crucial element of discipleship: the presence of their master ("And behold I am with you always, to the end of the age" [Mt 28:20]). As the new disciple is baptized and taught to obey all that Jesus commanded, Jesus is present. Those obeying the command are comforted by the awareness that the risen Jesus will continue to transform all his disciples. Jesus, the master, is always present for his disciples to follow.

4.1.6. A Manual on Discipleship. Matthew's Gospel is, at least in part, a manual on discipleship. In the process of handing on his tradition concerning the disciples, Matthew exalts Jesus as the supreme *Lord and teacher of the historical disciples and the postresurrection community. Although the disciples are susceptible to incomprehension (as in Mark), Matthew emphasizes that Jesus' teaching could bring understanding if they would only obey. Several factors point to Matthew's intention to provide in his Gospel resources for discipleship: (1) the major discourses are directed at least in part to the disciples (Mt 5:1-2; 10:1-2; 13:10; 18:1; 23:1-3); (2) most of the sayings directed to the disciples are in fact teaching on discipleship; (3) the disciples are portrayed primarily in a positive yet realistic light; and (4) the disciples are called, trained and commissioned to carry out their climactic mandate to "make disciples" (Mt 28:19). The goal of the believer's life of faith is made clear, and the disciple is equipped to make more disciples.

4.2. Mark: Servants of the Redemptive Servant.

4.2.1. Conflicting Profiles. Mark reveals conflicting profiles of the disciples, which leads to his portrait of them being perhaps the most ambiguous among the Gospel accounts (see Henderson, 3-27; Wilkins 2004, 51-53). On the one hand, the disciples receive a positive portrayal when they are introduced as being specially selected and commissioned with *authority by Jesus (Mk 1:16-20; 3:13-19a) to hear the secrets of the kingdom (Mk 4:10-12) and to

promote his ministry (Mk 3:14-15; 6:7-13, 35). Empowered by Jesus for ministry in Israel, the disciples do as Jesus does: they preach, they *heal, and they exorcise *demons.

On the other hand, the disciples are painted in unflattering colors when, despite their enlightenment and empowerment, they are shown to be uncomprehending. They do not understand Jesus' parabolic teaching (Mk 4:13; 7:17-18), do not grasp Jesus' true identity as the *Son of God who calms the seas (Mk 4:35-41; 6:45-52), and do not perceive Jesus' potential to feed the multitudes miraculously (Mk 6:34-44; 8:1-10). More critically, the disciples do not truly comprehend the nature of Jesus' ministry or teaching (Mk 8:14-21), which in essence involves the way to the cross (Mk 8:31-33; 9:30-32) through servanthood (Mk 10:32-45). This incomprehension eventually leads Judas to betray Jesus (Mk 14:43-46), the disciples to forsake him (Mk 14:50) and Peter to deny him (Mk 14:54, 66-72). At the empty tomb "only three women represent a scant minority of faithful followers" (Henderson, 248).

4.2.2. *Thinking the Things of God.* Although Mark has high regard for the disciples, he uses their failures to instruct his community (Best, 15-16). Thus, Mark deals with a fact of history: during Jesus' earthly life the disciples did not completely understand him. Mark uses the historical disciples to show his readers how difficult it is to grasp the mystery of Jesus and the cross. Through the development of his plot, Mark contrasts two fundamentally opposing points of view concerning his gospel message: "thinking the things of God" and "thinking the things of humankind" (cf. Mk 8:33). The disciples' response to Jesus is a major portion of the plot. They had been specially called to follow Jesus and respond to him as the one effectively proclaiming the "gospel of God" (Mk 1:14). They were given the mystery of the kingdom; they experienced in their own lives God's redeeming activity. Privy to special instruction, they were even empowered to act in Jesus' name to preach the *gospel, to heal, to exorcise, and to teach. Yet they misunderstood. They became confused and afraid. When adversity set in, the disciples reflected unbelief and hardness of heart. This confusion ate away at their fundamental perception of who Jesus was, as well as the implications of Jesus' identity for the life of discipleship (Guelich, 434). However, the resurrection scene provides fulfillment of Jesus' predictions (Mk 9:9; 14:28) and obligates the reader to project reconciliation of the disciples and Peter with Jesus, since they will see him in Galilee, just as he told them (Mk 16:7). The summons to

Galilee provides the assurance that Peter and the disciples, in spite of denying and forsaking Jesus, have not been rejected by the risen Lord. They must continue to think the things of God (Hooker, 11-28).

4.2.3. *Greatness of Servanthood.* Although Jesus has come as God's promised, Spirit-anointed, royal Son to herald and inaugurate the kingdom, Mark writes to correct those who would look to the *glory of the final consummation of the kingdom instead of its vulnerable beginnings. The kingdom is here in hidden fashion, and Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God (Mk 1:1), must be understood in terms of suffering and the cross (Mk 8:31-33; 9:30-32; 10:32-34). The pivotal pronouncement of servanthood in Mark 10:45 declares the essence of Jesus' ministry (see Servant of Yahweh). By comprehending this, the disciples will grasp the essence of discipleship as servanthood, including their motivation, position, ambition, expectations and example (cf. Mk 9:33-37; 10:35-45 within the larger discipleship section of Mk 8:27-10:45). The disciple who is privileged to be a member of Jesus' kingdom is a servant, which means thinking God's thoughts (Mk 8:31-33), pursuing the life of the cross (Mk 8:34-38) through the message (Mk 9:1-8) and example of Jesus (Mk 9:9-32), and thus rejecting status (Mk 9:33-37), exclusivism (Mk 9:38-10:16) and the treasures of this world (Mk 10:17-31). The disciples in Mark's Gospel are privileged members of the kingdom of God, and their incomprehension comes from their worldly expectations. Discipleship instruction directs them to think God's way, the way of suffering and the cross through servanthood. As the unique master of his disciples, Jesus provides the true paradigm of discipleship. L. Hurtado says it well, "Mark makes Jesus the only adequate model of discipleship" (Hurtado, 25 [see also Danove]).

4.3. *Luke: Followers on the Costly Way.* Detecting the Lukan understanding of discipleship requires taking into consideration literary usage in both the Gospel and Acts, as well as comparing Luke's Gospel with the other Synoptics.

4.3.1. *Lukan Distinctives.* The use of the term "disciple" in Luke's Gospel foreshadows the use in Acts. The great multitude of disciples in Luke 6:13, 17 is distinguished from the "great throng of people" (Lk 6:17). In contrast to the crowds, who could be termed "the curious," the disciples are convinced believers in Jesus. In Acts "disciple" (Acts 6:1-2, 7; 9:10, 26; 11:26; 14:21-22; 15:10; 16:1) is used as a synonym for "believers" in Christ (cf. "believers" [Acts 4:32]; "disciples" [Acts 6:2]). Disciples are all those who confess Jesus as the Messiah. The term is employed as a

synonym for “Christians” (Acts 11:26; 26:28), “saints” (Acts 9:13, 32, 41) and “Nazarenes” (Acts 24:5).

The picture of the disciples in Luke’s Gospel bears many similarities to those found in Matthew and Mark, but differences occur as well. The most notable differences are (1) the accounts of the calling of Jesus’ first followers (Lk 5:1-11; cf. Mt 4:18-22; Mk 2:16-18); (2) mention of a large number of disciples never encountered in Matthew or Mark (Lk 6:13, 17, 19; 19:37-39); (3) Jesus sending out not only the Twelve (Lk 9:1-6; cf. Mk 6:6b-13; Mt 10:1-15) but also seventy(-two) others (Lk 10:1-16); (4) a preaching tour through Galilee during which Jesus had “with him” not only the Twelve but also several women followers whom he had healed and who were now contributing to support him and the Twelve (Lk 8:1-3); (5) the scandal of Peter’s denials being somewhat tempered by Jesus’ *prayer for Peter and the hint of his future role of strengthening the other disciples (Lk 22:31-32); (6) omission of the devastating statement that all the disciples left Jesus and fled at the betrayal scene at *Gethsemane (Lk 22:53-54; cf. Mt 26:56; Mk 14:50); (7) his inclusion of a statement about a group of men who knew Jesus and were with the women from Galilee at the crucifixion (Lk 23:49; *pantes hoi gnōstoi* [masc. pl.]; cf. Mt 27:55-56; Mk 15:40-41) (see Fitzmyer, 117-45).

4.3.2. *Followers on the Way.* “Following Jesus” is a synonymous expression for discipleship, but Luke has a unique depiction of that phenomenon: the disciples of Jesus are followers on “the way.” For Luke, salvation itself is “the way” (*hē hodos*), a pattern of life revealed by God. This idea of salvation as “the way” leads in Acts to calling the Christian community “the Way” (Acts 9:2; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22), an early designation or title for the organized community of disciples, which eventually is known as “the church.” Thus, disciples must enter into and stride along that way in the footsteps of the master.

4.3.3. *Entrance to the Way.* Both in his Gospel and Acts, Luke emphasizes that entrance into the way of salvation and discipleship is found through faith (Lk 7:50; 8:48; 17:19; cf. Acts 10:43; 13:38-39; 16:31). More so than the other evangelists, Luke stresses that true faith is characterized by “counting the cost,” both positively and negatively, of what the life of discipleship entails. To count the cost negatively means to recognize that one enters into the life of discipleship through detachment from all other allegiances and through giving total allegiance to Jesus as master. A key passage is Luke 14:25-33, where Jesus addresses the crowds about the conditions of entrance into discipleship. The crowds have not yet begun to fol-

low Jesus, and before they make a commitment, Jesus tells them that they must count the cost. Nothing else may preempt the disciple’s focus of allegiance on Jesus: not family (Lk 14:26), not one’s own life (Lk 14:27), not anything at all (Lk 14:33). Entrance into the way of discipleship means entering the narrow gate to salvation (Lk 13:22-30) to follow after Jesus alone (Lk 9:23; 14:27).

To count the cost positively means to recognize that *love for God—undivided loyalty to him—is at the center of faith. A key passage is Luke 10:25-37, where a lawyer came to Jesus asking about obtaining eternal life. The lawyer rightly understood that in order to obtain eternal life one’s heart, soul, mind and strength must be focused on loving God, and that the practical demonstration of love for God is to love one’s neighbor as oneself. Counting the cost in the positive sense means to recognize that love for God and neighbor is the evidence that one has made unqualified commitment to Jesus and his way.

4.3.4. *Traveling along the Way.* Discipleship begins with entering the way of salvation, and it advances as one travels along “the way.” Luke specifies that self-denial, taking up the cross, and following Jesus characterize not only entrance into the way but also life on the way. With the addition of “each day” to the cross-bearing proclamation, the Lukan Jesus calls for daily self-denial, daily bearing one’s cross and daily following in the footsteps of the master (Lk 9:23; cf. Mk 8:34). Life on the way involves being doers of the word (Lk 11:27-28), because not all who are walking on the way truly belong on the way. Public statements of commitment must be judged by the fruit of one’s life (Lk 6:43-49; 19:11-27). That fruit consists, at least in part, in loving and doing good to others (Lk 6:17-36), proper stewardship of material possessions (Lk 6:35; 8:3), servanthood (Lk 22:24-30), prayer (Lk 10:2; 11:1; 18:1-8) and testimony to the way (Lk 9:1-6; 10:1-12, 17-20; 12:8-12; 14:23-24; 24:44-49).

When understood within the context of the first-century A.D. social and religious setting, these demands allow us to see that Jesus was calling for a distinct form of discipleship. Becoming Jesus’ disciple was not a vocational change, or a political attachment, or even a new stirring of God; it was to face the eternal decision of whether one would follow Jesus as the way to eternal life. Any other attachment, whether familial or religious or economic, was the substitution of another master for Jesus.

4.4. *John: Believers Marked by Jesus.* Despite employing differing methodologies, there is a general agreement among scholars concerning three

fundamental aspects of discipleship from the Johannine perspective (Segovia, 90-92; see also Chen-nattu, 1-22).

4.4.1. Recognition and Belief. Three points are to be made here. First, the central characteristic of the disciple is belief or acceptance of Jesus' claims vis-à-vis the Father. The disciples, particularly the Twelve (Jn 6:67, 70; 13:18; 15:16, 19; cf. Jn 6:64, 66), are characteristically those who from the beginning recognize, acclaim, and believe Jesus for who he is (Jn 1:41, 45, 49; 6:69; 13:13; 20:28-31; 21:7, 12b; cf. Jn 20:31). After the first of Jesus' signs and the manifestation of his glory, his disciples believed in him. This kind of belief differs in quality from the belief of others who observe his miraculous signs in Jerusalem. Jesus regards their belief as deficient and does not entrust himself to them (Jn 2:23-25).

Second, belief is portrayed as necessitating and undergoing a process of gradual understanding and perception. The disciples lack complete understanding of "the hour" of Jesus' ministry (Jn 2:21-22; 4:27, 33; 6:60; 9:2; 10:6; 11:8, 11-15; 12:16; 13:36; 14:5, 8, 22; 16:17-18), but through Jesus' ministry and teaching (Jn 6:67-71; 9:2-7; 11:5-45), the resurrection appearances (Jn 20:8-10, 17-18, 19-21) and the reception of the Spirit (Jn 20:19-23) the disciples finally comprehend Jesus' full status as "Lord and God" (Jn 20:28).

Third, a sustained and deliberate contrast is drawn between believers and unbelievers, between disciples and nondisciples. The nondisciple, the unbeliever, is a part of the unbelieving "world." Although by definition the category "world" includes anyone who rejects Jesus' claims, that category becomes practically synonymous with "the Jews" as people and leaders who oppose Jesus, which gives rise to a very specific contrast between the believing disciples and the unbelieving Jews (Jn 1:10-11; 3:19; 7:4, 7; 8:23; 12:31; 14:17, 19, 22, 27, 30, 31; 18:36).

4.4.2. Deficient Belief. After a discourse that many of his disciples find particularly hard to accept (Jn 6:60), Jesus condemns those disciples for their unbelief (Jn 6:64). These disciples apparently are following Jesus because he was an exciting new miracle-worker and teacher, and, as in John 2:23-25, Jesus recognizes the deficiency of their belief. They have made some kind of a commitment to Jesus, but when his teaching does not conform to their expectations, they leave him (Jn 6:66).

4.4.3. Marks of Belief. Once this group of Jesus' disciples turns away, Jesus inquires whether the Twelve also want to leave. Simon Peter steps forward to give a clear statement of what it means for the Twelve to follow Jesus: "Lord, to whom shall we go?

You have the words of eternal life. We believe and know that you are the Holy One of God" (Jn 6:68-69). To believe is to be convinced of Jesus' identity and the truth of his words. From this point on in John's Gospel the word "disciple" is used only of those who profess to believe on Jesus for eternal life. Further, John records three sayings of Jesus that test the reality of the belief of disciples. Inner belief will cause such a radical change that the external life will bear evidence of that belief.

The first mark of the true disciple is to "remain" (*menō*) in Jesus and in his words (e.g., Jn 6:56; 8:31; 15:4) (see Abiding). Although certain Jews believe in Jesus, the ensuing context indicates the nature of their belief: they need to be set free from sin (cf. Jn 8:32 with Jn 8:33-36), they are seeking to kill him (Jn 8:37), their Father is the devil (Jn 8:42-44), they are not of God (Jn 8:47), and they try to stone Jesus (Jn 8:59). These Jews have deficient faith, similar to those who believed deficiently in John 2:23-25. True discipleship, true belief, will be evidenced by remaining in Jesus' words. This means passing beyond mere curiosity and becoming convinced of the truth of Jesus' words for the meaning and purpose of life (cf. Jn 6:66-69). The evidence of true belief is seen in disciples who cling to Jesus' word as the truth for every area of life. True disciples are freed through Jesus' liberating word from bondage to sin.

Love for each other, as Jesus has loved them, is the second identifying mark of the true disciple-believer (Jn 13:34-35; cf. Jn 15:12-17). The love of disciples for each other shows that they are Jesus' disciples and do not belong the world of humanity. Since the contrast is between the world and disciples, all disciples are included. Love is not proof of superior commitment; love of other disciples is evidence that one is a believer.

The third mark of the disciple is a life that bears fruit (Jn 15:8). The true disciple-believer will bear fruit of new life and mission because true transformation of life is in the branch (see Köstenberger, 184-85). The unbeliever will not bear fruit, for branches that have no life cannot bear fruit. Eventually, branches that do not bear fruit will be broken off and cast into the fire (Jn 15:6)—a picture consistent with other portrayals of the final destiny of unbelievers.

5. Conclusion.

Jesus took a commonly occurring phenomenon in the ancient world—the master-disciple relationship—and in the course of his ministry refashioned it to express his kind of discipleship. For discipleship to be understood and practiced most clearly, the

view of Jesus with his disciples from the Gospels must come first as we attempt to apprehend what it is like for discipleship today: living a fully human life in this world in union with Jesus Christ and growing in conformity to his image (Wilkins 1992, 41-42).

See also APOSTLE; BELOVED DISCIPLE; FAMILY; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; MISSION; PEOPLE, CROWD; SLAVE, SERVANT; WOMEN.

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DISEASE. See HEALING.

DIVINE MAN. See MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES.

DIVINE SONSHIP. See SON OF GOD.

DIVORCE

The teaching on divorce in the Gospels has been subject to a wide range of interpretations because of difficulties with terminology, abbreviation, apparent contradictions with Pauline traditions, and changing pastoral realities. Recent scholarship has only partly resolved these issues. Various interpretations exist, with varying degrees of acceptance in church and scholarly communities. The Jewish context has

recently been better understood and has given support to some of these interpretations.

Each of the Synoptic Gospels has a different presentation of material that is clearly related. Mark 10:2-12; Matthew 19:3-9 record a debate with Pharisees, to which Matthew adds a discussion with the disciples (Mt 19:10-12), and a summary of Jesus' conclusion is presented in Matthew 5:32; Luke 16:18. Much of the difficulty with these passages centers on the additional phrases found in Matthew but not in Mark or Luke. In Matthew, Jesus is asked about divorce "for any cause" (*kata pasan aitian*) (Mt 19:3), and he replies concerning divorce "except for sexual immorality [*porneia*]" (Mt 5:32; 19:9). Another difficult phrase occurs, with small variations, in all the accounts: "whoever divorces and marries another commits adultery [*moicheia*]."

1. Context of the Debate
2. Jesus' Debate with the Pharisees
3. The Exception Clause
4. Jesus' Saying about Consequent Adultery

1. Context of the Debate.

1.1. Exodus 21:10. Jewish divorce law was based on Deuteronomy 24:1; Exodus 21:10-11. There was very little debate concerning the Exodus passage, which was understood as marriage obligations to provide "food, clothing and love." It is cited in early marriage certificates (e.g., "I owe you . . . the due amount of your food and your clothes and your bed" [5/6Hev 10 (A.D. 126)]). First-century A.D. rabbis agreed that neglect of these constituted grounds for a divorce, but they debated how much food and clothing was enough, and how often conjugal activity had to occur before divorce proceedings started (*m. Ketub.* 5:5-8). Both men and women could get a divorce on these grounds. In theory, women had to ask a court to compel their husbands to divorce them (*m. 'Arak.* 5:6), but in practice, some women wrote out the divorce certificate (one has survived: XHev/Se 13).

1.2. Deuteronomy 24:1. The divorce law of Deuteronomy 24:1 was debated in great detail, with regard to giving a divorce certificate, the wording of a divorce certificate, and the ground(s) for divorce in this passage. There was general agreement that this passage mandated the giving of a divorce certificate by the man to the woman, and that the ground(s) for divorce in this passage could only be used by men. There was also general agreement that "indecency" (*'erwâ* [lit., "nakedness"]) referred to "adultery"; this is never stated, but it is the assumption underlying all rabbinic discussions of the text (e.g., *m. Soṭah*

6:3). However, during the first half of the first century A.D. there was considerable debate among Pharisees concerning what else could be included within the phrase "a cause of indecency."

1.3. Hillelites and Shammaites. Since about 1850, every academic commentary has acknowledged that behind Jesus' debate with the Pharisees lies this internal Pharisaic debate that is recorded in various collections of *rabbinic traditions. The Hillelite school argued that the phrase "a cause of indecency" (Deut 24:1) referred to two grounds for divorce: "indecency" (i.e., adultery) and "a cause," which they interpreted as "any cause." The Shammaite school (who disagreed with the Hillelites on hundreds of other issues) said that "a cause of indecency" was a single phrase with a single meaning: it referred to "nothing except indecency" (i.e., adultery).

Both the earliest halakic (legal) record of this dispute and the earliest record in a haggadic (homiletic) collection contain features that are mirrored in Jesus' debate as recorded in Matthew's account (see 1.4 below). Both accounts quote Deuteronomy 24:1 with the two opposing interpretations, but they record a different pair of slogans (underlined below) by which the two schools summarized their positions: "The School of Shammai says: A man should not divorce his wife unless he found in her a cause of indecency [*debar 'erwâ*], as it is said: *For he finds in her indecency of a cause* [*'erwat dabar*]. And the School of Hillel says: Even if she spoiled his dish, since it says *For he finds in her indecency of a cause* [*'erwat dabar*]" (*m. Giṭ* 9:10). "The School of Shammai says: A man should not divorce his wife except if he found indecency [*'aḥa 'im . . . 'erwâ*] in her, since it says *For he found in her indecency of a cause*. And the School of Hillel says: Even if she spoiled his dish, since it says [*a*] cause [*debar*]" (*Sipre Deut.* 269).

In Mishnah's record of this debate the Shammaites reverse the order of the Hebrew words to make it clearer that the phrase refers to a single thing ("a cause of indecency"), and in the *Sipre* they add that this phrase does not include any divorce "except for indecency." The Hillelites' response to the second is a single word of Scripture, "a cause," and the accompanying example shows that they interpret this to mean "any cause."

1.4. Additional Phrases in Matthew. The two additional phrases in Matthew, "for any cause" and "except for indecency," appear to be Greek translations of the summary slogans for the schools of Hillel and Shammai respectively, as recorded in the *Sipre*. The Shammaite summary in Mishnah is perhaps also found in Matthew 5, where the addition of *logos* mir-

rors the wording of the Shammaite phrase “except for a cause of indecency” (*parektos logou porneias*).

The new Hillelite ground for divorce that Hillelites called “any cause” is also referred to by both Philo and Josephus, though there was no standard Greek translation for this legal term: “Another commandment is that if a woman after parting from her husband for any cause whatever [*kath’ hēn an tychē prophasin*] marries another and then again becomes a widow, whether this second husband is alive or dead, she must not return to her first husband [Deut 24:1]” (Philo, *Spec.* 3.30); “He who desires to be divorced from the wife who is living with him, for whatsoever cause [*kath’ hasdēpotoun aitias*] (and with mortals many such may arise), must certify in writing” (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.253).

The Hillelite divorce for “any cause” gained popularity very quickly, and the debate about whether or not it was legal was soon over. It probably ended even before the demise of the Shammaites at A.D. 70. By the mid-second century A.D., the Shammaite opinion was so archaic that it was already misunderstood. Some rabbis thought that Shammaites allowed divorce only for adultery (*y. Soṭah* 1:1 [1a]), because divorces for the other grounds (neglect of food, clothing and conjugal rights in Ex 21:10) had become disused, having been replaced by divorce for “any cause.” The “any cause” divorce gained popularity probably because it did not require a court appearance or proof for the grounds for divorce, which was embarrassing for both parties. Even though the “any cause” divorce could be used only by men (because Deut 24:1 concerns only men), women might be in favor of it because it allowed them to keep their *ketubah* dowry.

2. Jesus’ Debate with the Pharisees.

The reason for the absence of these key phrases from the accounts in Mark and Luke is debatable. Perhaps Matthew added them in order to make Jesus’ teaching fit into a Jewish milieu, or perhaps Mark and Luke omitted them to fit into a Gentile setting. It is simpler to assume that Matthew added them, perhaps to change the meaning of the debate, or perhaps to help his readers, because he was writing after the public debate had finished, and his readers may have forgotten the terms of this debate. Such questions are complicated by some uncertainty regarding the order and interdependence of the Gospels (see Synoptic Problem). The following analysis will assume that the Matthew account relied on Mark.

2.1. Matthew Defines the Question. It is likely that the phrases added by Matthew were missing from the original summary of this debate in Mark.

But this does not mean that Matthew’s additions obscured Jesus’ original meaning. The question, as it stands in Mark, makes little sense, because the only logical response to “Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife?” is to say, “Yes, the law allows him to divorce.” However, because the “any cause” divorce was being debated at the time, the question makes better sense if “for any cause” is implicitly understood. A modern-day equivalent is the question “Is it lawful for sixteen-year-olds to drink?” The only logical answer is “Yes, or else they will die of thirst.” But anyone asked this question today would mentally add the words “alcoholic beverages” because that is the question in current debate.

2.2. Matthew Changes the Order. Matthew also adds (or restores) a logical progression to the debate by changing the order of events. The debate opens in both Matthew and Mark with Jesus being asked about divorce. Mark inserts here the matter of “hard-heartedness,” but Matthew delays it. Jesus replied, in both, with a digression about marriage in which he emphasized that it should be monogamous and lifelong (Mt 19:4-6 // Mk 10:6-9). Jesus argued for monogamy by using a standard set of proof texts (the same introduction, reasoning and proof texts are used in CD-A IV, 20—V, 6) and by adding to Genesis 2:24 the word “two” (which is found in all ancient translations, but in no Hebrew manuscripts). Jesus then adds, on the basis of these same proof texts, that God joins people in marriage, so no one should break up that marriage.

2.3. Mark’s Emphasis on “Hard-heartedness.” The Pharisees bring Jesus back to their question by reminding him that Moses commanded divorce for adultery, and Jesus replies that Moses did not command it but rather allowed it, and only because of hard-heartedness (see Hardness of Heart) (Mt 19:7-8 // Mk 10:3-5). Mark’s version reverses “command” and “allow” and places this interaction nearer the start of the debate, where it gives more prominence to “hard-heartedness.”

“Hard-heartedness” (*sklērokardia*) is a neologism invented by the LXX translators and used in the context of divorce only at Jeremiah 4:4: “circumcise your hardness of heart.” Jesus presumably is alluding to this, as it is part of Jeremiah’s response to Deuteronomy 24:1-4 (summarized at Jer 3:1) with regard to God’s divorce of Israel (Jer 3:8). Israel stubbornly (i.e., “hard-heartedly”) committed adultery (Jer 3:3, 13, 17, 20), and Jeremiah warned Judah about being similarly stubborn because this would result in Judah being divorced too (Jer 3:8).

2.4. Matthew’s Emphasis on “Allow.” Matthew’s

version is more concerned with the Pharisaic demand for divorce after even a single act of adultery, so he records them saying, "Moses commanded divorce." This was because the death penalty, which was prescribed by law (Lev 20:10), could no longer be practiced (see Jn 18:31 [except by mob rule, as in Jn 8:1-9]). Jesus denies this teaching by saying that Moses merely "allowed" divorce, and only when the adultery had reached the stage described as "hard-hearted."

Before A.D. 70, when the Pharisees took over the judiciary, divorce was not compulsory for adultery, though it was a pious response. Matthew records that Joseph wanted to end his betrothal to Mary when she was suspected of adultery because he was "righteous," and that he chose to do this "quietly"; that is, he decided to use the "any cause" divorce, which did not require a public trial (Mt 1:19).

3. The Exception Clause.

The clause "... for indecency" is found in two slightly different versions in Matthew: "But I say to you that everyone divorcing his wife except [*parektos*] for a cause of immorality . . ." (Mt 5:32); "And I say to you that whoever has divorced his wife not for [*mē epi*] for immorality . . ." (Mt 19:9). These differences may be due to different original wording on two separate occasions or may be due to different translations from the same original. The difficult Greek of 19:9 is usually understood as "except" in harmony with 5:32. This has occasionally been made explicit by changing the text to *ei mē epi* (Basil, *Regulae Morales* 31.852.23 and Erasmus's NT) or *ean mē epi* (Origen, Comm. Matt. 14.24.44) or *parektos* (B, 33 and other texts of the Western tradition).

The clause in Matthew 19:9 could indicate either an exception or an exclusion. If it is an exclusion, it means "Anyone who divorced his wife, even for immorality [which is not a permissible ground for divorce], and . . ." If it is an exception, it means "Anyone who divorced his wife, except for immorality [which is a permissible ground for divorce], and . . ." Virtually all translations assume that it means the latter, because Matthew 5:32 is unambiguous: *parektos* indicates an exception.

The reason for using the unusual phrase *mē epi porneia* ("not for indecency" [Mt 19:9]) may be a conscious effort to mimic the wording of the Shammaite slogan *'al'a 'im* . . . *'erwâ* (lit., "not if indecency"), because the construction *'al'a 'im* is the normal way to express "except for" in mishnaic Hebrew.

The term *porneia* in this phrase is also an unexpected choice. We might expect Jesus to use *moicheia*, which is the specific term for "adultery," but instead

he used a term that has a much wider meaning. The term *porneia* and its cognates are used in the NT to refer to visiting a prostitute (1 Cor 6:13-15, 18), incest (1 Cor 5:1), general sexual sin by a married person (1 Cor 7:2), use of cultic prostitutes (Rev 2:20-21) and the sin of the "whore of Babylon" (Rev 17:2, 4; 18:3; 19:2). The most common meaning is general "sexual immorality" (e.g., Acts 15:20; Eph 5:3; Col 3:5). This family of words is used outside the NT with the same wide range of meanings.

More likely, *porneia* was the closest translation for a similarly general Hebrew or Aramaic word such as *zânâ* ("to be sexually immoral") or *'ervâ*, as in the Shammaite slogan.

4. Jesus' Saying About Consequent Adultery.

In all the Synoptic accounts, Jesus says that remarriage results in "adultery." This consequence is specified for a variety of different individuals in the various versions: a divorcing husband (Mt 19:9; Lk 16:18), a divorced wife (Mt 5:32), a divorcing wife (Mk 10:12) and a new husband of a divorced wife (Mt 5:32; Lk 16:18). It is significant that all instances use the word *moicheia*, which specifically refers to "adultery," because adultery is a sexual offense committed against a married person. In Roman law adultery could be committed only against the husband, though in Jewish law adultery was committed when either a husband or a wife slept with someone other than their marriage partner. By saying that a "divorced" person was committing adultery, Jesus was declaring that they were still married to their original partner.

4.1. Questions About Interpretation. Did this mean that Jesus considered all divorces as invalid, including those based on neglect in Exodus 21:10 and adultery in Deuteronomy 24:1? Or did he only refer to divorces based on the ground called "any cause"? Was this a preacher's rhetoric, like "If your hand causes you to stumble, cut it off" (Mt 5:30), or did Jesus expect remarried people to separate and go back to their original partners? When Jesus said "whoever" (*hos an*) divorced (Mt 19:9 // Mk 10:11) and "all who" (*pas ho*) divorced (Mt 5:32 // Lk 16:18), did he mean "everyone" or "many" (as in Mk 1:5: "All in Judea went out to him, and all from Jerusalem were baptized by him")?

These unanswerable questions have inspired a wide variety of interpretations. If Jesus included all divorces, then he condemned all remarriage even after divorce for adultery, as taught by the early church and the Roman Catholic church. If Jesus condemned only the "any cause" divorces (which

Philo and Josephus assume to be the only type of divorce being practiced), then his teaching allowed remarriage after other grounds, such as adultery and abandonment. Most Protestant churches allow remarriage after divorce for adultery (based on Matthew's exception) and for abandonment by a nonbeliever (based on Paul's exception).

4.2. Paul's Interpretation. Paul appears to allude specifically to the Synoptic teaching of Jesus concerning divorce when he refers to a command "from the Lord" that "a wife should not divorce [*chōrizō*] a husband" (1 Cor 7:10). If this is indeed an allusion, the closest Gospel tradition is Mark 10:12: "if she divorces [*apolyō*] her husband." Although the two verbs are different, both have the meaning of "separation," and both are used in legal documents to mean "divorce." There was, in any case, no distinction between "separation" and "divorce" in Roman law; anyone who separated with view to ending the marriage was considered fully divorced, without the need for any written deed or court appearance.

Paul appears to interpret Jesus' command as allowing divorce in some circumstances. He tells a believer who has left her husband that she must return or offer to return (1 Cor 7:10-11), and he tells other believers that they must not leave their nonbelieving spouses (1 Cor 7:12-14). However, if a nonbeliever separates from a believer, Paul does not expect the nonbeliever to obey Jesus' command, so he states that the believer is "no longer bound." Whether this means that such persons can consider themselves free from the marriage or free to remarry is disputed.

If Paul's interpretation is based on this Gospel tradition, he appears to use Jesus' teaching to condemn the Roman system of no-fault divorce. This may indicate that he regards the "any cause" divorce as equivalent to these Roman divorces. Or perhaps he interpreted Jesus, as did the early church fathers, as forbidding all divorces, and he decided to add an exception of his own.

See also ETHICS OF JESUS; FAMILY; HARDNESS OF HEART; RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS.

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DOUBLE DISSIMILARITY, CRITERIA OF. See CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY.

DOUBLE SIMILARITY. See CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY.

DOUBLE TRADITION. See Q; SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

DREAMS AND VISIONS

Dreams and visions figure prominently in some NT texts, particularly in the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke (see Birth of Jesus). In many cases, *God or some other divine agent (e.g., an *angel) is described as the source of these dreams and visions, thereby connecting such experiences to conceptions of revelation. In order to better understand these biblical passages and their theological implications, it is helpful to consider questions of historical, cultural and literary background as they relate to the understanding of dreams and visions in antiquity.

1. Terminology and Distinctions
2. Identifying Dream/Vision Scenes
3. Attitudes toward Dreams/Visions in Antiquity
4. Dreams/Visions in the Gospels

1. Terminology and Distinctions.

Although common English usage distinguishes "dreams" from "visions" (i.e., as sleeping and waking experiences, respectively), ancient conceptions of these phenomena were far more fluid. J. S. Hanson notes a dozen Greek words that were used to describe dreams and visions (*apokalypsis*, *enypnion*, *epiphaneia*, *onar*, *oneiros*, *optasia*, *horama*, *horasis*, *opsis*, *phantasia*, *phantasma*, *phasma*) and observes that ancient authors frequently used the same term to describe both sleeping and waking dream/vision encounters (Hanson, 1407-8). This observation obtains in the NT (e.g., Luke uses the term *horama* to describe Cornelius seeing an "angel of God" in the middle of the afternoon [Acts 10:3] and to describe "a certain Macedonian man" appearing to Paul in his dream at Troas [Acts 16:9]). Because ancient texts frequently lack a distinction between "dream" and "vision," a number of scholars prefer combinative expressions such as "dream-vision" or "dream/vision." It is also significant to note that "vision" terminology was used frequently in antiquity to describe experiences lacking any apparent "visual" element. Examples of strictly auditory dream/vision encounters in the NT include Acts 9:10; 18:9, in which the Lord "speaks" to Ananias and Paul "in a vision"

(*horama*), though neither text suggests any visual aspect of the experience. (See also the discussion of the *baptism and *transfiguration scenes in the Synoptic Gospels in 4 below.)

2. Identifying Dream/Vision Scenes.

Identifying dream/vision scenes in ancient literature is somewhat complicated. Some scholars, especially those adhering strictly to the tenets of *form criticism, require the presence of dream/vision terminology (as noted above) in the text. Others take a broader, contextual view and include scenes that describe a dream/vision encounter even if the author does not use explicit dream/vision terminology to do so. Support for the contextual view is found within the contours of the Gospel narratives. Zechariah's encounter with Gabriel (Lk 1:11-20) and the proclamation of the *resurrection to the women at the empty tomb (Lk 24:4-7), for example, do not include dream/vision terminology. Nevertheless, these scenes are described explicitly as dreams/visions later in the story (see the use of *optasia* in Lk 1:22; 24:23). Similarly, the transfiguration scene is described using dream/vision terminology in Matthew (*horama* [Mt 17:9]), while such an explicit reference is missing in Mark and Luke. For these reasons, passages featuring otherworldly encounters such as angelic appearances or a voice from heaven are included as dreams/visions in the present study.

3. Attitudes Toward Dreams/Visions in Antiquity.

References to dreams/visions in antiquity are both remarkable and varied. Many people believed dreams/visions brought messages from otherworldly sources (see Brelich; P. C. Miller). Thus, one finds extensive ancient evidence for professional dream interpreters, dream incubation (seeking a dream/vision by sleeping in the sanctuary or sacred place of a particular deity), and the inclusion of dreams among a vast array of divinatory practices. Such references have led a number of commentators to emphasize an almost universal belief in the revelatory power of dreams/visions in antiquity. Evidence to the contrary, however, urges caution. Careful analysis reveals that many in antiquity were skeptical about the revelatory nature of dreams/visions. In scientific and philosophical texts some ancient authors treat dreams as purely psychobiological phenomena (e.g., Aristotle, *Dreams and Prophesying by Dreams*; Cicero, *Concerning Divination*). The classic literary text illustrating a belief that some dreams reliably reveal the future while others are deceptive is found in

Homer (*Od.* 19.560-569). Some OT texts uphold the revelatory power of dreams/visions (e.g., Gen 40:5-8; Num 12:6; 1 Kings 3:5-15; Job 33:14-18; Joel 2:28), but others seem to discount such an idea (e.g., Deut 13:1-5; Eccles 5:3, 7; Jer 23:25-32; Zech 10:2). That scholars have drawn sharply opposing conclusions about the extent to which dreams/visions were viewed as revelation is indicative of the diversity of the ancient evidence (compare, e.g., the positive assessments by J. S. Hanson and D. S. Dodson with the negative evaluation by W. V. Harris). Although it is important to be aware of the conflicting attitudes concerning dreams/visions in antiquity—indeed, these conflicting attitudes may elucidate dream/vision scenes in other NT texts—it is equally important to note that the Gospels present dreams/visions positively, usually as communication from a divine source.

4. Dreams/Visions in the Gospels.

Dreams/visions are found throughout the infancy narratives of Matthew (Mt 1:20-21; 2:12-13, 19-20, 22) and Luke (Lk 1:11-20, 26-38; 2:8-15), and they also occur sporadically in the remainder of those Gospels (Mt 3:16-17; 17:1-9; 27:19; 28:2-7; Lk 3:21-22; 9:28-36; 10:17-20; 22:41-44; 24:4-7). Even defined broadly, dreams/visions occur much less frequently in the Gospels of Mark (Mk 1:9-11; 9:2-9) and John (Jn 12:27-32; 20:11-13). Some scholars would also include the postresurrection appearances of Jesus among the Gospel dreams/visions (Mt 28:9-10, 16-20; Lk 24:15-31, 36-51; Jn 20:14-17, 19-23, 26-29; 21:4-22).

Form critics have stressed that ancient dream/vision reports exhibit a striking consistency in form over the course of several centuries. This is not to ignore, however, the unique functional nuances that dreams/visions bear in individual texts. The dreams/visions in Matthew's infancy narrative serve largely to warn Joseph and the magi about impending dangers. This warning function also applies to the peculiar dream had by Pilate's wife (Mt 27:19). The dreams/visions in Luke's infancy narrative, on the other hand, serve a more proclamatory function, announcing good news to Zechariah, Mary and the shepherds. From a broader perspective, however, one may note that the dreams/visions in both infancy narratives link Jesus to God even before his birth. Similarly, the Synoptic versions of the baptism and transfiguration feature a heavenly voice identifying Jesus as God's son. In the transfiguration, this connection between Jesus and God is highlighted further by the heavenly command for the disciples to "listen" to Jesus—a particularly important command, since the transfiguration comes between Jesus' first and second foretelling

of the passion in those Gospels. Also proclamatory are the angelic announcements of the resurrection, offering comfort and guidance to the followers of Jesus in the wake of the passion.

In the Gospels, dreams/visions typically feature an irruption of the divine into human experience, offering some form of revelation to the recipient(s). They provide vivid imagery depicting God at work within the scenes of human history, and they evoke a broader sense of God at work behind the scenes of human history. The ways in which the Gospel writers employ dreams/visions, therefore, help us to understand the writers' theological perspectives. In a very important sense, they also help us to understand the writers' perspectives on human experiences of the divine. The characters in the Gospel stories respond to their visionary encounters in a variety of ways. Their response is sometimes an almost mechanical obedience (e.g., Mt 2:14-15; Lk 2:15). At other times, however, they respond with confusion (e.g., Mk 9:6) or even disbelief (e.g., Lk 1:18). Occasionally, these Gospel figures even attempt to interpret their visionary encounters (e.g., Mary's Magnificat [Lk 1:46-55] and Zechariah's Benedictus [Lk 1:67-79]). All of these reactions are important, as they illumine the attempt of God's people to come to terms with God's action in their midst.

See also ANGELS; BIRTH OF JESUS; RESURRECTION; TRANSFIGURATION.

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E

ECONOMICS

In modern parlance the word *economy* typically refers to a system for the production, distribution and consumption of scarce resources (i.e., goods and services), with the cognate word *economics* denoting the study of economies and economic activity. The English word *economy* derives from the Greek *oikonomia*, a term that in the ancient world typically designated household management or, more generally, the activity of “organization” or “administration” (cf. Lk 16:1-4). The ancient concept of *oikonomia* is thus far more expansive than the modern understanding of an economy, for ancient writers did not view economic activity as distinct from other aspects of estate and household management. Xenophon’s fourth-century B.C. work *Oeconomicus*, for example, is a Socratic dialogue that covers topics such as wealth, agriculture, household administration and marital relations. While individuals and communities in antiquity worked in agriculture, trade or manufacturing, and while taxes were collected and money was produced, the ancient worldview did not understand these activities in isolation from other forms of social interaction. Activities and discourses that moderns would classify as “economic” were, in the ancient world, embedded in other social structures.

1. The Economic Context of the Gospels
2. Jesus, the Gospels and Palestinian Economics
3. Economics and the Kingdom of God

1. The Economic Context of the Gospels.

1.1. *The Economy of the Roman Empire.* Any attempt to understand the economic context of Jesus and the Gospels should be rooted in the larger economic conditions of the Roman Empire. A significant debate has characterized the work of contemporary historians on the Greco-Roman economy, however. This dispute has largely centered on the extent to which, if at all, the structures and perfor-

mance of the ancient economy resembled medieval, early modern or modern economies. On the one hand, “modernists” such as E. Meyer and M. Rostovtzeff emphasized trade and market activity in antiquity as keys to urbanization and the development of early capitalism, even while acknowledging that “archaic” economies did not reach levels of production similar to modern, industrialized economies. On the other hand, “primitivists” such as M. Finley, drawing particularly on the substantivist economic theory of K. Polanyi, argued that the structures of the ancient economy severely constrained its performance. In a traditionally agrarian context economic activity was limited by both social values that discouraged practices such as lending, trade and integrated market development (i.e., price equilibrium through shared commodities and information) and also by technological confines that made interregional trade cost-prohibitive, apart from some items such as wine, oil and luxury goods. Concentration of wealth in the hands of a small number of landowners stunted the growth of integrated markets, for the vast majority of the population lived at, near or below subsistence level and therefore did not possess the buying power to stimulate large-scale market expansion.

The Finleyan perspective on economic sociology remains influential. Many would concur that the economy of the Roman Empire was characterized by considerable disparities in wealth distribution, that significant economic growth was constrained by social values, that cities tended to be centers of consumption rather than production, and that financial and trade systems were relatively undeveloped (especially when compared with the growth of trade in early modern Europe, for example). Other scholars of Greco-Roman antiquity, however, have offered more positive assessments of economic performance and growth in the first two centuries A.D., with some suggestions of modest

per capita economic growth between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200 (e.g., Mattingly and Salmon). More recent work on the economic conditions of the Roman Empire has also emphasized the need to move beyond a single model to explain “the ancient economy,” since factors such as the climate, geographical location, population, political context and redistributive mechanisms of various regional economies might indicate that Finley’s primitivist model is too static to account for the diversity of economic activity and conditions in Greco-Roman antiquity (Horden and Purcell). The theoretical model remains powerful, but it must also account for evidence that suggests higher levels of production, performance and trade than the model allows.

The question of wealth distribution, which has factored prominently in discussions of economic growth and performance in antiquity, offers an example of how a macroeconomic perspective can shape interpretation of specific evidence. Elite authors in antiquity tend to paint economic stratification in binary terms, often as a distinction between the few privileged *honestiores* (including senatorial, equestrian and curial orders) and the vast majority of the poor *humiliores*. Although modern authors have occasionally accepted this binary division, with elites comprising 1 percent (or less) and “the poor” comprising 99 percent (or more) of the population (so Meggitt), recent scholarship has generally moved away from this binary division toward more highly stratified models of wealth distribution. In an im-

portant article published in 2004, for example, S. Friesen offered a seven-tiered “poverty scale” of the Greco-Roman economy as a heuristic device for considering questions of wealth distribution in the early Christian movement (see Table 1).

More recently, Friesen and W. Scheidel have attempted to establish the gross domestic product of the Roman Empire in the mid-second century A.D., using this number as a means of outlining a model of income distribution and inequality. The numbers are slightly different, but the overall picture is quite similar: a “middling” group of between 6 and 12 percent of the population, with an income between 2.4 and 10 times the amount needed to sustain a “barebones” existence, stood between 1.5 percent of the population at the elite level and around 90 percent at or below subsistence level (Scheidel and Friesen, 84-85). Others have argued for a slightly larger middling group, perhaps as high as 15 percent of the urban population (so Longenecker), but the emerging picture moves beyond the binary division of ancient authors and earlier modern scholarship. Although these models are abstractions and do not account for regional and even slight chronological differences, they do shed light on the destitution experienced by the vast majority of inhabitants of the Greco-Roman world, who lived “at or near subsistence level, whose primary concern it [was] to obtain the minimum food, shelter, and clothing necessary to sustain life, whose lives [were] dominated by the struggle for physical survival” (Garnsey and

Table 1. Seven-Tiered Poverty Scale

PS1	Imperial elites	imperial dynasty, Roman senatorial families, a few retainers, local royalty, a few freedpersons	0.04%
PS2	Regional or provincial elites	equestrian families, provincial officials, some retainers, some decurial families, some freedpersons, some retired military officers	1.00%
PS3	Municipal elites	most decurial families, wealthy men and women who do not hold office, some freedpersons, some retainers, some veterans, some merchants	1.76%
PS4	Moderate surplus resources	some merchants, some traders, some freedpersons, some artisans (especially those who employ others), military veterans	7%?
PS5	Stable near subsistence level (with reasonable hope of remaining above the minimum level to sustain life)	many merchants and traders, regular wage earners, artisans, large shop owners, freedpersons, some farm families	22%?
PS6	At subsistence level (and often below minimum level to sustain life)	small farm families, laborers (skilled and unskilled), artisans (especially those employed by others), wage earners, most merchants and traders, small shop/tavern owners	40%
PS7	Below subsistence level	some farm families, unattached widows, orphans, beggars, disabled, unskilled day laborers, prisoners	28%

Woolf, 54). This picture forms an important background for discussing the social context of the early Christian movement, reminding readers of the Gospels that subsistence existence and poverty would have been the norm for the vast majority of contemporaries of Jesus and the Gospel writers.

1.2. The Economy of Roman Palestine. Although much research has been done on the structure of the Palestinian agrarian economy (see, e.g., Hanson and Oakman), a lack of primary sources before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 often forces scholars to rely on later archeological and literary evidence, along with comparative studies from other (allegedly) similar societies, to make judgments about economic performance in Palestine in the first century A.D.

1.2.1. An Agrarian Economy. It is generally agreed that the economy of Roman Palestine, like most of classical antiquity, was agrarian in nature. Particularly influential in discussion of the Palestinian economy has been the macrosociological perspective of G. Lenski, whose work has often been used by NT scholars to label Roman Palestine an “advanced agrarian society.” According to this perspective, advanced agrarian societies are characterized by “marked social inequality . . . [and] institutions of government are the primary source of social inequality” (Lenski, 210). Lenski offers eight levels of social stratification characteristic of advanced agrarian economies: (1) ruler; (2) governing class; (3) retainer class; (4) merchants; (5) priests; (6) peasants; (7) artisans; (8) unclean, degraded, expendables. Crucial to this model is the claim that political systems are central to social inequality. With regard to the Palestinian economy, the claim is made that wealth and power, including land ownership, were concentrated in the hands of urban elites (particularly in Jerusalem), whereas the vast majority of the peasant population in Judea and Galilee worked the land and paid taxes that supported the comfortable lifestyles of the wealthy. Often there is the following assumption that, beginning in the Herodian period, the political economy forced more land to come under the control of elites through high taxation and debt mechanisms, leaving most peasants landless and hopeful for tenancy agreements or, worse, occasional work as day laborers: “Thus, the powerful kept peasants and villages under a constant barrage of demands and obligations—perennially in debt, if possible” (Hanson and Oakman, 111).

There is no doubt that economic activity in Roman Palestine centered on agricultural production, with the harvest of grain for food, olives for oil, and

grapes for wine the primary crops (Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.60). What is debatable, however, is whether the theoretical model of an “advanced agrarian society,” and the political economy that such a model entails, adequately explains the available data. For example, there is little archeological and/or literary evidence for large-scale displacement of peasants through the aggregation of land ownership in the hands of private estates in Palestine in the first century A.D. Herod and his sons did own significant private lands (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.418; *Ant.* 17.147), but there is no justification for the claim that during the Herodian period “polycropping and self-sufficiency on family farms gave way to monocropping on estates and royal lands and to an asymmetrical exchange of goods” (Crossan and Reed, 100). Instead, most of the land in Judea and Galilee seems to have been owned and farmed by freeholding peasants (cf. Mt 19:29 // Mk 10:29).

1.2.2. A Trade Economy. The extent of trade in Palestine has also been a flashpoint of debate because it is a topic closely related to the issue of economic production. According to some pessimistic assessments, cities in Palestine’s “political economy” had a parasitic relationship with agrarian villages. Resources were funneled from rural to urban areas, and trade among nonelites was severely limited. As D. Edwards summarizes this view, “By bureaucratic, military, commercial, or fiduciary means, they became the centers of control, primarily over land use and raw materials, and thereby determined the conditions under which all other parts of the system operated” (Edwards, 362). This negative view of trade in Roman Palestine is often strengthened by appeal to Josephus’s statement that Jews do not inhabit “a maritime country; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attraction for us. Our cities are built inland, remote from the sea; and we devote ourselves to the cultivation of the productive country with which we are blessed” (*Ag. Ap.* 160).

There is undoubtedly some truth to Josephus’s assertion. Yet by the time of Herod the Great the ports of Joppa, Anthedon/Agrippias and especially Caesarea Maritima facilitated international trade (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.333-340). Moreover, local and regional trade in Palestine in the Second Temple period, often without the engagement of the urban elite, is frequently underestimated. Archeological evidence in Galilee, for example, suggests regional trade in clay pottery, basalt, millstones and olive oil (so Edwards). Nonelite trade, therefore, was an important aspect of economic production in Roman Palestine, indicating

that the economy was not merely controlled by elites (so also Horden and Purcell).

2. Jesus, the Gospels and Palestinian Economics.

Given the extent to which “economic” activity in the ancient world was embedded in other social institutions, it may be helpful to examine Jesus’ economic views, as preserved in the Gospel traditions, by focusing on several social structures related to the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services.

2.1. Household. As early as the work of nineteenth-century economist K. Bücher, it has been recognized that economic production and consumption in antiquity occurred primarily (though not exclusively) in the household, the basic social unit in Greco-Roman antiquity (see Saller). Particularly given the ancient connection between *oikonomia* and household administration, any rejection or critique of the household structure had significant economic implications.

As is well known, Jesus is portrayed in the Gospels as having an ambiguous, perhaps even hostile, relationship to conventional family structures. Jesus’ own family has difficulty with his “mission in the Gospel of Mark (Mk 3:21; cf. Jn 7:5), a Gospel in which Jesus redefines his family as “whoever does the will of God” (Mk 3:35; cf. Mt 12:46; Lk 8:19). The “fictive kinship” shared by the earliest followers of Jesus (Mt 5:22-24; 7:1-5; 18:15; 25:40) and members of the movement formed in his name (e.g., Rom 8:29; 1 Cor 1:10; Gal 1:2; Jas 1:2) would have had difficult consequences for economic production in households, particularly in terms of the destabilization of the families of those who left their possessions to follow Jesus (e.g., Mt 19:27 // Mk 10:28 // Lk 18:28).

2.2. Benefaction/Benefactor. Another important social institution through which material goods were distributed in the Greco-Roman world was benefaction or, as it is sometimes labeled, *euergetism* (from Gk. *euergesiai*, “gifts/benefactions”). Famously defined by P. Veyne as “private munificence for public benefit,” *euergetism* in Greco-Roman antiquity involved civic benefaction from wealthy donors in return for public honor. Benefactors (called *euergetai*) typically supplied cities and/or voluntary associations with gifts such as building projects (e.g., roads, stadia, temples, markets), grain during times of food shortage, subsidies for religious festivals, and public games. In return, these donors would receive tokens of high acclaim, such as the honorific title *euergetēs*, honorary decrees, and crowns and titles,

with the *euergetic* acts frequently memorialized in public inscriptions.

To the extent that Jewish leaders in the Second Temple period were influenced by the conventions of Hellenistic *euergetism*, the practices of “benefaction” provided an important means of wealth distribution and honor accumulation in Palestine. Native Jewish leaders such as Onias (2 Macc 4:1-2), Simon Maccabee (1 Macc 14:25-49), John Hyrcanus (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.149-155) and Agrippa I (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.328-300, 335-337; *IGLS* 6.2759) engaged in Hellenistic *euergetic* practices, receiving public honors for benefactions such as the supervision of temple funds, military provisions and other gifts (see esp. Gardner). At the same time, there is a lack of epigraphical evidence for honorific inscriptions praising benefactors in Palestine, with the exception of a few *euergetic* inscriptions in Jerusalem (*SEG* 1277; *CII* II 14) and Caesarea Maritima (*AE* 1963 no. 104), perhaps suggesting reticence among Jews publicly and fully to endorse the values and practices of Greco-Roman *euergetism*.

Among the Gospel writers, the author of Luke-Acts evidences the most obvious appropriation and critique of the Greco-Roman benefaction tradition (see Marshall). Aside from several passages in which Jesus opposes conventions of reciprocity (Lk 6:17-38; 12:32-34; 14:1-24), in Luke 22:25 Jesus is explicitly critical of those in authority among the Gentiles who are called “benefactors” (*euergetai*), a means of procuring public honor that stands in contrast to the servant leadership advocated and demonstrated by Jesus (Lk 22:26-27). The language of *euergetism* is also found in Acts 10:38, where the *euergetēs* is redefined in the memory of Jesus who “went about doing benefactions [*euergetōn*] and healing all who were oppressed by the devil” (cf. Acts 4:9; 1 Tim 6:2). The author of Luke-Acts is not the only Gospel writer to indicate tension between Jesus’ vision for discipleship and the values of the Greco-Roman benefaction system, however. In Matthew’s narrative Jesus’ exhortation to give alms in secret may represent an implicit critique of the benefaction system (Mt 6:1-4): public munificence is shunned in favor of anonymous almsgiving that does not result in the accumulation of public honor.

2.3. Tithes, Tributes and Taxes, Tolls. A third social institution through which material goods were distributed in Roman Palestine was the complex system of economic redistribution, including tithes, tributes and taxes, and tolls.

2.3.1. Tithes. The practice of tithing—that is, giving one-tenth of one’s income or harvest to the state

or temple—is frequently attested in ancient Near Eastern literature. Yet it does not appear that tithes were consistently set at one-tenth, nor is it evident that they were always compulsory. The OT evidence captures this ambiguity. The noun *ma'āsēr* (“one-tenth”) and its verbal cognate *ʿāsar* (“to give a tenth”) sometimes denote voluntary gifts (Gen 14:20; 28:22; Amos 4:4). At other times, however, this terminology suggests obligatory payments. In legal texts, for example, tithing is presented as a compulsory activity (e.g., Deut 14:22–29; 26:12; cf. Lev 27:30–33; Num 18:20–32; Neh 10:35–38), although the prophetic indictment in Malachi 3:8 (“How are we robbing [God]? In your tithes and offerings!”) suggests that this obligation was not always met.

Moreover, the OT offers a variety of tithe regulations: (1) the Deuteronomic tradition of a yearly tithe consumed in Jerusalem by the one who offers it (Deut 14:22–27); (2) a tithe offered every three years to provide for the Levites, resident aliens, orphans and widows (Deut 14:28–29); (3) a tithe designed to finance the sacrificial system in the sanctuary (Lev 27:30–33) and its attendants, the Levites (Num 18:21–32). Given this diversity, there were various attempts to harmonize these OT traditions in the literature of Second Temple Judaism. In the book of Tobit, for example, Tobit appears to offer a total of fourteen tithes in a six-year cycle. That is, each year he employs a tenth of his yearly agricultural produce in Jerusalem in accordance with Deuteronomy 14:22–27, and each year he offers a second tenth of his yearly agricultural produce to “to the sons of Levi who ministered at Jerusalem” (Tob 1:6–7). Additionally, every third and sixth year, in accordance with Deuteronomy 14:28–29, Tobit offers the “poor tithe” to “the orphans and widows and to the converts who had attached themselves to Israel” (Tob 1:8) (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.68, 205, 240). *Jubilees* 32:1–15 advocates a twelve-tithe system similar to the one found in Tobit (i.e., a tenth to Jerusalem and a tenth to support the sacrificial system, each offered every year during a six-year cycle), although there is no mention of the “poor tithe” in *Jubilees*.

Tithing is explicitly mentioned in the Gospels on only three occasions. First, in the context of a discussion about washing before meals with a *Pharisee who had invited Jesus to eat with him, Jesus in Luke 11 pronounces a series of woes upon the Pharisees, including the first: “But woe to you Pharisees! For you tithe mint and rue and herbs of all kinds, and neglect justice and the love of God; it is these you ought to have practiced, without neglecting the others” (Lk 11:42 NRSV). In the Matthean parallel a simi-

lar series of woes upon scribes and Pharisees also includes an indictment of those who “have neglected the weightier matters of the law: justice and mercy and faith. It is these you ought to have practiced without neglecting the others” (Mt 23:23 NRSV). In both of these sayings, the phrase “without neglecting the others” likely indicates that tithing itself is not condemned by Jesus; rather, it is the adherence to the law without concomitant attention to justice and love to which Jesus objects. Finally, in the Lukan parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Lk 18:10–14) the Pharisee mentions in his prayer both *fasting and tithing as signs of his piety (Lk 18:12). Again, it is not these pious deeds that Jesus regards as objectionable; instead, it is the self-exultant attitude of the Pharisee, whose boasting in virtuous behavior is contrasted with the humility of the tax collector.

2.3.2. Tributes and Taxes. If tithing is generally voluntary, tributes and taxes are usually viewed as the conscription of private goods by the state. In the first century A.D. *Rome exerted its power and raised funds to support its military activities through levies on conquered peoples. A distinction between tributes and taxes can be made between payments to foreign powers (i.e., tributes) and to local authorities (i.e., taxes). Thus, Jewish leaders in Palestine were obligated to pay tribute to foreign powers, first the Ptolemies in Egypt, then the Seleucids in Syria, followed by Rome. Jewish authorities also collected taxes from inhabitants of Palestine and other Jews throughout the Mediterranean Diaspora.

The Roman tribute (*phoros*) was instituted in Judea when the region came under Roman control in 63 B.C. The Roman tribute was initially collected by *publicani*, who were contracted by the Senate for the right to gather these funds, although collection in this period was likely irregular and unsystematic (Cicero, *Flac.* 69; *Prov. cons.* 5.10; Dio Cassius, *Hist.* 39.56.6). According to Josephus, in response to their support during the Alexandrian War, Julius Caesar made a “treaty of friendship and alliance” with the Jews in 47 B.C., a pact that resulted in a reduction of the tribute and an exemption from the tribute during the Sabbatical Year (*Ant.* 14.190–195, 200–210).

It is sometimes claimed that taxation under Herod the Great was crippling for inhabitants of Palestine, since taxes raised for Herod’s own reign were combined with the Roman tribute, the Jerusalem temple tax, and tithes for priests and festivals—all of these conscriptions resulting in an extremely high tax burden for the Jewish peasantry. Such an oppressive situation is far from certain, however, and there are several indications that the tax burden under

Herod and his sons was not inordinately high. There is no evidence in Josephus that Herod was compelled to pay annual tribute to Rome, nor is there any indication, as is sometimes claimed, that Herod's sons Archelaus, Antipas and Phillip were forced to render proceeds from taxes gathered in their territories to Rome as a tribute after their father's death (see Josephus, *Ant.* 18.108). In fact, as descendants of the Roman citizen Antipater (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.137), Herod, his heirs (Archelaus, Antipas, Phillip) and their territories would have been exempt from Roman tribute. It is likely that Herod's notable building projects were financed by his own significant personal wealth and by funds raised from tolls and duties on trade, not by a heavy tax burden on Jewish peasants (Udoh, 180-206).

When Herod's son Archelaus was deposed by Rome as ruler of Judea in A.D. 6, the territory became a Roman province ruled by imperial officials and subject once again to Roman tribute. The reorganization of Judea as a province was accompanied by a census in both Judea and Syria, overseen by Quirinius, governor of Syria (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.1-9; cf. Lk 2:1-5). Josephus implies that the goal of Quirinius's census was "the registration of property" (*tēn epi tais apographais*) instead of a counting of persons (*Ant.* 18.3); this aim of property registration for the purpose of accurate land tax collection was met with some Jewish resistance (*Ant.* 18.4-10).

Payment of the Roman tribute is an issue in the conversation between Jesus and a contingent of Pharisees and Herodians in Mark 12:13-17 (cf. the parallels, Mt 22:15-22; Lk 20:20-26). When asked, "Is it lawful to pay taxes to the emperor [*exestin dounai kēnsōn Kaisari*], or not? Should we pay them, or should we not?" (Mk 12:14-15 NRSV), Jesus asks for a denarius. There is some debate about whether reference to this tax should be counted as evidence for Jewish payment of a "poll tax" after the Roman census in A.D. 6, especially given Mark's use of the word *kēnsos*, which has been viewed as a loanword from the Latin *census*. In the parallel version in Luke's Gospel the author employs the word *phoros* in the question posted to Jesus, indicating more clearly that the debate centered on the Roman tribute. Either way, Jesus' response to the challenge is somewhat cryptic. After hearing from his antagonists that it is Caesar's head imaged on the denarius, Jesus answers, "Give to the emperor the things that are the emperor's, and to God the things that are God's," a response that produces amazement among his interlocutors (Mk 12:17 NRSV). On the one hand, Jesus' directive appears to defer to Rome's authority to demand tribute from its

conquered territories (cf. the accusation in Lk 23:2); on the other hand, the subtext of Jesus' statement may be that since all things ultimately belong to God (cf. Ps 24:1), Rome's claim to supreme power, made tangible in this narrative by a coin that bears the image of the emperor, is in fact illusory.

2.3.3. *Tolls*. Tolls represent a tariff on the transportation of goods, and these levies constituted a significant source of funds for Jewish leaders in Roman Palestine. As mentioned earlier, Roman *publicani* had been involved in the collection of the Roman tribute in Palestine before these tax companies were abolished in Judea by Julius Caesar. Tolls on transit trade were a significant source of profit for both the Hasmoneans and Herod. Unlike most other forms of taxation, tolls and duties would mostly have been paid in cash rather than in kind.

With the resumption of the Roman tribute in Judea in A.D. 6, some Jewish officials, including village leaders and members of the *Sanhedrin (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.405-407), likely were involved in the collection of funds for the tribute and payment of these dues to the Roman governor. Other agents of tax collection included "toll collectors" (*telōnai*), individuals contracted to extract tolls at transit and trade points. It is generally agreed that these toll collectors were responsible for gathering local tolls (*telē*) levied by cities (*CIS* 3913), including duties on agricultural produce sold in Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.90), although they may also have played a part in the collection of tithes and the Roman tribute (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.181, 206-207).

In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus frequently encounters or mentions these *telōnai* (Mt 5:46; 9:10-11; 10:3; 11:19; 18:17; 21:31-32; Mk 2:15-16; Lk 3:12; 5:27-32; 7:29, 34; 15:1; 18:10-14). All three Synoptics record Jesus' commissioning of a disciple who is a toll collector at his tollbooth, although he is called "Levi" in both Mark (Mk 2:14) and Luke (Lk 5:27) and "Matthew" in Matthew (Mt 9:9; cf. Mt 10:3). The NT Gospels capture the disdain with which these toll collectors were viewed, likely because of their ability to exploit the duty system for their own profit: they are frequently grouped with "sinners"—that is, *hamartōloi*, violators of Jewish law (Mt 9:10-11; 11:19; Mk 2:15-16; Lk 5:30; 7:34; 15:1; cf. prostitutes in Mt 21:31-32); in Matthew 18:15-20 a sinful member of the *ekklēsia* who will not listen to the congregation is to be treated "as a pagan and a toll collector" (*hōsper ho ethnikos kai ho telōnēs*); and in the parable in Luke 18:10-14 the narrative turns on the status contrast between the pious Pharisee and the humble toll collector. In Luke's Gospel Zacchaeus, who is called a

“chief toll collector” (*architelōnēs*) and who is notable for his wealth (Lk 19:2), is a marginalized “sinner” in part because his vocation leads him to cheat others (Lk 19:8). Jesus himself expresses a bias against toll collectors in Matthew’s narrative, contrasting his call to love one’s enemies with the practice of loving those who already demonstrate love, for “even the tax collectors do that” (Mt 5:44-46), and suggesting that the congregation’s reaction to an unrepentant brother or sister should mirror the treatment of outsiders and toll collectors (Mt 18:15-20). Yet Jesus is frequently associated with toll collectors, and some of his earliest followers came from their ranks, including Levi/Matthew (cf. Mk 2:15, which notes that other *telōnai* followed Jesus). This association with toll collectors is a sign of Jesus’ mission to the socially marginalized.

2.3.4. Temple Tax. Given the close relationship between civic and religious institutions throughout the ancient Mediterranean world, and in Palestine in particular, it is problematic to draw a sharp distinction between state and religious taxation. Nevertheless, the Jerusalem *temple can helpfully be discussed separately because its cultic apparatus was subsidized by the taxation of Jews in Palestine and throughout the Mediterranean Diaspora.

Most adult Jewish males in the early Roman period, whether they lived in Palestine or in the Diaspora, paid a yearly half-shekel tax to the Jerusalem temple. Although the origins of this postexilic practice are unclear, yearly contributions for the cultic apparatus and maintenance of the Jerusalem temple seem to have been rooted in interpretations of Exodus 30:11-16 (cf. the voluntary contributions to the temple in Neh 10:32-39). Roman policy allowed Jews to transport funds to Jerusalem without hindrance (Cicero, *Flac.* 28.67-69; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.225-227; 16:162-165; Philo, *Spec.* 1.77-78; *Legat.* 156-157, 216, 311-316). Since it received a consistently large influx of money, the temple in Jerusalem was regarded as one of the wealthiest institutions in the Greco-Roman world (Philo, *Spec.* 1.76). After the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70, the Roman emperor Vespasian required the yearly payment of the *fiscus Judaicus*, a poll tax of two drachmas, by Jewish males to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as a replacement for the temple tax (Josephus, *J.W.* 7.218).

In an exchange that may reflect later debates about the temple tax (or its successor, the *fiscus Judaicus*) between followers of Jesus and other Jews, in Matthew 17:24-27 Peter is asked by “the collectors of the temple tax” (*hoi ta didrachma lambanontes*) if Jesus pays the tariff. Peter answers affirmatively. In the

ensuring conversation between Jesus and Peter, Jesus offers a rationale for his payment of this tax: “What do you think, Simon? From whom do kings of the earth take toll or tribute? From their children or from others?” When Peter said, ‘From others,’ Jesus said to him, ‘Then the children are free. However, so that we do not give offense to them, go to the sea and cast a hook; take the first fish that comes up; and when you open its mouth, you will find a coin; take that and give it to them for you and me’” (Mt 17:25-27 NRSV). Jesus may be employing the language of fictive kinship to indicate that those in the new family formed around him (i.e., “the children,” *hoi huioi*) are not obligated to pay the temple tax, but they do so anyway so as not to give offense.

3. Economics and the Kingdom of God.

The issue of economics and the Gospels must also address the extent to which economic values and practices contributed to the social formation of the Jesus movement. If “economics” refers to a system for the production, distribution and consumption of scarce resources, then the Jesus of the canonical Gospels offers a countercultural perspective on the exchange of resources among his followers. Although followers of Jesus may participate in the economy of the Roman Empire (Mk 12:13-17), their ultimate allegiance is to God and not to the power of wealth (Mt 6:24 // Lk 16:13). Wealth in the Gospels is often figured as a hindrance to following Jesus (Mt 19:16-22 // Mk 10:17-31 // Lk 18:18-23; Mk 4:18-19; cf. 1 Jn 2:15-17; Rev 3:14-22), while dispossession of goods sometimes signifies faithful *discipleship (Mk 10:28-31; cf. Mt 9:9; 13:44-46; Mk 1:16-20; Lk 19:1-10). Believers are called to give generously to those in need (Mt 5:42-48; 6:1-4; 10:8; 19:21; Mk 10:21; Lk 6:30; 11:41; 14:12-14) and not greedily to hoard possessions (Mt 6:19-20; Lk 12:13-21; cf. Mt 23:25 // Lk 11:39). Jesus’ proclamation of the *kingdom of God “crosses boundaries and challenges paradigms, and in so doing opens a space and a time for new (and renewed) ways of being human-in-relation, that is, for a new ordering of things and persons, a new economy” (Barton, 57).

See also FAMILY; RICH AND POOR; ROME.

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ELDERs

Originally, Hebrew *zāqēn* meant a "bearded one" or referred to an older member of a family, and the term is used frequently in the Bible for those who are older in years. However, the term *elder* most frequently refers to the ruling head of the family or clan. In Jesus' day these were predominantly the aristocratic leaders of the Jewish patrician families. They served in local village councils and alongside the *Pharisees and *Sadducees in the *Sanhedrin, the great council of the Jews in Jerusalem.

1. Old Testament Background
2. Postexilic and Intertestamental Developments
3. The Judaism of Jesus' Day
4. The Emphases of the Evangelists

1. Old Testament Background.

The institutional office of elder derived from the earliest history of the nation, when families and clans controlled the politics of the Hebrews. As heads of the major families, the elders naturally became the leaders of the clans and formed councils to lead the tribes. Yet there was no instance when they were the sole authority, for they always represented the people under the leadership of divinely appointed leaders such as *Moses (Ex 3:16, 18; 18:12). At Sinai "seventy of the elders of Israel" were convened to ratify the covenant (Ex 24:1, 9), an event celebrated by later Jews as constituting also the divine commission of the office of elder. In Numbers 11:16-17, 24-25, clearly indicating an anointing ceremony, we read of the Spirit being placed on them and their prophesying. Henceforth, they shared Moses' burdens and assisted him in his office.

Deuteronomy speaks of the legal responsibilities of the elders: the local administration of justice (Deut 19:11-13), functioning as civil judges at the city gates, which were the ancient courtrooms (Deut 22:15; 25:7), and adjudicating in family squabbles (Deut 21:18-21; 22:13-21). After the settlement in Canaan the elders became a ruling class, with not only judicial powers, but also political and military ones (1 Sam 4:3; 8:4-9). During the monarchy their authority was lessened by the creation of a centralized

government, with its civil service. But the elders as local rulers still exercised considerable influence and acted as buffers against dictatorial tendencies on the part of the monarchy. Saul sought their favor (1 Sam 15:30), and both David (2 Sam 3:17; 5:3) and Rehoboam (1 Kings 12:6-8) turned to the elders when seeking the throne. There was always tension between the elders and the king, since their spheres of authority overlapped, but the elders still adjudicated both legal and religious matters among the people.

2. Postexilic and Intertestamental Developments.

During the exile both the monarchy and the tribal structure of Israel collapsed, and the elders gained even more authority than before. In exilic communities (Jer 29:1) and in Palestine (Ezek 8:1; 14:1) elders were quite prominent. Yet there was a difference, for now it was not clans or tribes, but rather individual families that had risen to leadership. During the postexilic period these families became an aristocracy, and their elders wielded great influence. In Ezra 5:9; 6:6-15 they were the primary instigators of the rebuilding of the temple, and both Darius and the Persian governor Tattenai worked with them. Town elders continued to exercise power (see Ezra 10:14; cf. the "family heads" in Ezra 10:16), and Nehemiah had many running battles with these "nobles and officials" (Neh 5:7; 7:5), but it was the aristocratic family that increasingly gained the upper hand.

During the intertestamental period these family heads and elders slowly took control of the apparatus of state and began meeting as a council to rule the nation, becoming the precursor of the Sanhedrin. It may be that the earliest form was the "company" of twelve chieftains mentioned in Ezra 2:2; Nehemiah 7:7, possibly representing symbolically the twelve tribes. Under Hellenistic rule this council, the Gerousia, had wide-ranging powers, since the Greeks allowed their subject peoples to govern their own internal affairs. At some point there came to be seventy (or seventy-one, if one counts the high priest) members (cf. *m. Sanh.* 1:6; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.482), and the council consisted of elders and aristocratic *priests, with the high priest at the head. During the reign of the Hasmoneans, however, the makeup of the Gerousia was altered again. Its powers were reduced due to the monarchic tendencies of the rulers, and there was a growing influx of scribal (Pharisaic) leaders, with the result that the power structure was divided into nobility (elders and priests) and lay (scribes) fac-

tions. This continued into the NT period.

Two further restrictions of the Sanhedrin's (and therefore the elder's) authority occurred in the fifty years prior to Jesus. Under the Roman governor Gabinius (57-55 B.C.) Palestine was divided into five *synedria*, and for ten years the Sanhedrin had jurisdiction over only the three in Judea, approximately one-third of its former territory. The old lines of authority were reinstated under Hyrcanus II (47 B.C.), but that too was short-lived, for *Herod the Great began his reign by executing forty-five members of the Sanhedrin who had supported Antigonus (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.1.2) and forcing the nobility to submit. During this time, however, the elders continued to serve as heads of influential families and as community leaders. Moreover, the "council of elders" represented the nation in its dealings with the Greeks and Romans and also performed judicial functions at home. At Qumran there was no apparent office, but elders as the heads of families were second in order to the priests in both judicial and halakic authority, and a council of twelve lay and three priestly members ruled the community (see Dead Sea Scrolls).

3. The Judaism of Jesus' Day.

In the first century A.D. the *presbyteroi* primarily served a community function. Their duties are described in the mishnaic tractate Sanhedrin, although the extent to which it depicts pre-A.D. 70 Judaism is greatly debated. Both in Judea and in Diaspora communities there appears to have been a council of seven elders that functioned primarily at the civic level, and an executive committee of three *archontes* ("rulers")—the head of the synagogue, the minister of the congregation and the collector of alms—that functioned mainly at the synagogue level (cf. *Jdt* 6:15-17; 7:9-10). However, there was no clear distinction between civic and religious life in Jewish communities, and the two groups together controlled the daily life of the Jewish people. In cosmopolitan cities, with a mixed population and special synagogues (e.g., Rome), there may have been separate councils of elders for synagogue and community, but in the average Jewish community the same group of elders ruled over both civic and synagogue affairs, and often the *archontes* were chosen from among the elders.

The *presbyteroi* exercised full jurisdiction over civic as well as religious life. They decided what type of disciplinary action was appropriate, whether flogging or, most serious of all, the ban or excommunication. Although the elders did not control synagogue worship (that was under the jurisdiction of

the *archontes*), they did take the seats of honor and officially enforced the law. They also administered both village and synagogue affairs, making decisions in a wide variety of situations. Often the president of the synagogue was an elder, and the office went beyond the hereditary leaders of the noble families to encompass elected lay leaders of the community (probably chosen annually).

Corresponding to the local councils was the supreme Gerousia, or Sanhedrin, in Jerusalem. There the term "elder" was used generally to describe all the members (cf. the *presbyterion*, "council of the elders," in Lk 22:66; Acts 22:5) or specifically to refer to the lay leaders who constituted the third and least influential group (with the Sadducees and Pharisees) in the Sanhedrin, the lay nobility. A third use of the term denotes the scribes as interpreters of the law (cf. the "tradition of the elders" in Mk 7:3, 5 par.). This latter use became predominant in the post-A.D. 70 period, when it was used for the scribal scholars who developed the Tannaitic tradition.

4. The Emphases of the Evangelists.

Presbyteros as a title in the Gospels occurs only in the passion *predictions and in the *passion narratives themselves. It always (apart from Lk 7:3, in which the "elders" of a synagogue attest to the piety of a centurion) refers to the lay members of the Sanhedrin, and in every case except the first passion prediction (Mk 8:31 par., where it may stress their juridical function) it occurs after mention of the "chief priests." This probably is due to the greater influence of the priestly members in the Sanhedrin.

Mark retains the complete list of "chief priests, elders, scribes" that constituted the Sanhedrin, with this order in Mark 14:53; 15:1 (so linking the elders with the priestly faction, the normal political alignment), but with the "scribes" named before the elders in Mark 11:27; 14:43 (probably due to the greater political influence of the scribes in the first century A.D.).

Matthew shows a greater interest in the involvement of "the elders" in the passion events (eleven references in contrast with five in Mark, three in Luke, none in John), while omitting reference to "the scribes" except at Matthew 16:21; 26:57; 27:41. While this redaction does not indicate less interest in critiquing the scribes (see Mt 23:1-39), it may indicate that Matthew understands the elders to provide a better pairing with the chief priests for representing both the priestly and lay leadership of the Jewish

people. The additional descriptor "of the people" (*tou laou*) is added to *presbyteroi* four times by Matthew (Mt 21:23; 26:3, 47; 27:1). The addition may be meant to depict the elders more generally as representatives of the nation as a whole (France, 798) (though see Mt 2:4 for its use with the chief priests and scribes). The same phrase occurs in the OT, and in LXX Isaiah 3:14 it describes God's judgment against "the elders of the people and their leaders" for treating unjustly God's people. It may be that Matthew uses the phrase to indicate the responsibility that the elders were to have over Israel and an indictment of their lack of true leadership (cf. Mt 9:36; 23:4, 15).

Luke retains the complete list in Luke 9:22 (// Mk 8:31); Luke 20:1 (// Mk 11:27), but in Luke 22:66 (// Mk 15:1) the list is replaced with "the council of the elders of the people" (cf. Acts 22:5). Luke's interest is not so much in the distinct groups as in the leaders of Israel as a whole.

John shows no interest in the elders and mentions only the "chief priests and Pharisees" (Jn 18:3; cf. "chief priests and officers" in Jn 19:6). Elsewhere he uses only the plural "they" for the Sanhedrin (cf. Jn 18:28-31) or refers even more generally to "the Jews" (Jn 18:38; 19:14).

See also PHARISEES; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; SADDUCEES; SANHEDRIN; SCRIBES.

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ELIJAH AND ELISHA

Elijah and Elisha, whose prophetic careers are narrated in 1-2 Kings, appear in the NT in a variety of ways. Although Elisha is referred to only once, there are many references to Elijah in all four Gospels. There are also numerous passages that allude to or resemble events in the careers of Elijah and Elisha. As in Second Temple Jewish literature, Elijah is far more prominent than Elisha for at least two reasons. First, Elijah did not die but ascended, and Malachi predicted that Elijah would return as the messenger going before Yahweh and bringing restoration. Second, Elijah was viewed as the prophet par excellence. Jesus identifies *John the Baptist with Elijah, while Jesus is depicted as being like Elijah and Elisha as a prophet who performs mighty deeds.

1. Elijah and Elisha in the Old Testament and Second Temple Literature
2. Matthew
3. Mark
4. Luke
5. John

1. Elijah and Elisha in the Old Testament and Second Temple Literature.

1.1. *Elijah and Elisha in the Old Testament.* The OT narrative of Elijah and Elisha begins in 1 Kings 19 and ends in 2 Kings 13. Elijah suddenly appears in the narrative, challenging King Ahab's behavior, while Elisha was selected by Elijah to be his successor (2 Kings 19:16-21). These two prophets are distinctive within the OT Historical Books because both preach and perform mighty deeds, such as healing and preventing or obtaining rain from God. Isaiah also appears in 2 Kings 19—20; 2 Chronicles 32, but his role is primarily to speak prophetically. As such, in the Gospels Elijah and Elisha provide models of prophets who preach and perform mighty deeds of God. Elijah also figures in the book of Malachi, where it is predicted that Elijah would come before the great and terrible day of Yahweh (Mal 4:5-6). Elijah will come and bring restoration. He is usually associated with the messenger in Malachi 3:1.

1.2. *Elijah and Elisha in Second Temple Jewish Literature.* The prediction about Elijah's coming before the day of Yahweh, and the fact that he is recorded in 2 Kings 2 as ascending to heaven without ever dying, led to much speculation during the Second Temple period. Sirach 48, in its description of the ministries of Elijah and Elisha, points to Elijah's role as the one who would turn away wrath before the day of Yahweh and bring restoration between father and son as well as the tribes of Jacob (Sir 48:10-

11). Like the Greek translation of Malachi, Sirach expands the role of Elijah from only reconciling fathers and sons to a more general restoration within Israel (Bauckham, 441). Elijah was far more prominent in Second Temple literature than Elisha, but Josephus, in his *Jewish Antiquities*, downplayed Elijah, who was a popular hero and prototype of the zealots and made Elisha more prominent as a prophet whose deeds were "glorious" (Josephus, *Ant.* 9.46). Josephus omits gory events from Elisha's life and portrays him as a "gentler prophet" (Feldman, 26). Pseudo-Philo refers to Malachi 4:6 (MT 3:24) and speaks of the restoration that Elijah is to bring as happening through restoration of the dead to each other through resurrection (*L.A.B.* 23:13). The interpretation of Malachi in Pseudo-Philo "is likely the source of the tradition, found in later rabbinic literature, that 'the resurrection of the dead comes through Elijah' (*b. Sot.* 49b)" (Bauckham, 443).

2. Matthew.

The Gospels of Matthew and Mark have the same number of explicit references to Elijah (nine). Matthew's Gospel, however, has the highest number of explicit connections between John the Baptist and Elijah. Matthew's Gospel explicitly identifies John with Elijah. This can be seen in Jesus' discourse on John the Baptist in Matthew 11:7-19. Jesus identifies John with the messenger promised by Malachi 3:1, who almost certainly is the same individual as Elijah (Mal 4:5-6). This has the added significance of implicitly identifying Jesus with the Lord, who is preceded by the messenger. Then Jesus says of John the Baptist, "If you are willing to receive [this], he is Elijah who is going to come" (Mt 11:14). This serves to validate John the Baptist and his ministry, which, given John's claims about Jesus, in turn validates Jesus and his ministry. Elijah has prepared the way of the Lord. Jesus' identification of John with Elijah implies that the forerunner has come and fulfilled his task, implying the day of the Lord is now here. This has "startling Christological implications," since accepting that John the Baptist is Elijah is to "embrace a whole package of eschatological fulfillment in Jesus," for which most of those listening to Jesus were not ready (France, 432). All three Synoptic Gospels narrate Jesus' *transfiguration, but Matthew is the only evangelist who makes an explicit link at this point between John the Baptist and Elijah (Mt 17:13) in the conversation that Jesus had with the disciples on the way down the mountain, while Luke contains no details of this conversation (Lk 9:36).

3. Mark.

The connections between Elijah and John the Baptist are more implicit in Mark's Gospel. For example, in the opening verses, Mark combines Isaiah 40:3 and Malachi 3:1 as a way of explaining who John the Baptist is. John is both a messenger who proclaims the Isaianic new exodus through Jesus and the messenger of Malachi, who generally is identified with Elijah. This identification likely suggests that if John is the messenger of Malachi who precedes Yahweh, then Jesus should be identified with Yahweh. Furthermore, since Malachi asserts that those who refuse to turn to God in *repentance will be judged, Mark's quotation implies that John's message must be heeded. Otherwise, Yahweh (Jesus) will come to his temple and bring judgment. The connection between John the Baptist and Elijah is strengthened by Mark (Mk 1:6; cf. Mt 3:4), who makes reference to the clothing worn by John the Baptist, stating that it was made of camel's hair and that John wore a leather belt around his waist. It is quite likely that this piece of information is reported in order to show that John stands in continuity with the prophets of old, especially Elijah, as the description of Elijah's clothing is quite similar (2 Kings 1:8). This continuity provides validation for John's message and actions, including his message about Jesus.

Mark's account of the posttransfiguration discussion of Jesus and his disciples introduces exegetical questions. Mark 9:12 refers to Elijah as coming and restoring all things, which likely is a reference to the Jewish belief that Elijah would bring general eschatological restoration (Bauckham, 441). The order of Elijah and then the *Son of Man suffering and rising is interesting in that no extant Second Temple Jewish text states a chronological order to the coming of Elijah and the Davidic Messiah. The interpretation of "restoration" in Malachi 4:6 offered by Pseudo-Philo could also reflect the viewpoint of the disciples in expecting Elijah to come before the *resurrection of the Son of Man.

There is no significant literary evidence of a Jewish belief that Elijah would come before the Messiah, but the fact that this connection seems to be implied in the Gospels suggests that such a view was current among some Jews in the first century A.D. Since the Messiah was expected to reign a long time, and Elijah's work of restoration needed to be accomplished first, it may also be that this order—Elijah first, Messiah second—was a well-known idea. Jesus' statement about Elijah suffering "as it is written about him" suggests further that Jesus includes in his understanding of the eschatological Elijah the opposition and rejection

that Elijah experienced during his own lifetime and the general experience of prophets in the Scriptures of Israel, rather than Mark 9:13 pointing to some prophecy that John the Baptist fulfilled.

Although there are no explicit references to Elisha in Mark, W. Roth has suggested that just as the figure of Elijah was the paradigm used by Mark to describe John the Baptist, so Mark presents John's "successor," Jesus, based upon the Elisha paradigm. The miracles performed by Jesus, evaluated in Mark 7:37, are "more powerful and beneficial" and more numerous than those of Elisha (Roth, 7).

4. Luke.

4.1. *Explicit References to Elijah and Elisha.*

Most of the references to Elijah in Luke's Gospel refer to Elijah himself or the belief that Jesus is Elijah. Luke connects John the Baptist with Elijah, beginning with the annunciation of John's birth. Malachi 3:1; 4:6 are used in Gabriel's describing of John in terms of Elijah (Lk 1:16-17). His words are not prophecies for John to fulfill but rather are characterizations that describe what his ministry will be like. They assert not that John is Elijah but rather that John will be Elijah-like, with a similar mission. Elsewhere in Luke's narrative Scripture is employed to identify John the Baptist with the messenger of Malachi, thus implicitly identifying him with Elijah. Zechariah (Lk 1:76) makes this connection at John's birth, and Jesus later makes this connection when extolling John the Baptist (Lk 7:27). This provides legitimization of John as a prophet who goes before the Lord (Jesus).

Jesus' sermon in the synagogue in Nazareth uses Elijah and Elisha as examples of prophets who aided Gentiles while not aiding Israelites. This may suggest that God has rejected *Israel and hints at a future ministry among the *Gentiles for Jesus' followers. Since the original focus of Elijah being sent to the widow in 1 Kings 17 was for her to feed him, thus showing an Israelite and Gentile eating together, it may be that Luke's interest here is in Jewish-Gentile relations, with correspondences between Elijah and the widow and Jews and Gentiles eating together in Acts 10—11 and between Elisha and Naaman and Peter and Cornelius in Acts 10. Thus, the examples of Elijah and Elisha point not to the rejection of Israel but rather to "Jewish-Gentile reconciliation" (Crockett, 183). C. A. Evans has suggested that Jesus' use of the Elijah/Elisha narrative here focuses on election (Evans, 74), challenging the common view that Gentiles and less pious Jews would be rejected by God, for Jesus taught that it was outsiders and outcasts

who would experience *salvation, in light of Isaiah 61:1-2. These elements appear in pericopes that allude to the Elijah/Elisha narrative, such as Luke 7:1-10. The negative reaction of the crowd to Jesus' reference to Elijah and Elisha possibly stems from Jesus "implicitly comparing the Nazarenes with the apostatized public of Elijah's and Elisha's day" (Poirier, 362). While one or more of these views may reflect an aspect of Jesus' reference to Elijah and Elisha, given that Elijah is used to characterize John the Baptist's ministry in Luke 1:17, J. B. Green probably is correct that Luke is primarily concerned with the "characterization of Jesus' identity and mission" (Green, 218n54). Luke 4:27 contains the only NT reference to Elisha. He serves as a second example of a prophet being sent to a non-Israelite to help her.

Unlike Jesus' disciples, the crowds identified Jesus as possibly being Elijah (Lk 9:7-8, 19-20; cf. Mt 16:14-16; Mk 6:14-15; 8:27-29). The report of these ideas focuses on characterizing Jesus as a prophet like Elijah (and not Elijah *redivivus* [*contra* Fitzmyer]), and the mention of John the Baptist likely points to Jesus' future participation in the common fate of prophets, which when tied to Peter's confession, indicates that "Jesus' messiahship involves his suffering the fate of the prophets" (Yamasaki, 133).

4.2. Use of Imagery from the Elijah/Elisha Narratives. Luke, more so than the other evangelists, uses imagery from the stories of Elijah and Elisha to characterize Jesus as being like these great prophets of old. Luke 7:11-17 may be intended to reflect elements of Elisha's raising of a dead son (2 Kings 4:32-37). Luke 7:1-10, which tells of the healing of a centurion's servant, seems to be narrated in light of 1 Kings 17:8-16. Given the similarity in vocabulary and imagery between the LXX of 1 Kings 19:19-21, in which Elisha is symbolically "called" to his prophetic ministry, and Luke 9:61-62, the former story may have influenced Luke's narration of this encounter between Jesus and a would-be follower. After the refusal of a Samaritan village to welcome Jesus during his journey to Jerusalem, James and John ask Jesus if he would like them to call down fire from heaven to consume the villagers (Lk 9:54). This is an allusion to 2 Kings 1:10, 12, 14, in which Elijah caused fire to consume soldiers of the king who had come to seize him. Some Greek manuscripts even add to Luke 9:54 the statement "as also Elijah did" in order to make the allusion clearer, though this certainly is not part of the original text. Given the reference to Samaria in 2 Kings 1:3 and the town mentioned in Luke 9:52, this allusion is even more certain. The story of Eli-

jah's ascension likely served as a model for describing Jesus' ascension in Luke 24:50-53.

According to T. Brodie, the Elijah/Elisha narrative served as a large-scale model for the Gospels as "prophetic biography." Brodie asserts that the Elijah/Elisha narrative provides the overall structure for Luke-Acts, seen in the presence of two balanced parts with an ascension to heaven at the center (Brodie, 83). Yet, although some of the incidents in Luke's Gospel do seem similar to those in the Elijah/Elisha narrative, and these likely influenced the way that Luke told his story, Brodie's view overlooks too many differences between Luke-Acts and 1-2 Kings to be convincing on the larger scale.

5. John.

Compared to the Synoptics, John's Gospel says comparatively little about John the Baptist or Elijah. In fact, the only references to Elijah (Jn 1:21, 25) are part of a discussion with John the Baptist in which he explicitly denies being Elijah. It has been suggested that this denial reflects the evangelist's desire to show the superiority of Jesus to John the Baptist (cf. Jn 1:8, 15), and connecting John the Baptist with Elijah would make John more prominent. Additionally, John's Gospel may be seeking to respond to the existence of a cult for John the Baptist (seen perhaps in Acts 19:1-5). This argument, however, is based on what the text does not say, and furthermore, there is no evidence that John the Baptist was held by his later followers to be Elijah. In any case, John's Gospel does not contain the pericopes in the Synoptics in which John is connected to Elijah (e.g., the transfiguration). John's Gospel and the Synoptics do agree in presenting John the Baptist as the voice crying in the wilderness from Isaiah 40:3 (Mt 3:3; Mk 1:3; Jn 1:23), however, though this may be nothing more than the Fourth Gospel's way of pointing to Jesus' identity, such that John the Baptist's identity does not matter or that the most important attribute of John is that he was a witness to Jesus. It is Jesus who connects Elijah and John the Baptist in the Synoptics, and John the Baptist's denial is consistent with his humble stance vis-à-vis Jesus (Jn 1:26-27; 3:25-30). John's Gospel need not be understood to be fighting against the view that John the Baptist was Elijah (Öhler 1999).

See also JOHN THE BAPTIST; TRANSFIGURATION.

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ELISHA. See ELIJAH AND ELISHA.

EMBARRASSMENT, CRITERIA OF. See CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY.

EMMAUS. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

EMPIRE, ROMAN. See ETHICS OF JESUS; ROME.

ESCHATOLOGY

The term *eschatology* derives from the two Greek words *eschatos* ("end") and *logos* ("word"); it refers, accordingly, to discourse that envisions the end of the present order. Early Jewish and Christian texts attest to the widespread belief that God was about to intervene decisively in human history, meting out judgment and salvation and bringing the present era of strife and evil to a close. Eschatological language and imagery pervade the Gospels, and, according to many scholars, eschatological expectation provides the backdrop against which Jesus' ministry must be viewed.

1. The Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism
2. The Historical Jesus
3. The Synoptic Tradition
4. The Gospel of John
5. Conclusion

1. The Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism.

Many human societies develop some notion of a coming new age, an age often conceived in utopian terms and often born out of deep crisis (Allison 1998). But it was Israel's particular experience of God's promises and their not-yet-complete fulfillment that provided the specific contours of the eschatological expectation of the early Jesus movement.

1.1. Prophetic Eschatology. The belief that God had acted and continued to act in history on Israel's behalf, a conception frequently referred to as *Heilsgeschichte* ("salvation history"), was foundational to Israelite Yahweh worship. The exodus event, in particular, often was interpreted as evidence that God had chosen Israel for a unique covenant relationship—that God had saved Israel in the past and would continue to save Israel, if only Israel remained faithful (Ex 13:3-22; Deut 4:37-40; 26:5-10; Ps 114).

Thus, the Babylonian exile precipitated a crisis of faith. God's people had lost possession of the land in which God had promised they would dwell forever (Gen 13:14-17; Josh 14:9). The Davidic monarchy, to which God had promised never-ending dominion (2 Sam 7:4-16), had been stripped of its rule. The very temple of God, which was supposed to have been inviolable (Pss 46; 48; cf. Jer 7:1-15), had been destroyed. Not coincidentally, it was these apparently unfulfilled divine promises that became the subjects of later eschatological speculation. God's promises had not been broken, later authors would insist; rather, their fulfillment had been deferred to the future (Mowinckel, 133-49).

The movement toward eschatological interpretation of God's covenant promises is first evident in the exilic prophets. Although Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Second Isaiah still imagine a concrete, political restoration of God's people, they describe this restoration in terms that emphasize its discontinuity with the present age. Second Isaiah (Is 40–55), in particular, uses highly symbolic language to describe Israel's eventual restoration (Is 40:3–5; 45:14; 51:3–6, 9–11), language so exalted that one wonders if any concrete return from exile could have satisfied the longings that it evoked. Such "prophetic eschatology" (Hanson, 11) provided a rich store of imagery that later writers would use to describe the birth of a new age.

When the return did occur, it certainly did not usher in the era of prosperity, piety and peace that Second Isaiah had described. Hence, the postexilic prophets continue to express hope for a more thorough re-creation and a more thorough fulfillment of God's promises (Hanson). Third Isaiah (Is 56–66) awaits a dramatic intrusion of the coming age into the disappointing present: "I am about to create new heavens and a new earth; the former things shall not be remembered or come to mind" (Is 65:17 NRSV). And Zechariah, in particular, begins to use such cosmic imagery and symbolism as would come to be associated with *apocalyptic literature.

1.2. Apocalyptic Eschatology. A considerable number of texts from the Hellenistic period attest to a new development in Jewish eschatological expectation: the birth of apocalyptic eschatology (Collins; Carey). Within the OT canon, the book of Daniel is the clearest representative of this new mode of thought and its primary literary manifestation, the "apocalypse" (cf., in the OT Pseudepigrapha, 1 *Enoch*; 4 *Ezra*; 2 *Baruch*; and in the NT, Revelation). Notably, it is this literature that begins to consider the eschatological fate of the individual, and it is in this period that we first encounter clear reference to *resurrection (Dan 12:1–3, 13; 2 Macc 7).

Although there is much diversity among these texts, a number of shared features characterize their eschatological perspective. Apocalyptic eschatology insists upon stark discontinuity between the present sinful age and the perfect world to come. God's beleaguered people are assured that God will act quickly to judge the wicked and provide for the salvation of the righteous and the restoration of Zion. Despite a cosmic catastrophe, God's people will be preserved, and God will usher in a new era of *peace. Israel's history often is presented as an orderly series of distinct periods, which appears to be a way of asserting God's continued sovereignty over its course:

God remains in control, and the "end" will come when the divinely appointed time is fulfilled.

1.3. The Roman Period. The Gospel narratives set the story of Jesus against a backdrop of widespread eschatological expectation (Mk 9:11; 12:35; Lk 2:25–26; Jn 1:45), and other sources confirm that at least some of Jesus' contemporaries expected God soon to bring judgment and restoration (1 *En.* 37–71; *Pss. Sol.* 17–18) (see Exile and Restoration). Just as Daniel's apocalypticism appears to constitute a response to the imposition of Hellenistic rule (Portier-Young), so the apocalypticism of this period is often viewed as symbolic resistance to Roman domination (Horsley).

The *Dead Sea Scrolls are a particularly important source for understanding the range of eschatological beliefs current in the late Second Temple period (Reitz; Hogeterp). Their authors envisage the coming of various messianic agents (Xeravits), a great tribulation described as "birth pangs" (1QH^a XI, 7–37), the divine judgment of the wicked and the salvation of the righteous (1QS IV, 4–19) and a final eschatological battle in which evil is defeated (1QM). Each of these motifs finds expression in the Gospels as well.

2. The Historical Jesus.

There is no question that the Jesus of the Gospels frequently uses apocalyptic language and imagery. There has been debate, however, regarding whether this material derives from Jesus himself or from the apocalypticism of the early church, as well as dispute regarding how such language should be interpreted. Indeed, questions surrounding Jesus' eschatology, intertwined as they are with the struggle to interpret Jesus' proclamation of the *kingdom of God, have long played a central role in the study of the historical Jesus.

2.1. Imminent Eschatology. A. Schweitzer concluded his classic *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (German original, 1906) by posing a stark alternative. Repudiating portraits of Jesus as a moral teacher, Schweitzer argued that one had either to dismiss altogether the historicity of Jesus' messianic claim ("thoroughgoing skepticism") or to accept the fact that Jesus was proclaiming the imminent end of the world ("thoroughgoing eschatology"). Schweitzer himself, following J. Weiss, advocated the latter option: Jesus proclaimed his own imminent "parousia" as the Son of Man, expecting that he himself would be supernaturally transformed and revealed as the messianic agent who would bring history to its close (cf. Mk 8:38–9:1; 13:24–30; 14:26).

Schweitzer's insistence that apocalyptic eschatology provides the background and structure of Jesus' proclamation has been very influential. Hence, B. Ehrman claims to speak for a scholarly consensus: "Jesus thought that the history of the world would come to a screeching halt, that God would intervene in the affairs of this planet, overthrow the forces of evil in a cosmic act of judgment, and establish his utopian Kingdom here on earth. And this was to happen within Jesus' own generation" (Ehrman, 3).

Perhaps the most significant articulation of this viewpoint in recent decades is that of D. C. Allison, who has used crosscultural study of millenarian groups to provide perspective on the apocalypticism of the early Jesus movement (Allison 1998). Like many millenarian prophets, Allison argues, Jesus proclaimed the reversal of the present social and political order. His movement was at once nativistic and innovative, returning to but reinterpreting Israel's traditions. Further, Allison asserts that such declining eschatological fervor as was evident already by the end of the first century A.D. is typical of aging millenarian movements.

E. P. Sanders also interprets Jesus' eschatological language as describing an imminent expectation, but he insists that what Jesus proclaimed was not the coming of a cosmic catastrophe followed by the appearance of a heavenly kingdom, but rather the miraculous yet earthly restoration and vindication of the nation of *Israel by God. Such "restoration eschatology," Sanders argues, is in keeping with the hopes of his contemporaries, who, like Jesus, anticipated the destruction and renewal of the temple (cf. Mk 14:58) and the restoration of the twelve tribes of Israel (cf. Mt 19:28).

2.2. *Realized Eschatology.* Schweitzer's interpretive model has been challenged on two main fronts. The first is the question of timing: Not all are convinced that Jesus' eschatological sayings—at least, those that can confidently be considered authentic—describe an imminent event. The second concerns the meaning of apocalyptic discourse: Does this language intend to describe the literal "end of the world," or, instead, transformation within the bounds of history (see Caird, 243-71; Miller)? And, if the latter, precisely what sort of transformation is anticipated?

C. H. Dodd famously opposed the "imminent eschatology" model on both these fronts, offering an alternative interpretation of Jesus' teaching as "realized eschatology." For Dodd, Jesus proclaimed the "eschatological" kingdom of God as a present fact—"God exercising His kingly rule among men" (Dodd, 56). With Jesus himself God's reign had come, and

Jesus' ministry of healing and deliverance bore witness to the fact that the power of Satan had been broken (cf. Mt 11:2-11 // Lk 7:18-30; Mt 12:28 // Lk 11:20). According to Dodd, whereas Jesus' contemporaries expected the kingdom to come only when Israel had repented, Jesus announced that its coming had not waited for but rather served as a summons to *repentance (Dodd, 30).

Like Dodd, R. Bultmann argued that the center of gravity in Jesus' eschatological teaching was the present, not the future. For Bultmann, though, this was not because the kingdom had already been realized; rather, he insisted that it was precisely as a future power that the kingdom determined the present (Bultmann 1958, 51). The purpose of Jesus' teaching was not to orient his followers toward the future, but rather to highlight the significance of the eschatological "now." For each person who hears Jesus' call, Bultmann emphasized, the present becomes the time of decision, the eschatological moment at which each person must choose either for or against the demand of God. Bultmann describes this as a choice between two existential modes, one concerned with oneself, the other with God as the ground of existence. Eschatology, then, describes not a historical but an individual existential reality (Bultmann 1958, 51-52).

Although Bultmann's existential mode of interpretation has generally been discarded, he is not alone in finding the referent of Jesus' eschatological language not in time and history but in religious experience. M. Borg, for example, has suggested that Jesus' eschatological language was in fact mystical, not future-oriented, with the phrase "kingdom of God" functioning as "a symbol for the presence and power of God as known in mystical experience" (Borg, 254).

In a similar vein, but informed by his reading of ancient *Cynicism, J. D. Crossan has countered apocalyptic portraits of Jesus with a wisdom-oriented interpretation of Jesus' eschatological language. According to Crossan, Jesus proclaimed a "sapiential eschatology" that sought to articulate God's present reign. His ministry should be considered eschatological not because of an orientation toward the future, but because it is "world-negating"—that is, it refuses to accept the legitimacy of the present order—and both imagines and enacts an alternative reality.

2.3. *Inaugurated Eschatology.* One reason why scholars have given such contradictory accounts of Jesus' eschatology is that there is a fundamental tension built into the sources themselves. The Gospels

clearly depict Jesus proclaiming a future eschatological event, and just as clearly they portray him using eschatological language to describe a present reality (Perrin, 74-89). Of course, this apparent contradiction can be resolved if one deems only one stream of tradition authentic. A majority of members of the Jesus Seminar, for example, consider many of Jesus' future-eschatological sayings later accretions, and Crossan has argued that while the generic "son of man" sayings (e.g., Mk 2:28; Mt 8:20 // Lk 9:58) originated with Jesus, predictions of an apocalyptic *Son of Man (e.g., Mk 13:26) did not (Crossan, 238-64).

Others, though, have argued for the authenticity of both streams of tradition (though not necessarily each particular saying), insisting that what the Gospels preserve is not a contradiction but rather a conception of the eschaton as a dynamic process—something already inaugurated, but not yet consummated. Thus, J. Jeremias, an early proponent of this interpretation, modified Dodd's position by speaking of eschatology "in process of realization" (Jeremias, 159).

W. Kümmel sought to specify the nature of this process, focusing in particular on Jesus' sayings regarding the "coming" of the kingdom. According to Kümmel, Jesus considered the eschaton already effective in his own person and messianic ministry, though its consummation remained in the near future. Acceptance or rejection of Jesus in the present was an act of eschatological significance, decisive for one's status at the imminent judgment of Jesus as Son of Man. For Kümmel, then, "the essential content of Jesus' preaching about the Kingdom of God is the news of the divine authority of Jesus, who has appeared on earth and is awaited in the last days as the one who effects the divine purpose of mercy" (Kümmel, 155).

G. E. Ladd shared Kümmel's emphasis on the "already but not yet" tension in Jesus' proclamation, but he stressed that Jesus conceived of the eschaton not as a temporal process but as a paradox. The present is not the duration between the beginning of the kingdom's coming and its completion, but rather is a time in which "the eschatological kingdom has itself invaded history in advance, bringing men in the old age of sin and death the blessings of God's rule" (Ladd, 322).

N. T. Wright follows in this tradition. Wright stresses that Jesus' eschatological language is not about the end of the world as such; rather, it refers to "the climax of Israel's history, involving events for which end-of-the-world language is the only set of

metaphors adequate to express the significance of what will happen, but resulting in a new and quite different phase *within* space-time history" (Wright 1996, 208). According to Wright, Jesus considered his own arrival in Jerusalem to be the enactment and embodiment of God's promised return to Zion and believed that he, by his own death and vindication, would bring an end to Israel's ongoing experience of exile (cf. Pitre), not by conquering the power of *Rome, but by defeating the rule of evil itself. With such an interpretation, Wright, unlike Schweitzer or Sanders, intends to leave open the possibility that the victory Jesus promised was in fact accomplished, even if its full "implementation" remained in the future (Wright 1996, 659-60).

3. The Synoptic Tradition.

Since the rise of redaction criticism, the Synoptic Gospels have been viewed not only as sources for uncovering the eschatology of Jesus but also as theological works in their own right that attest to the various forms of eschatological expectation current in early Christian communities.

3.1. The Sayings Source Q. There has been considerable debate concerning the eschatology of the sayings material shared only by Matthew and Luke, material generally attributed to the hypothetical sayings source *Q. There is no doubt that Q, in its reconstructed final form, situates its readers in a present time of crisis that derives its meaning from eschatological realities (Tuckett, 107-63). This tone is set from the outset by the preaching of *John the Baptist, who announces the imminent judgment of the "coming one" (Mt 3:7-12 // Lk 3:7-17). Judgment remains a prominent theme throughout (Lk 10:13-15; 11:31-32; 22:28-30 and par.) and is repeatedly associated with the coming of the Son of Man (Lk 3:16-17; 12:39-40; 17:26-30 and par.), an event that will be as spectacularly disruptive as it is unexpected (Mt 24:26-28 // Lk 17:23-24, 37). Indeed, in Q the threat of judgment is far more pervasive than the promise of eschatological redemption (Kloppenborg 1987b).

Further, Q imbues both Jesus' ministry and the present missionary activity of his followers with eschatological significance: Jesus' exorcisms, which occur by "the finger of God," are explicitly connected with the coming of God's kingdom (Mt 12:27-28 // Lk 11:19-20). And Q's readers are invited to go out into the eschatological harvest (Mt 9:37-38 // Lk 10:2), curing the sick and announcing the presence of God's reign (Mt 10:7 // Lk 10:9). Q's message, then, is that God's kingdom has come, and that fiery judgment will soon fall on those who reject it.

Behind Q's reconstructed final form, however, a number of scholars see a formative compositional layer in which apocalyptic motifs are largely absent. Most influential has been the proposal of J. Kloppenborg, who, on the basis of formal and literary analysis, sought to distinguish multiple compositional strata (Kloppenborg 1987a). Kloppenborg identified a formative layer consisting of six "wisdom speeches" (Q¹) that later was redacted as well as supplemented with additional sayings of Jesus and John (Q²). He assigned the bulk of Q's apocalyptically oriented material to this latter redactional stratum. Although Kloppenborg insisted that his literary-historical study did not provide evidence for relative dating of the various traditions in Q (Kloppenborg 1987a, 244-45), both proponents (Mack) and detractors (Wright 1992, 435-43) have often taken his work to imply that Q¹ essentially preserves Jesus' own sapiential proclamation and Q² the apocalyptic perspective of later followers.

Kloppenborg himself does not deny the presence of futurist eschatology in Q, including Q¹, but he questions whether it is best described as apocalyptic eschatology (Kloppenborg 1987b). Apocalypticism, Kloppenborg argues, typically derives from a sense of dissatisfaction with the present state of the world, a sense of cosmic dislocation or anomie. Q's eschatology does not express such anomie; rather, "instead of the spectre of a topsy-turvy cosmos, Q appeals to the normalcy of biological and social processes" (Kloppenborg 1987b, 297): ordinary agricultural growth (Lk 6:43-45; 13:18-19 and par.) and pedestrian household life (Lk 6:47-49; 11:11-13 and par.). What Q's eschatology effects, argues Kloppenborg, is the subversion of conventional kinship structures and societal norms (e.g., Lk 9:57-60; 10:13-15; 12:51-53 and par.). In other words, eschatology remains in the service of Q's sapiential emphases.

M. Sato is among those who remain unpersuaded by stratigraphic hypotheses. Moreover, he posits precisely the inverse relationship between *wisdom sayings and announcements of coming judgment as that suggested by Kloppenborg. Sapiential observations regarding creation, Sato argues, function to reinforce Q's prophetic proclamation of coming doom. For Sato, then, the wisdom material in Q is integrated into its prophetic-eschatological stance and thus is compatible with its expectation of a future eschaton that has already begun.

3.2. *The Gospel of Mark.* Mark's Gospel begins with a scriptural citation applied to the work of John the Baptist—"Prepare the way of the Lord" (Mk 1:2-3)—a good indication that Mark understands the

events that he narrates as God's eschatological visitation. Indeed, when Mark's Jesus first emerges from the wilderness, he announces, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God has drawn near" (Mk 1:15). The parables of Mark 4 use agricultural metaphors to describe the mysterious but unstoppable growth of this kingdom, the seeds of which have already been planted. But only those with ears to hear, those who have been given the secret of the kingdom, are able to discern the kingdom's presence.

In the narrative time of Mark's Gospel, then, the sowing of the kingdom has already occurred. But what about its "coming in power" (Mk 9:1)? Mark 9:1 has long been read as a prediction, evidently erroneous, that the parousia (cf. Mk 8:38) would occur within a generation of Jesus—that is, before "some standing here . . . taste death" (cf. Mk 13:30). Others argue, however, that this prediction is fulfilled within the Gospel narrative itself—for example, in the *transfiguration of Jesus by which it is immediately followed (Mk 9:2-8) (Rowe, 134-45)—or that it refers not to a single event but to the more general reality of the "divine government" experienced by those of Mark's readers who are able to perceive God's rule (France).

Mark's appropriation of eschatological symbolism to provide an interpretative context for Jesus' ministry is particularly evident in the apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13. Scholars have long postulated that much of this material derives from a preexisting source (see Beasley-Murray 1993, 1-109). Nevertheless, Mark integrates it into his narrative by constructing numerous parallels between Jesus' apocalyptic discourse and the *passion narrative (e.g., Mk 13:24; 15:33), thereby imbuing Jesus' *death with eschatological significance (Allison 1985, 36-39). But many suggest another function for the symbolism in Mark 13 as well: it provides Mark's readers with an eschatological interpretation of the political upheaval in contemporary Judea (Balabanski, 55-100), an upheaval that is described in the language of the final tribulation: these are the "birth pangs" (Mk 13:8) of the end of the age.

If Mark could correlate the apocalyptic imagery of Mark 13 with both the death of Jesus and with the turmoil of first-century A.D. Judean politics, this suggests that he viewed both as aspects of the great tribulation that was to precipitate the final coming of the Son of Man. For Mark, then, the final days of suffering are already under way. However, Mark refuses to speculate regarding when, precisely, God will bring this tribulation to its end (Mk 13:32); instead, he urges his audience to "keep watch"—that is,

to be alert and faithful until the end (Mk 13:34-37; 14:34, 37-38) (Geddert).

3.3. The Gospel of Matthew. Matthew's eschatological perspective retains the basic contours of Mark's, but a few distinctive characteristics are worthy of note. First, Matthew's prophetic fulfillment formula (e.g., Mt 1:22; 2:17) emphasizes that the events of Jesus' life have taken place according to the pre-ordained plan of God. Second, the theme of final judgment is more pronounced in Matthew than in Mark (Sim, 110-28). In part this is due to incorporation of Q sayings (Mt 3:7-12; 7:19; 10:14-15; 11:20-24), but the motif occurs often in Matthew's special material as well (Mt 5:27-30; 22:11-14; 25:31-46). Notably, throughout Matthew's Gospel it is one's deeds that constitute the criterion for judgment (Mt 12:33-37; 25:31-46; cf. Mt 11:19). Third, Matthew's report of the saints' opened graves (Mt 27:52-53) interprets Jesus' resurrection as an eschatological event associated with the widely expected general resurrection (Sim, 110-14).

Finally, Matthew provides a more systematic account than either Mark or Q of "the parousia of the Son of Man," and he, indeed, is the only evangelist to use this phrase (Mt 24:3, 27, 37, 39). A consistent schema occurs throughout the Gospel, both in the extended apocalyptic discourse of Matthew 24-25 and elsewhere in Matthew's narrative (Mt 16:27-28; cf. Mt 19:28). What Matthew envisages is particularly clear from the interpretation that he provides of the parable of the wheat and the tares (Mt 13:36-43) (see Sim, 75-87). By means of his earthly ministry, Jesus the Son of Man sowed the "children of the kingdom"; meanwhile, the evil one has sown his own wicked children. For now, the wicked and the righteous dwell together on earth, but the harvest, the "end of the age," is coming, and then the Son of Man will send his angels to judge the wicked and reward the righteous. The wicked will be punished with fire, and the righteous will be made to "shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (cf. Mt 25:41, 46).

In keeping with an increasing focus in current scholarship on apocalypticism as a mode of resistance, a number of recent interpreters have argued that what Matthew's eschatological imagery in fact envisages is the ultimate defeat of the Roman Empire and the vindication of God's oppressed people (Carter; Riches and Sim). It is Rome, these scholars assert, that is the chief earthly manifestation of Satan's dominion (Mt 4:8-10), and Rome's armies that will be defeated in the final eschatological battle (Mt 24:15-31).

3.4. Luke and Acts. The role of eschatology in Luke and Acts has been the subject of considerable discussion since the publication in 1954 of H. Con-

zelmann's *Die Mitte der Zeit* ("The Middle of Time"; ET, *The Theology of St. Luke*), in which he argued that Luke muted the urgent eschatological expectation of his predecessors by transferring the end of history to the distant future. According to Conzelmann, Luke conceived of Jesus' ministry not as the end of time, but as the middle, preceded by the epoch of Israel and the prophets and followed by the age of church (cf. Lk 16:16). By attributing a positive significance to the church's historical existence—by making it part of God's plan of "salvation history"—Luke was able to deal with the crisis of faith caused by the "delay of the parousia" (see Acts 1:6-8).

It is now generally agreed that Conzelmann's schematization is overly rigid, and that his opposition of eschatological fervor and salvation history is exaggerated (Bovon, 1-85, 520-24). Nevertheless, there are numerous indications that Luke sought to refute the notion that since the expected eschaton had been delayed, it would not appear at all. To a man who mistakenly expected that "the kingdom of God was about to appear immediately" (Lk 19:11), Luke's Jesus tells a parable about a nobleman who spent an interval in a distant country before returning as king (Lk 19:12-27). Jesus' death, Luke's parable implies, does not inaugurate the end; instead, it initiates a time of waiting during which faithful discipleship is required. Likewise, Luke assures his readers that Jesus did not predict that the end would immediately follow the destruction of the temple (Lk 21:5-9).

Still, eschatological expectation remains an important part of Luke's narrative. The coming of the Son of Man is certain (Lk 9:26-27; 17:20-37; Acts 3:19-21), and the disciples are invited to attend to the signs of his arrival (Lk 12:54-56; 21:28-36). Hence J. Carroll has suggested that Luke's concern with the delay of the parousia does not serve as evidence of waning interest in eschatology, but, on the contrary, attests to Luke's effort to preserve the credibility of imminent expectation in a new historical situation.

Characteristic of Luke is the use of eschatological language to provide an ethical mandate—that is, to highlight the importance of faithfulness in the present age (Lk 12:35-48; 13:23-30; 21:34-36). Resurrection too is presented as an eschatological reward and thus is used to motivate Luke's hearers to do good deeds (Lk 14:14; 20:35).

Finally, Luke, like the other evangelists, uses the language of biblical prophecy to emphasize the decisive significance of Jesus' present ministry (Lk 1:51-55, 68-79; 2:25-32, 38; 4:16-21; 24:44-48). And, in Acts, the coming of the Spirit likewise is presented as

the present-eschatological fulfillment of the ancient promises of God (Acts 2:1-21).

4. The Gospel of John.

As one might expect, the Fourth Gospel inhabits a world of eschatological discourse quite separate from that of the Synoptics. Much more than the other evangelists, John emphasizes that eschatological reality is already present in the person of Jesus and in the experience of the Spirit. "Eternal life" in John refers not to a future expectation (cf. Mt 25:46; Mk 10:30; Lk 18:30) but rather to a present reality made available by Jesus: "Truly I say to you, those who hear my teaching and put their faith in the one who sent me have eternal life; they do not come into judgment, but have departed from death into life" (Jn 5:24; cf. Jn 3:15-16, 36; 6:47; 10:28; 17:2-3). Jesus provides the end-time stream of living water (Jn 4:14; 7:37-39; cf. Ezek 47:1-12; Joel 3:18; Zech 13:1; 14:8; Rev 22:1-2); Jesus is the expected bread from heaven (Jn 6:25-40; cf. 2 Bar. 29:8; Rev 2:17); Jesus is the resurrection and the life (Jn 11:25) (*see* Life, Eternal Life).

This association of the person of Jesus with the eschaton is also evident from John's depiction of Jesus as authoritative judge already in the present (Jn 5:22-24, 27; 9:39) and from his portrayal of Jesus' crucifixion as the judgment of the world (Jn 12:31-33). Moreover, in John the glorification and exaltation of the Son of Man are already accomplished when Jesus is "lifted up" (*hypsōō*) on the cross (Jn 3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34; cf. Jn 7:39).

But despite the preponderance of "realized eschatology" in John, there remains an element of future expectation. The "last day," on which Jesus will "raise up" (*anistēmi*) his followers, still looms (Jn 6:39-40, 44, 54; 11:24). Both doers of good and doers of evil will be raised, the righteous to "the resurrection of life," the wicked to "the resurrection of judgment" (Jn 5:28-29; cf. Jn 12:48). And Jesus promises that he will return having prepared a heavenly place for his followers (Jn 14:3).

These realized and future aspects of John's eschatology appear to be contradictory (*see esp.* Jn 5:24-29). In short, if Jesus' followers already have eternal life, why must they be raised up on the last day? Bultmann resolved the problem by attributing the Gospel's futurist-eschatological material to a later redactor who sought to reconcile John's perspective with "traditional eschatology" (Bultmann 1971, 261), but his approach, though influential for a time, has generally been discarded (*see esp.* Frey).

More recently, interpreters have sought, in vari-

ous ways, to hold in tension both dimensions of John's eschatology. For G. R. Beasley-Murray, the apparent contradiction is resolved when one realizes that in the Fourth Gospel "eschatology is Christology": "To the Son is committed the carrying out of the eternal purpose of the Father; this he has achieved, he is achieving, and he shall achieve *eis telos* [to the end]" (Beasley-Murray 1999, lxxxvii). Others suggest that the coherence of Johannine eschatology lies in the experience of his readers, who live the "eternal life" of the Spirit in the present, yet know also that believers among them have met with physical death (O'Donnell; Culpepper).

5. Conclusion.

The canonical Gospels display considerable diversity in their eschatological perspectives and provide nothing that resembles systematic teaching concerning the nature or the chronology of God's final intervention. All, however, use eschatological language and imagery to emphasize the transformative nature of Jesus' ministry; all assure their readers of ultimate redemption; and all speak of coming reward and punishment in order to call their readers to faithfulness in the present.

See also APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING; EXILE AND RESTORATION; JUDGMENT; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; RESURRECTION; SON OF MAN.

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ESSENES

The Essenes were a Jewish movement living in various settlements throughout Palestine between the second century B.C. and A.D. 66-70. They are not named in the NT, but it is possible that *John the Baptist was acquainted with some of them living in the Judean wilderness. The Essenes are known from ancient Greek and Latin sources and likely also from the Hebrew and Aramaic *Dead Sea Scrolls. These sources reveal overlapping but distinct practices and beliefs within the Essene movement and significant points of contact with the emerging Jesus movement.

1. Sources from Antiquity
2. Communities of Essenes
3. Essene Practices and Beliefs

1. Sources from Antiquity.

References to sources in this article are conflated for convenience but with the understanding that the Essenes are portrayed and nuanced differently in the various texts, which in turn were influenced by the particular locations and interests of both authors and audiences (Jewish or Roman) and their acquaintanceship with different kinds of Essenes (cf. selective emphases in the four Gospel accounts). The external, Greek and Latin sources are more focused in the external distinctives such as celibacy and the community of goods while revealing little or no knowledge of calendar, messianism and apocalypticism—issues addressed in the DSS. The external sources also betray an intrigue in the more mundane details of body and dress—for example, the wearing of white robes, the avoidance of spitting, and specific procedures for toileting (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.123, 129, 147-149).

1.1. External, Classical Sources: Philo, Pliny, Josephus. In addition to being mentioned in Hippolytus, Dio Chrysostom, Hegesippus, Hippolytus, Porphyry, Solinun and Epiphanius, the Essenes are treated by a handful of first-century A.D. writers. Philo, an Alexandrian Jewish philosopher, wrote the oldest extant descriptions of the Essenes in *That Every Good Person Is Free* (*Prob.* 75-91), *Hypothetica* (*Hypoth.* 11.1-18) and *On the Contemplative Life*, portraying the Essenes in light of his own philosophic and ethical ideals.

For the Roman Pliny, the Essenes were a curiosity, a “throng of refugees” located near Engedi and the “lake of Asphalt” and remarkable for having only palm trees for company and for having “no women” and “no money” (*Nat.* 5.15.73).

A Jewish historian writing for a Roman audience, *Josephus effectively conformed the Essenes to a Hellenistic ideal in his selective descriptions found mainly in *Jewish War* (*J.W.* 2.119-161), *Jewish Antiquities* (*Ant.* 18.18-22) and *Life* (*Life* 9-12).

1.2. Internal, Sectarian Sources: Dead Sea Scrolls. Although aspects of the *Yahad* (“community”) in the sectarian DSS have variously been identified with the *Sadducees, Zealots, *Pharisees and even Judeo-Christians, the *Yahad* most resembles the “Essenes” known from the classical sources.

Some, but not all, from the *Yahad* settled at Qumran. For example, the *Damascus Document* (CD) refers to “camps” composed of married people and children, while the descriptions of community life in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) suggest a male, celibate community.

2. Communities of Essenes.

2.1. Multiple Groups and Locations. Numbered at more than four thousand (Philo, *Prob.* 75; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.20), Essenes were variously reported as living near the Dead Sea (Pliny, *Nat.* 5.15.73), avoiding cities but living in villages (Philo, *Prob.* 76), living in many cities and towns (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.124), and living in “camps” with a minimum of ten members (CD-A XII, 22—XIII, 2; cf. 1QS VI, 1-8). Josephus knew of Jerusalem’s “Gate of the Essenes” (*J.W.* 5.145).

2.2. Essenes and the Early Jesus Movement. G. Brooke has noted that the branch of educated, urban Qumran Essenes originally from *Jerusalem insisted on priestly purity, protected sacred space and practiced a “hardline” legal interpretation. In contrast, Jesus and his followers were lower middle class, from small towns, and practiced an open *table fellowship. Yet, similar conversational tensions may be found (see 3.2 below). For example, the sectarians were in dispute with a group that they called the “Flattery-Seekers,” “Shoddy-Wall-Builders” or “White-Washers” (CD-A I, 18-19; VIII, 12-13; CD-B XIX, 24-25), most likely the Pharisees (cf. Mt 23:27-28).

2.3. Essenes and Outsiders. In Matthew, “I have not come to bring peace, but a sword” (Mt 10:34) is in tension with “All who take the sword will perish by the sword” (Mt 26:52; cf. Mk 14:43-52; Lk 22:47-53; Jn 18:2-12). The classical sources present the Essenes as “servants of peace” (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.135), not making weapons of war (Philo, *Prob.* 78), attending to strangers, and providing them with clothing and other essentials (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.132). During initiation they swore both to “do no harm to anyone” and to “hate the wicked” (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.139, 142). Yet, Essenes were said to carry arms for protection against brigands (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.125), and a certain “John the Essene” presumably carried arms in his role as commander (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.567; 3.11).

Jesus’ followers were told to love their enemies, blessing instead of cursing them (Mt 5:43-48; Lk 6:27-36). In the *Rule of the Community* of the *Yahad* the “children of light” were to hate the “children of darkness” (1QS I, 9-10), cursing those “foreordained to Belial” (1QS II, 4-9), while concealing their hatred for the “Men of the Pit” until the day of vengeance (1QS IX, 17-23). In the meantime, while they awaited the divinely initiated eschatological *judgment (1QM; 1QpHab V, 3-5), they were not to return evil for evil, but instead were to pursue others only for good (1QS X, 17-20). The Aramaic *Genesis Apocryphon*, on the other hand, was more cautiously optimistic about the potential for mutually beneficial relationships with Gentiles; Abram as an idealized archetype for *Israel

is presented as laying hands on the Egyptian king for healing and as teaching Egyptians the knowledge of “goodness, wisdom, and righteousness” (1QapGen ar XIX, 23-25; XX, 21-29; cf. Jesus healing Israel’s enemies in Mt 8:5-13; 15:21-28).

3. Essene Practices and Beliefs.

3.1. Initiation, Table Fellowship, Swearing of Oaths. The probationary period for entry into the sect lasted between two and three years; initiation involved testing of character and, at the end of various stages, the transfer of property, the taking of oaths and participation in pure meals and pure drink (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.137-138; cf. 1QS VI, 13-23). The Essenes practiced a closed table fellowship; presumably visitors or new probationers ate separately (cf. table fellowship in Mk 2:16-17; 14:12-26). Swearing of oaths was prohibited except upon admission to sect (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.135, 139; Philo, *Prob.* 84; CD-A XV, 5-12; 1QS V, 8-11; cf. Mt 5:33-37; 23:16-22).

3.2. Alternative Ways of Living as Priestly, Torah-abiding Jews. Some have suggested that the Aramaicizing of the Hebrew “doers” (*ʿosim*) of the interpretation of the Torah (CD-A IV, 8) may plausibly be the origin of the term “Essenes.”

This group believed itself to be true Israel, a true priesthood and acceptable sacrifice, inheritors of the language of “planting,” “temple,” “remnant,” “cornerstone” and the “chosen” (1QS VIII, 1-10a; cf. Jesus as cornerstone in Mk 12:1-11 and discussion about true children of Abraham in Jn 8:39-42).

The *Damascus Document* (CD-A X, 14—XI, 18) records Sabbath restrictions against work in the field, carrying medicine or a baby, assisting an animal giving birth, and helping an animal fallen into a well. Humans fallen into a well could not be helped with ladder, rope or tool (cf. Mt 12:11-12; Mk 2:23-28). Sabbath rules recorded by Josephus pertained to food and fire preparation and not defecating on the Sabbath (*J.W.* 2.147-149; cf. 1QM VII, 5-7). The Essene court, not the high priest’s court, decided verdicts, including the death sentence for blasphemy (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.143-145; cf. Mt 26:57-66; Mk 14:53-64). Essenes were known for interpreting dreams (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.112-113; *Ant.* 17.345-348) and reliably exercising prophetic gifts (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.159; cf. Mt 11:8-10; Lk 1:76; 2:36; 7:26-28).

Judas the Essene is in the temple when he prophesies the death of Antigonus (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.78-80; *Ant.* 13.310-314; cf. Lk 2:36-37). However, like Jesus, at least some Essenes were openly critical of the *temple as it was currently run and its priesthood (CD-B XX, 22-23; 1QpHab I, 13; cf. Mk 11:15-18). Al-

though some sent offerings to the temple, they offered up some type of sacrifice among themselves with special practices for purification (Josephus, *Ant.* 18:18-19). Alternatively, they may not have offered animal sacrifices at all (Philo, *Prob.* 75; cf. 1QS VIII, 9-10; IX, 4-5); the DSS attest morning and evening prayers as an alternative to sacrifices (4Q503; cf. Philo, *Contempl.*).

The Hebrew Scriptures commanded washings for ritual impurities (Lev 14-17), and John’s *baptism required confession and *repentance for moral impurities (Mt 3:7-11). Essenes preceded their pure meal with cold-water immersion and *prayers (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.129-131). These immersions remedied ritual and moral impurity and were accompanied by repentance (1QS V, 13-18; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.19).

3.3. Marrying, Nonmarrying and Widower Essenes. A practice of leaving one’s wife, brothers, parents or children for the sake of the *kingdom of God was known in Luke’s Gospel (Lk 18:29-30; cf. Mt 19:29-30; Mk 10:29-30). According to Josephus, one order of Essenes disdained marriage but adopted children (*J.W.* 2.120), while another order permitted marriage for the purpose of procreation of children only, abstaining from intercourse during pregnancy (*J.W.* 2.160-161; cf. Lk 14:25-26). Philo notes that “no Essene takes a wife”; however, the phrase “even if the older men, however, happen to be childless” implies that some had children (*Hypoth.* 11.13). There is no legislation on celibacy or marriage in the *Rule of the Community*; however, the *Damascus Document* has rules for women and children (CD-A VII, 6-9; CD-B XIX, 3-5), and some communities had both “mothers” and “fathers” (4Q270 7 I, 13-15). Definition of fornication included approaching a wife “not according to the regulation” (4Q270 7 I, 12-13) and the taking of more than one wife in a lifetime (CD-A IV, 20—V, 1). It is possible that a celibate, male Essene community may have attracted widowers, who, according to this regulation, could not remarry.

3.4. Wealth, Livelihood, Social Justice. Deliberate lifestyle choices resulted from observed social injustices. *Slavery was rejected, and each served the other as brothers (Philo, *Prob.* 79; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.21). Essenes avoided the practice of commerce (Philo, *Prob.* 78), devoting themselves to manual or agricultural work and craftsmanship (Philo, *Prob.* 76; *Hypoth.* 11.8-9; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.19). They were known not to hoard “gold or silver” or acquire large pieces of land, living without excess of riches but not in poverty (Philo, *Prob.* 76-77; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.122). In comparison, Jesus’ teaching on treasures on earth and in heaven is nuanced eschatologically (Mt 6:19-

21; Lk 12:33-34) (see Rich and Poor). Essenes vowed to keep themselves from theft and “unlawful gain” (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.139-141); priests were not to rob the poor and the widow or kill the orphan (CD-A VI, 16-17; cf. Lk 18:3-5). Various, Essenes enjoyed a community of goods with no private property (Pliny, *Nat.* 5.15-73; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.122; *Ant.* 18.20; Philo, *Prob.* 85-86; *Hypoth.* 11.4-5, 10-12) or had some private means (CD-A XIV, 12-16; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.124; cf. Acts 4:32-5:11). The “riches” of initiates into the *Yahad* were to be mingled with the community’s property only after two years (1QS I, 11-12; VI, 18-23). Essenes were known to care for their own sick and elderly (Philo, *Prob.* 87; *Hypoth.* 11.13); the Qumran Essenes were meant to support the poor, needy, alien, elderly, diseased, captive and fatherless until the messiahs of Aaron and Israel arrived (CD-A VI, 21; XIV, 13-19).

3.5. Fate and Immortality. “Fate is mistress of all things” (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.171-173), a predeterministic theology echoed in 1QS III, 15-16. Josephus attributed a belief in the immortality of soul to the Essenes (*J.W.* 2.154-155; *Ant.* 18.18). Yet, while Josephus reports that the Pharisees believed in a bodily *resurrection and that the Essenes did not (*J.W.* 2.163; cf. Mt 22:23-33), some of the DSS hint that some of the people of these scrolls did. For example, the anticipated messiah was expected to cause the dead to live (4Q521 2 II, 12; cf. *Jub.* 23:30-31; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 9.27).

See also DEAD SEA SCROLLS; PHARISEES; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; SADDUCEES.

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ETERNAL LIFE. See LIFE, ETERNAL LIFE.

ETHICS OF JESUS

The “ethics” of Jesus concerns how Jews (and later Gentiles) follow Jesus in his own praxis of Torah observance, his own articulation of the premier revelation of *God’s will in Israel’s Torah, and how to embody his moral teachings in ways that manifest the *kingdom of God. In particular, the *Sermon on the Mount has become the locus classicus in interpreting the ethics of Jesus. Jesus’ ethics, or ethical theory, can also be fruitfully compared with classical ethical theories. While the ethics of Jesus need to be comprehended through the lens of each of the evangelists (Longenecker, 9-97; Hays, 73-168), the historical task of distinguishing the sayings of Jesus from the later redactional reshapings in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John will not be the orientation of this article.

1. Christian Reinterpretations of Jesus’ Ethics
2. Ethical Theories and Jesus
3. Jesus’ Ethics

1. Christian Reinterpretations of Jesus’ Ethics.

P. Lapide, an Orthodox Jew, describes the history of Christian discussions of Jesus’ ethics, and in particular the Sermon on the Mount as the representative ethical statement of Jesus, this way: “In fact, the history of the impact of the Sermon on the Mount can largely be described in terms of an attempt to domesticate everything in it that is shocking, demanding, and uncompromising, and render it harmless” (Lapide, 3). He quotes Karl Barth’s famous words: “It would be sheer folly to interpret the imperatives of the Sermon on the Mount as if we should bestir ourselves to actualize these pictures” (Lapide, 4).

So what do these (re)interpretations of Jesus’ ethics look like (see Greenman et al.)? Four notable attempts can be briefly summed up. First, some have said the Sermon on the Mount is really Moses taken to the highest level, and that Jesus’ intent is not to summon his followers to do these things but rather to show how wretchedly sinful they are. A second attempt is to assign the sayings of Jesus to the private, personal level, sometimes as little more than disposition or intention or striving, with no application to how Christians live publicly. Third, some assign his ethics, apart from the general teachings, to

only the most radically committed of disciples. Fourth, there is a tendency to see the Sermon on the Mount as preceded by something—often grace or justification—which means Jesus’ teachings are for Christians, but only those who have been transformed by grace and live by the Spirit (Quarles, 20-34). Or, from a completely different angle, they are known as “interim ethics,” a term established by A. Schweitzer: the belief that the world was about to end and the kingdom about to arrive should frame any discussion of Jesus’ ethics. Indeed, quite often it renders the so-called ethics of Jesus as dismissible (Sanders, 1-29; Schrage, 13-40). Theology has tended to colonize Jesus’ ethics; ethical theory offers another angle.

Other theories of Jesus’ ethics have come to the surface more recently, and these proposals are adaptations of the above points but go beyond them by reforming classical ethical theories (see 2 below). “Narrative ethics” refers to theories of ethics that contend that we are part of a story, that such a story formed our ethics and is designed to shape us yet further. S. Hauerwas’s casting of ethics into an ecclesial narrative is perhaps the best known example of a narrative-shaped ethic (Hauerwas 1981; 1983). But our point here is *Israel’s story and that Jesus steps into that story to express his ethics. This story is a divine revelation through Torah, the tradition and Israel. In other words, Jesus’ ethics emerge from an ethic from above that has already formed Israel’s story, a story that Jesus wants to reform through his own version of that ethic from above. The famous “You have heard . . . but I say to you” of Matthew 5:17-48 both assumes Israel’s ethic-from-above story and shifts it at the same time.

Theologians and ethicists have routinely recontextualized and reexpressed the ethical demand of Jesus, but in this process the rhetorical force of Jesus’ ethics is often, or at least sometimes, depleted. But Jesus’ ethics are not simply to be squared with Christian soteriology. Instead, they are to be seen as a personal demand to surrender to Jesus. This is the point of Jesus’ *parables of the hidden treasure and of the pearl (Mt 13:44-46), where we are to discern not so much a soteriology as a call to embrace Jesus and his kingdom vision, surrendering everything we have to him. Jesus’ ethical demands, then, are not simple moral teachings (though some of them can be read that way), but far more often are confrontational claims on his hearers. What would have struck the Jewish listener of the first century A.D. was not a soteriological question but a christological one.

This is not to say that Jesus’ ethics have no sote-

riological implications. For Jesus, those who took up his offer to follow him were the ones who would enter the kingdom, which by definition is the age to come, wherein *salvation would be fully discovered. But Jesus’ demands are not soteriological orderings as would eventually be found in the *ordo salutis*; instead, they are signs of what happens when the kingdom of God truly invades a community and a person in that community. Time and again we find in Jesus an ethic from above, the claim of God upon Israel and those who will enter on the kingdom path of Jesus.

2. Ethical Theories and Jesus.

From Moses to Plato and Aristotle, to Augustine and Aquinas, to Luther and Calvin, and then into the modern world of thinkers such as Immanuel Kant and John Stuart Mill, all the way to contemporary moral theorists such as Richard Niebuhr, Reinhold Niebuhr, John Howard Yoder, Stanley Hauerwas, Oliver O’Donovan and Alasdair MacIntyre, some of the finest thinkers have applied their energies to articulating the essence of morality. How does Jesus fit into that history?

Professional ethicists often break discussion about moral theory into three dimensions. (1) Metaethics probes the deepest question: What is goodness itself? (2) Normative ethics probes action: What is the good act? (3) Applied ethics probes how to apply the action question in a concrete setting: How do I do this good act in this situation at work? Or, how do I apply Jesus’ teaching on peace to war? Or, how do I apply Jesus’ call to forgive to my abusive husband? Each of these probings can be used in comparing Jesus to other great moral theorists. Although both metaethics (the Golden Rule) and applied ethics (loving enemies applies the Golden Rule) will emerge at times as we proceed here (see Hauerwas 1983; O’Donovan; Wells; Mouw; Reuschling), our focus will be on normative ethics.

2.1. Virtue Ethics. Virtue ethics is often associated with Aristotle, and his theory has been influential both in the church and the wider culture. Extolling the “ideals” of temperance, courage, wisdom and justice, Plato had focused on bringing the appetites and the human spirit under the control of the highest faculty, reason, so that the ethical person was the rational person. Extending Plato thought, Aristotle’s ethics are intellectual and even contemplative, but he moved ethics away from the ideal and closer to earth and to the mean between two vices. Thus, Aristotle’s ethics were shaped differently. First, the goal of life was human flourishing (Gk. *eudai-*

monia) (see Wright, 33-36). Second, a person could become a virtuous person only in the context of friendship (Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 2.4; 8.3.1-6, 8; Cicero, *Amic.* 6.20; 9.32). Third, the ethical person was to practice the habits that made virtue the core of one's character. The word *virtue*, then, is tied to the word *character*. The good person (character) does what is good (virtues), and doing good (virtues, habits) over time produces good character. The aim of ethical development is to become a virtuous person because virtuous persons do virtuous deeds, and these lead toward flourishing. The question then is not so much "What should I do?" but "Who should I be?"

Was Jesus a virtue ethicist? Modern ethicists can read Jesus as a virtue ethicist, but such categories must be imposed in order to find virtue ethics in Jesus. It cannot be successfully argued that Aristotle's view of flourishing is represented in Jesus' beatitudes, nor that Jesus framed his ethics in terms of habit-forming character. Virtue ethics is Greco-Roman, and we need to ask, "What does Jesus have to do with Athens or Rome?"

2.2. Categorical Imperative (Deontological Ethics). Immanuel Kant sought to establish ethics on the basis of reason alone, and his normative theory, often called "deontological ethics" (the Gk. *deon* referring to "ought" or "duty" or "obligation"), landed on the "categorical imperative." Kant framed the categorical imperative in a number of ways, reducible to universality, humanist and individualist (Reuschling, 31-41): (1) "act only in accordance with that maxim through which you can at the same time will that it become a universal law"; (2) "so act that you use humanity, whether in your person or in the person of any other, always at the same time as an end, never merely as a means"; (3) "the idea of the will of every rational being as a will giving universal law." That is, what is true for one must be true for all, and if we treat others as an end and therefore value humanity inherently, we will act in such a way as to live rationally and ethically. In addition, with respect to intention and practice, intention has more weight; further, what "I" ought to do becomes a right for everyone else as well as my duty to other people.

It could be argued that Kant's categorical imperative is a variant of Jesus' Golden Rule (Mt 7:12) or double *love command (Mk 12:18-32), but this would not be entirely accurate. Kant's ethic is dependent not on God or on the *incarnation of God in Christ, but solely and squarely on reason, and reason alone. It might be better to argue, especially if one thinks that Kant's imperative moves in the direction of the Golden Rule, that Kant's categorical imperative had

already been (spiritually, intellectually, etc.) formed by a culture shaped broadly by a Christian ethic, and that his reasonable ethical theory only found a way to confirm what he had absorbed in primarily socializing forces. We ask, "What does Jesus have to do with the Enlightenment?"

2.3. Utilitarian Ethics. Two English thinkers, first Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and then John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), reformulated a cultural Christian ethic and rejected the adequacy of Kant's deontological ethics. Classic utilitarianism can be said to have three leading features: it is consequentialist, universalist and (in some cases) hedonist. It is consequentialist in that what makes an action right is the consequences of that action. It is universalist in that a utilitarian ethicist judges the consequences for everyone affected by the action. It is hedonist in that the classic utilitarian (and here we are thinking of Bentham, not Mill) identifies "good" with "pleasure," and "bad" with "pain." So an action is right if, and only if, it produces (consequentialist) the greatest good (hedonism) for the greatest number (universalist); or, as the classic maxim puts it, "The end justifies the means." Mill thought that the Golden Rule was Jesus' version of utilitarianism, thus making Mill's ethical theory the most religious of all ethical theories. In addition, one has to begin to think of Christian eschatology, including the final judgment as well as the new heavens and the new earth, as final consequences toward which all ethics need to be shaped. Although Jesus' ethic is indeed framed by *eschatology, that eschatology is shaped by a theology of revelation that makes us ask, "What does Jesus have to do with England?"

3. Jesus' Ethics.

Jesus does not fit neatly into any of these theories, but each of these ethical theories—virtue, deontological, utilitarian—does say something true about how Jesus "did" ethics. We need to ask what Jesus sounded like—morally, that is—in a first-century A.D. Galilean Jewish world. What perhaps strikes the ethicist about Jesus is that his ethics are nonphilosophical, because Jesus did not use the philosophical language of his day. In the reception history of ancient philosophical and ethical discourse, probably the preeminent philosopher in the ancient world was Aristotle (or Plato and Aristotle), but Aristotle's philosophical approach to virtue ethics is not the way Jesus operated. As Hauerwas put it, "Christians are not called to be virtuous. We are called to be disciples" (Hauerwas 2007, 75). Furthermore, Jesus' ethics are universal: he calls ordinary

Galilean Jews, Judeans, women, Samaritans, the poor and the marginalized (Dunn, 489-541). Jesus' ethical theory is eclectic in that a number of elements are at work whenever Jesus "does" ethics, sometimes with one element playing an important element while in another context another element will come into play, and each of the philosophical approaches to ethics comes into play. Jesus "did" ethics from two angles: the sources or orientation of Jesus' ethics as an ethic from above, from beyond and from below, and then the character of Jesus' ethic as both messianic ethics and ecclesial ethics.

3.1. *The Sources/Orientation of Jesus' Ethics.*

3.1.1. *Ethics from Above: Torah.* Jesus emerges out of Israel's history, in which God speaks from on high to humans, the prominent element of God's speaking being Torah—the law of Moses. The paradigmatic story is in Exodus 19–24, with the Ten Commandments found in Exodus 20, all of them rehearsed in a new form in Deuteronomy. God had spoken with Adam and Eve and Abraham and Joseph well before *Moses, and this same God kept on speaking to Israel through the prophets and priests. The singular expression of the prophet was "Thus says the Lord." Everything about Jesus' ethics emerges from this history of God having spoken directly to Israel. His ethics function, then, as "commentary" on the history of that divine voice and can be classified under what is often called "divine command theory" (Mouw). The most astounding feature of Jesus' ethics is that while Jesus clearly speaks for God and thus clearly fits the profile of a *prophet, he never proclaims, "Thus says the Lord." Instead, he speaks for God directly. His words are no less than an ethics from above. The Sermon on the Mount, the classic summary of Jesus' ethics, ends with words to this effect: "When Jesus had finished saying these things, the crowds were amazed at his teaching, because he taught as *one who had authority*, and not as their teachers of the law" (Mt 7:28-29). And we think of the robust, self-conscious *ego* ("I") of Matthew 5:17-48 as well as his Nazareth claim (Lk 4:21), his calling of *disciples (Mk 1:16-20), his teachings on loving God and others (Mk 12:28-32), the Golden Rule (Mt 7:12), what he says about *fasting (Mk 2:18-22) and *Sabbath (Mk 6:1-6), and in general his authoritative status among his followers. Jesus' ethic is an ethic from above in that he speaks directly for God.

At the core of Jesus' moral teachings, or his ethics, is *love (Schnackenburg, 88-97; Stuhlmacher, 98-107; Dunn, 583-89): his followers were to love God with heart, soul, mind and strength, and they

were to love others as they loved themselves (Mk 12:28-32 par.). Dramatically, Jesus turned "enemies" into neighbors (Mt 5:43-48; Lk 10:25-29, 30-37). Although this can be softened into modernity's notion of tolerance, Jesus' teaching here is more radical: he both reduced the Torah to love of God and love of others, and provided a hermeneutical grid through which his followers can now discern how to live as the kingdom of God expands its reach. Whether we take the Matthean version (all laws hang from these two commands [Mt 22:40]) or the Markan version (the two greatest commands), each evinces a moral hermeneutic, and this works itself out in any number of incidents recorded in the Gospels, including the parable of the good Samaritan (Lk 10:25-38), the Golden Rule (Mt 7:12), the weightier matters of the Torah (Mt 23:23-24) and Jesus' *table fellowship with *sinners (Mk 2:13-17), including *women (Lk 10:38-42). This command to love God and others became fundamental as the earliest Christians found their way in the Roman world (cf. Rom 12:19; 13:9; Gal 5:14; Jas 2:8).

But narrowing how Jesus "did" ethics to a divine-command posture or to a Torah posture does not adequately capture how Jesus' ethics operated. Jesus' eclectic ethics requires that we explore another dimension of how Jesus extended another element of God's speaking in Israel's story.

3.1.2. *Ethics from Beyond: Prophets.* The genius of Israel's prophets was that they spoke to the people on behalf of God in light of what God would or could do in the future. In other words, the prophets' burden was to bring God's future to bear on the present. This can be called an "ethics from beyond," and it takes us one step beyond an ethics from above and one step closer to how Jesus "did" ethics. There is very little corresponding ethic in modern ethical theory, but Jesus' ethical posture toward the present was robustly shaped by his view of God's future. His ethics from beyond was perhaps the most significant element of his ethics. In this, Jesus stands alongside Israel's prophets because his ethics flowed directly from his vision of God's kingdom. We encounter the sheer force of Jesus' kingdom language through more than a hundred occurrences in the Synoptic Gospels, which is then advanced to some degree by John's conceptualization of the kingdom in his expression "eternal life." It is then crystallized in several Pauline observations (e.g., 1 Cor 15:20-28; Phil 2:6-11) and graphically sketched in Revelation 20–22. All this places the hearer of Jesus' ethic up against an eschatological ethic, a set of norms grounded in his belief of what is to come.

What do we mean by “kingdom”? For years biblical scholars have been preoccupied with the time of the kingdom (see Kingdom of God/Heaven): is it present, is it future, or is it both (inaugurated)? Interpreters cannot surrender Jesus’ clear sayings about the imminency of the kingdom (Mt 10:23; Mk 9:1; 13:30), but neither can they ignore Jesus’ more distant and future vision of the kingdom, as one finds more often in Luke. Hence, the idea of an inaugurated eschatology has attracted many interpreters. Yet, discerning the time of the kingdom is a prolegomenon to defining kingdom, and here scholarship has not been as active but instead has been happy to settle for looser formulations. Whereas B. Chilton contends that it refers to God acting in strength, many have taken it in the direction of a “dynamic reign” (rather than “rule”), and this has been translated into both social justice endeavors and the soteriology of justification. Again, neither is definitive enough. It would have been impossible for a Galilean or Judean at the time of Jesus to hear him make the startling claim that the kingdom had dawned (arrived or was about to arrive) and not ask what we might call “the David question.” In other words, the word *kingdom* in the Jewish world always bore the sense of God as king through a Davidade (see Son of David), Israel as kingdom citizens, the land as the sacred space for that Davidic kingdom and the realization of Torah observance in a fulsome way (as in Jer 31:31-34). In addition, it was accompanied by an eschatological salvific power working to bring victory over cosmic powers and systemic evil, as well as to heal, liberate, save and transform kingdom citizens into the people of God’s own possession. This eschatological power is an internal grace that transforms; that is, it is the kind of tree that produces the right kind of fruit (Mt 7:16-20). In contemporary scholarship *kingdom* has been not only “de-Israelized” but also “de-ecclesiological”; in turn it has been spiritualized or socialized, and at times it amounts to little more than social acts of benevolence or powers at work in this world instead of the formation of a community. For Jesus, kingdom would have been immediately associated with Israel as the saved remnant who has experienced the saving power of God in the new age (see Exile and Restoration). Although the connection needs to be stated carefully and with nuance, kingdom and *church are far more connected than is often recognized.

The most notable element of Jesus’ ethics from beyond was that the future had already begun to take effect in the present. This is the point of Matthew 4:17, words that butt up against the Sermon on the Mount and every ethical statement of Jesus:

“From that time on Jesus began to preach, ‘Repent, for the kingdom of heaven has come near.’” Over and over again in Jesus’ teaching the future impinges on the present in such a way that a new day is already arriving in Jesus. Thus, “These are not ordinary ethics, nor are they merely an extension of intensification of Jewish ethics. . . . They are the ethics of the kingdom” (Hagner, 48 [cf. Manson, 43-57]). And the foundational call to *repent (Mk 1:14-15) emerges most directly from the prophetic tradition, while the foundational call to believe/trust orients the disciple toward the work that God is doing right now in Jesus in light of the coming kingdom (Schnackenburg, 42-58; Schrage, 40-43).

Ever since the groundbreaking works of J. Weiss and A. Schweitzer the eschatological shape of the ethics of Jesus has been both appreciated and overdrawn, but one cannot deny its force in texts such as Mark 1:16-20; 2:13-17; 3:31-35; 8:34—9:1; 9:42-49; 10:17-31, 35-45, as well as, for example, Matthew 10:34-36; Luke 6:20-26, 46-49; 9:57-62; 12:1-12. The entire Gospel tradition, not excluding John’s emphasis on the realization of eternal life in the now, frames the entire ethic of Jesus into an ethic from beyond. As has been argued for a century, the ethic of Jesus is an eschatological ethic; that is, it contends that what God had promised for the future was beginning to take shape in the here and now (see Eschatology). The following are major themes for that future kingdom and therefore for Jesus’ vision for his followers (J. Dunn labels similar themes as “hungering for what is right,” Dunn, 563-83).

3.1.2.1. *Peace*. **Peace* (*šālôm*) refers in the OT and in the Jewish tradition to the flourishing of God’s people in this world as a result of God’s blessings on them. Hence, peace inevitably entails the absence of war. Yet the absence of war is not peace; for peace to exist, the people of God need to be liberated from oppression in order to *worship God in holiness, awe and love (Lk 1:67-79). Hence, peace is about dwelling in the land safely, obediently and abundantly. It follows from this that peace can become internal satisfaction and a consciousness of dwelling before God in truth and security. Jesus’ advocacy for peace is not simple wishful thinking, but rather is an eschatological vision now taking root among his followers (Mt 5:9; 10:34; Lk 10:5-6; 19:42) (Yoder).

3.1.2.2. *Justice*. **Justice* refers in the Jewish tradition to a society and to individuals who conform to God’s will for this world, and hence the term *just* is inherently relational: to God, to self, to others and to this world. The term is comprehensive; that

is, a person is just who relates to God, to self, to others and to the world as God intends. The term cannot be relegated to the social world with spirituality and religion reserved for the private world of *prayer and worship. The prophets of Israel, and hence Jesus too, strongly criticized Israel and its leaders when the poor and widow and the orphan—those marginalized due to lack of power and resources—were neglected or oppressed. Hence, from Luke's opening scene in the Nazareth *synagogue (Lk 4:16-30) right through to Matthew's scene of Jesus caring for the sick in the *temple (Mt 21:14), Jesus seeks justice (Yoder).

3.1.2.3. *Economic Compassion.* From the time of the Deuteronomic legislation forward, and especially among the prophets, the Torah's explicit care for the poor became central to any notion of God's people living in the land. Hence, as the poor go, so goes Israel—in Yahweh's judgment (see Rich and Poor). We read such critiques in Micah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Isaiah and Jeremiah. Hence, it is not surprising that Jesus demonstrates a preferential option for the poor when he speaks of the kingdom of God, and there is nothing more potent in the Jesus traditions than his mother's Magnificat (Lk 1:46-55), *John the Baptist's demands for economic distribution in Luke 3:10-14, and Jesus' opening sermon (Lk 4:16-30) and beatitudes (Lk 6:20-26). Time and again, and particularly emphasized in Luke's Gospel, we find Jesus' eye on the poor showing a radical compassion as the first step in kingdom realities.

3.1.2.4. *Moral Integrity.* The prophetic expectation for the day when God ransomed Israel and set it firmly in the land was a day when Israel would be obedient from the heart, in a new, more complete way (Jer 31:31-34). Hence, the radical teachings of Jesus in Matthew 5—on murder, lust, adultery, *divorce, *oaths, retaliation and love of enemies—are not just claims on disciples, but rather a sketch of what kingdom people look like when they are taken up by the salvific powers of the kingdom. Jesus' constant criticism of hypocrisy fits this eschatological, prophetic vision of moral integrity (Mt 6:1-18; 23:1-39).

3.1.2.5. *Empire Critique.* Some recent scholarship (e.g., Carter) contends that Jesus' world was not Jewish but involved an eye on the Romans, and his prophetic stance extends toward *Rome as well. That is, for Jesus to say "kingdom" was to imply "empire," to say "king" was to imply "emperor," and to say "God's kingdom" was to say "not Caesar's empire." Much scholarship in this vein reads in as much as it exegetes, but the imbalances of exaggeration are not to be met with an imbalanced rejection.

It is hard to read narration of the birth of Jesus in Luke 2:1-15 and hear words such as "good news," "savior" and "peace" (though not coming from the lips of Jesus) and not hear echoes of those very words in Caesar's countless proclamations in the Roman Empire. Surely there is some echo here of a critique of Caesar and empire. But Jesus appears to take issue with governmental power, whether Jewish or Roman or both. He is the one who called Antipas a "fox" (Lk 13:32), who promises to his disciples the "kingdom" (Lk 12:32), and who made the thoroughly provocative remarks about the temple tax, wherein he claimed that the "children of the kingdom were free" (Mt 17:24-27), and about Caesar's coin, wherein he instructed Pharisees and Herodians to give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's (Mk 12:13-17). That on Jesus' cross it was written "king of the Jews" clearly shows that Jesus' kingdom vision was at cross purposes with Caesar's, whether throughout the Mediterranean or more particularly set up in Jerusalem. Jesus' comment on Caesar's coin is at least evasive, which is then quasi-political, but probably his statement is deliberately provocative and accusatory: if the Pharisees and *Herodians have coins from Caesar, they can pay him taxes, but Jesus insinuates that their higher calling is to God, which flattens Caesar's authority (Schrage, 107-15). All this is part of Jesus' prophetic posture toward this world as the emissary from God who reveals God's will for his followers. In addition to these texts one must take note from another angle the peace texts (see 3.1.2.1 above) of Jesus wherein he advocates a nonviolent, alternative approach to accomplishing God's will, a posture directly contrary to that of the Zealots.

3.1.2.6. *Rewards.* Jesus mentions rewards and punishments often enough to make adherents of both traditional Christian and modern altruistic ethical viewpoints thoroughly uncomfortable and grasping for explanations (Ladd, 131-32). Yet even if one traces hints of the intrinsic nature of moral excellence (Hurst, 214), the subject deserves more careful consideration. Some have made enough of the teachings of Jesus to fashion how Jesus ranked his disciples: some would be "great," while others would be "least" (Mt 5:19). A recent study by G. Anderson may have finally resolved the tension for altruists. His contention is that Second Temple Judaism saw a shift in "sin" language from burden to debt. As the resolution for burdens was "forgiveness" or the removal of the load, so the removal of indebtedness was credit or merits. Important, though, is that these are rhetorical frameworks and

not ontological categories. To do good works and see them as “merit” does not envision God’s crediting to one’s moral account some merits so that then when the divine reckoning comes one’s merits—that is, works righteousness—add up in one’s favor. Rather, these are metaphorical worlds with rhetorical implications. “Reward” then becomes a way of speaking of the kingdom of God and those who will enter, not of a soteriological system of merit-based accumulation. Jesus routinely speaks of “rewards,” which is nearly synonymous with “merit,” and uses language typical for Second Temple Judaism’s linguistic, metaphorical and rhetorical world (Mt 5:12; 6:1; 10:41; 20:8; Jn 4:36). His provocative parable of the workers in the vineyard (Mt 20:1-16; see also Lk 17:7-10) upends any notion of merit while using the language of rewards.

This future orientation of Jesus’ moral vision indicts all moral theories that refuse to establish themselves on the basis of eschatology. The utilitarian ethic of Mill is a dry bone when compared to that of Israel’s prophets and Jesus: the latter’s “consequentialism” is not just a better world or even personal happiness; ultimately, it is the glory of God when God establishes his kingdom in this world. And a virtue ethics with no eschatology, which is what Aristotle offered to the world, cannot be compared to the virtue ethic that one finds described by N. T. Wright, O. O’Donovan, and G. Stassen and D. Gushee. An ethic unshaped by eschatology is neither Jesus’ nor Christian. What eschatology does to the ethic of Jesus, however, is to convert his summons from moral teachings into a summons to surrender one’s whole being to God in the person of Jesus (Ladd, 123-27). As G. Ladd pointed out a generation ago, to the degree the kingdom has been realized, to the same degree can its ethic be realized.

But once again there is a dimension of Jesus’ ethics that is covered neither by an ethics from above nor by an ethics from beyond. Nevertheless, it is an ethic that is inherent to Israel’s story and, in fact, often became the predominant form of ethical reflection.

3.1.3. Ethics from Below: Wisdom. This third dimension of Jesus’ ethic emerges from a dimension of the Bible and Jewish history too often ignored in contemporary ethical theory as well as in examinations of Jesus’ ethic (but see Schnackenburg, 86-88; Harvey, 140-68; Crossan; Borg). Those familiar with Israel’s wisdom tradition notice a striking absence, or at least a major de-emphasis, of a Torah-shaped ethic and a revelatory-based set of commands as well as an eschatological driver for morals. Wisdom was not an ethic from above nor, since it lacked an

eschatological shaping, an ethic from beyond. Wisdom writings such as Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Job and Sirach, do not say, “God says do this.” Instead, the wisdom tradition anchors itself in inductive human observation. Wisdom, then, is discerning how to live in God’s world in God’s way, but this kind of wisdom can be acquired only by those who are receptive to formation, to the up-and-coming wise person receptive to the wisdom of their father and mother. A wisdom culture is inherently traditional, hierarchical, intellectual and intuitive. It trusts human observation and discerns God’s intentions for this world, and it passes this wisdom on to the next generation, which the latter is to do in turn. When Jesus took his place within the living wisdom tradition of Israel, living in God’s world made “God’s way” cruciform through his own suffering as well as through his use of the cross as the way of life (Mk 8:32—9:1; Lk 9:23).

Jesus frequently enough teaches his followers how to live, and he anchors his teachings in nothing less than inductive observation (Witherington, 147-208). In the Sermon on the Mount this is very clear in, for instance, Jesus’ imperative to go the second mile (Mt 5:38-42) or in his teaching a single-minded righteousness as a way of living in the here and now because the distraction of trying to live both for God and for money creates anxiety (Mt 6:19-34). His missionary instructions at times partake of a wisdom dimension (Mt 10:10, 16, 24-25 par.), as do other teachings (Mt 11:4-6, 16-19 par.; see also Mt 11:28-30). Central to the wisdom teachings of Jesus, but not limited to wisdom, are his parables, which turn ordinary reality into iconic displays of the ways of God in this world (e.g., Mt 13:1-52; Mk 4:1-34).

But again, we do not yet have a full sketch of the ethics of Jesus: his is an ethic from above, from beyond and from below. But there is more.

3.2. The Character of Jesus’ Ethics.

3.2.1. Messianic. Jesus’ ethic is a combination of an ethics from above, an ethics from beyond and an ethics from below, combining the revelatory-legal with the prophetic and the wisdom traditions in Israel, but in Jesus there is something singularly distinct. Jesus saw himself in nothing less than eschatological and messianic categories, and that means that his ethic is at its core a messianic ethic. Nothing makes sense about the ethics of Jesus, not the least of which expressions would be the Sermon on the Mount, until we understand his ethics as messianic vision. And once we understand it as messianic, we can understand it all, especially its radical elements. As E. Lohse put it, “Jesus’ word is not separable from

the one who speaks it" (Lohse, 70 [see also Stuhlmacher, 102-3]).

At the core of Jesus' ethics, then, is a belief about himself, that he indeed was the one who brought the OT law and prophets (as well as wisdom) to their completion or defining point in who he was, what he did and what he taught (not just here, but esp. Mt 5:17-20). There is a Torah dimension, there is a wisdom dimension, and there is a prophet dimension—an ethic from above, beyond and below. But Jesus takes each of these to a new level where he himself is the Torah, wisdom and the prophet who was to come. In addition, he stands on the precipice of the ages, looks into the beyond of the new heavens and the new earth, and summons his followers to catch that vision and make it real, so far as they were able, in the here and now.

The opening summons of the Synoptic Gospels is that Jesus calls some fishermen to follow him (Mk 1:16-20; cf. Lk 5:1-11). The term "follow" (*akoloutheō*) resonates throughout the Gospels (e.g., Mt 4:25; 8:10, 19, 22, 23; 9:9, 19; 10:38; 16:24; 19:21, 27-28; 20:34; 21:9; 26:58; 27:55), a term that denotes cost and commitment but at times is more concrete in following behind Jesus in the ordinary accompaniment of him as rabbi or friend. Over and over this is applied to the followers of Jesus, such that his own life is a template for how they are to live: his suffering is their suffering (Mk 8:34—9:1; 10:35-45); what happens to him is what happens to them (Mt 10:24-25; 23:33-39). That the apostles will later capture the Christian ethic as a cruciform and resurrection ethic (Rom 6:1-14) is but an extension of the messianic ethic already at work in the lifetime of Jesus.

Yet Jesus is not one of the disciples; he is not one of the Twelve, but over the Twelve (Mt 10:1-4; 19:28). This translates into his Lordship as the one appointed by God to be the agent of redemption and the means of ushering in the kingdom, and the one who summons others into that kingdom. Put differently, his lordship over the Twelve can translate into his messianic status.

Even more importantly, the pattern of Jesus' life reshapes the ethic of Jesus: his life is one of self-sacrificing service for others (Mk 10:35-45) that finds its true realization in his *death on the cross, leading the entirety of "following" into a cruciform pattern (Hays, 73-85). But the cross is not the only pattern, for just as Jesus' own parables and verbal contests conclude on the note of victory over the powers, so his death on the cross is not the final word, neither from his own lips (Mk 8:31) nor from the depiction in the Gospels: the final word is *resurrection and

life. Pervading both the cross and the resurrection patterns of the life of Jesus is the presence of the Spirit, who empowers both Jesus (Lk 4:14, 18) and his followers (Lk 11:13).

Only in association or relationship with Jesus does the Sermon on the Mount make sense. Jesus does not offer abstract principles or simply his version of the Torah for a new society. Time and time again the sermon draws attention to Jesus as the revealer, as the one who opens up to his followers a new way of life. His ethic from above and beyond translates into a witness to who he is—that is, into a messianic ethic. His moral teachings, then, result in an offer of himself to his disciples, or, put differently, he summons them to himself, and in participation with him and his vision the disciples are transformed into the fullness of a kingdom moral vision. Much discussion—flowing out of the Reformation's theology of grace in both its Lutheran and Reformed versions—has emerged from considering Jesus' summons to follow him. Protestants are careful to say that all is due to grace and the empowerment of the Spirit. This has led many to search for clues how to read the Sermon on the Mount on the basis of grace. One example is that Jesus preaches kingdom, kingdom means salvation, and this means that discipleship flows from having been saved. This is theologically reassuring, if only Jesus would talk like we do. But at the heart of biblical study is respecting the language of Jesus' approach to ethics. Jesus calls his followers to follow and obey him, and this means doing what he says. That Jesus' moral teachings can be explained through another theological grid than the one he provides illustrates the fluidity of ethical traditions but also the singularity of Jesus' own approach: it strikes the listener as an ethic from above that provokes the question "Who is this man?" That is, Jesus' ethic is messianic.

3.2.2. *Ecclesial.* Jesus' vision is not for isolated individuals, for Jesus creates a new *family (Dunn, 592-99). As Aristotle saw true flourishing occurring only through friendship, so Jesus saw true kingdom living only in the context of an "ecclesial" fellowship of kingdom citizens. The core hermeneutical word for Jesus, "kingdom," is a term that immediately creates the image of a society marked by *shalom*, justice, love and wisdom. But transcending what Aristotle meant in his discussions of friendship, and recapturing Israel's own sense of family identity, this ethic of Jesus was to be lived out in the context of a kingdom community, the *ecclesia*. While many would dispute that Jesus used a term directly translatable as "church" (Mt 16:17; 18:17), the notion surfaces often

in the Gospel tradition when Jesus speaks of things such as the new family (Mk 3:31-35). This is hardly surprising, since sociological studies of Jesus and the early church often speak of the messianists as a sectarian movement shaped by a sectarian ethic (Meeks, 98-108).

In fact, this new family of Jesus creates division in the world of his disciples. Whether we take the softened or, the probably more original, harsher form, Jesus said that following him meant family division and even a need to "hate" one's natural family members (Mt 10:37-39; Lk 14:26-27). Examined more broadly, this divisive, family-dividing ethic of Jesus entails an adversarial relationship between Jesus and established sectarian groups at the time of Jesus: one by one, the Pharisees, Herodians, Zealots, Sadducees and perhaps even Essenes found something lacking, extreme or controversial in Jesus. Those who cut a vision for a new ecclesial community within Israel can expect to find opponents within Judaism. This is not Jesus against Judaism; this is Jesus within Judaism forming a new vision for Israel.

As the Messiah formed a community of followers, so the ethic of Jesus is a messianic community ethic. It is supremely and irreducibly ecclesial. Few have emphasized this theme as central to Christian ethics as has S. Hauerwas, who commented on the Sermon on the Mount: "The sermon, therefore, is not a list of requirements, but rather a description of the life of a people gathered by and around Jesus" (Hauerwas 2007, 61). Church, then, forms the context for the ethic of Jesus. We find this in one passage after another: Jesus' focus on love or the Golden Rule (Mt 7:12; Mk 12:28-32) evokes one person loving another and so forming a community. Jesus' radical statement that his followers drop even their sacrifices in order to pursue reconciliation reveals his concern for community life and fellowship (Mt 5:21-26). Even his mother and brothers and sisters would have to cross the threshold to sit around him and join the new community (Mk 3:31-35). His calling God "Father," seeing himself as God's "Son" and his followers as "brothers and sisters"—all of this speaks to the ecclesial nature of his vision and ethic.

See also COMMANDMENT; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; DIVORCE; JUSTICE, RIGHTEOUSNESS; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; LAW; LOVE, LOVE COMMAND; OATHS AND SWEARING; REPENTANCE; RICH AND POOR; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.

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S. McKnight

EXILE AND RESTORATION

Widely regarded as the first Gospel to have been written, the Gospel of Mark introduces Jesus in terms of Isaianic prophecies about the end of exile and the restoration of Israel (Mk 1:1-15). In this way, Mark integrates Jesus within the story of *Israel's plight due to *sin and the ultimate solution to that plight. Thus, Mark 1:3 cites Isaiah 40:3 ("The voice of one crying out in the wilderness, 'Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight'"), which in its own context stands at the beginning of the Book of Com-

fort (Is 40—55), announcing the end of exile, the beginning of the return to the land of Israel, and the restoration of the nation and its institutions to their former condition (albeit on an even greater scale and level of perfection). After his baptism in the Jordan, where he emerges as the Spirit-anointed messenger of Isaiah 66:1-2 (Mk 1:11; cf. Lk 4:16-30, esp. vv. 18-19), Jesus begins his public ministry in *Galilee, and, according to Mark 1:15, the essence of his message is this: "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God has drawn near; repent, and believe the good news." For those who could appreciate the scriptural echo, Jesus evidently was alluding to Isaiah 52:7, which promises a messenger who would herald the "good news" of "salvation"—the end of exile, the restoration of Israel, and the coming of God as king in Zion. Taken as a whole, then, the introduction to Mark's Gospel provides a mutually reinforcing, prophetic picture of the focus and intent of Jesus' appearance on the scene: he will be the divinely appointed messenger of a *gospel that, through his words and deeds, inaugurates the long-expected end of exile and restoration of Israel.

The introduction to Mark's Gospel adumbrates an explanatory framework in which to understand much of what Jesus says and does as presented in the Gospels. That is to say, if we follow Mark's lead, we begin to appreciate that OT and early Jewish traditions of exile and restoration provide a matrix for comprehending a large part of Jesus' agenda. To entertain this possibility, we must set aside preconceived notions of what is meant by "salvation," "gospel" and the like, why Jesus performed works of *healing and exorcism, and how Jesus' teaching relates to us today. Instead, we must open our minds to the rarefied, first-century A.D. Jewish world of Jesus and the Gospels and seek to engage sympathetically with a mindset that may at first seem irrelevant from a modern standpoint. We must also be willing to entertain a fair amount of cognitive dissonance, since the study of Jesus in terms of exile and restoration is fairly controversial.

1. A Vexed Subject
2. Ancient and Modern Horizons of the Concepts of "Exile" and "Restoration"
3. Old Testament Stories and Expectations
4. Ongoing Exile? Restoration Already and/or Not Yet?
5. The Twelve and Jesus' Ministry to All Israel

1. A Vexed Subject.

The story of Israel is often conceived of as the biblical account of the nation's plight ("exile") due to sin

and the ultimate solution to that plight ("restoration," in whatever form that might take). Hence, Israel's exile and restoration have been prominent themes in recent studies of Jesus and the Gospels (e.g., Newman; Bryan; Pitre; Dennis), including the double work of Luke-Acts (Fuller). Some scholars have sought to contextualize the words and deeds of Jesus within the Judaism(s) of his day by reconstructing a Jesus who would have understood his own public ministry as taking place within the theological framework of exile and restoration, possibly even regarding his own ministry as the culmination of a restored Israel.

For several reasons, however, the modern discussion of these themes is extremely vexed. First, exile and restoration usually have been considered separately rather than together. This has led to a lack of integration and holistic perspective on the complex and variegated issues involved in both. For example, the important work of E. P. Sanders work on "restoration eschatology" in the Jesus tradition (Sanders 1985) has virtually nothing on exile. By the same token, the volumes edited by J. M. Scott on these two subjects (Scott 1997; 2001) are complementary but not integrative enough.

Second, those who discuss exile almost always mean the Babylonian exile (often called "the exile"), giving very short shrift to the Assyrian exile or failing to mention it altogether. This omission has led not only to an eclipse of potentially fruitful lines of inquiry on exile, but also to a limitation and even distortion of what restoration of the status quo ante entails. It is evident that the modern discussion of exile and restoration is beset by some unwarranted or unreflected assumptions, and we will see more on this below.

Third, starting already in the OT and continuing on into early Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, including the NT writings, various perspectives on exile and restoration are reflected in the primary sources. In the Gospels alone—where distinctions have been drawn between (1) the words and deeds of the Jesus of history, (2) the oral and written sources that collected and transmitted what Jesus said and did, and (3) the ultimate incorporation and redaction of those sources into the Gospels as we now have them—perspectives on exile and restoration could have been modified or understood differently at each stage of transmission. D. C. Allison now holds that it may be impossible to disentangle the historical Jesus from the later reflections of the church, arguing instead that the very fact that the Jesus tradition is saturated with certain concepts

(including especially restoration eschatology) in manifold sources and forms attributed to Jesus seems to indicate that Jesus himself is the seminal impulse for them, whether or not any particular pericope conveying those concepts is deemed historical (Allison 2009). In any case, the great variety of perspectives on the subjects at hand in the preceding OT and Jewish tradition adds significantly to the challenge of interpreting the Jesus tradition.

Fourth, the terms *exile*, *diaspora* and *restoration* themselves have proven difficult for modern readers. Are the ancient terms *exile* and *diaspora*, for instance, to be understood as coterminous, or is the former a negative term and the latter a neutral one? Moreover, if the word *exile* means "enforced removal from one's land," is it possible to be "in exile" in the land, as N. T. Wright argues? For the most part, answers to such questions have been based not on comprehensive and thoroughgoing investigation of the relevant primary source material, but rather on oversimplifications and prevailing assumptions. Similarly, as a modern term of convenience, *restoration* has similar issues of stipulative definition all its own (i.e., does the term refer to any or all of the following: Israel's return to God in repentance; the cleansing of Israel and the outpouring of God's Spirit on his people; the liberation of Israel from pagan rule and the overthrow of Israel's enemies; Israel's repossession of the land of Israel; the return of the Diaspora to the land of Israel, whether that includes a remnant of some sort or "all Israel" in whatever sense; the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple in splendor; the conversion of the nations to the worship of the God of Israel and their eschatological pilgrimage to Zion; the reconstitution of Israel as an independent theocracy under the rule of a legitimate king of the line of David and/or a legitimate high priest of the line of Zadok; the resurrection of the dead; the supremacy of Israel in the world; and, finally, the recapitulation of all things to their originally intended creative order, on earth as in heaven?).

It is impossible in this short article to sort out these complex problems and to bring any definitive clarity to them. The best that can be done here is to provide some sense of the issues involved and a small sampling of their implications for interpreting the Jesus tradition.

2. Ancient and Modern Horizons of the Concepts of "Exile" and "Restoration."

The concepts of "exile" and "restoration" are complicated by their respective ancient and modern horizons. On the one hand, by the first century A.D., the

ancient horizon of exile and restoration includes a mélange of Greco-Roman traditions that were available for Gospel writers to draw upon and combine with biblical traditions, just as was being done by other Jewish writers at around the same time (e.g., see, on exile in Philo of Alexandria, Runia 2009). Although exile could still be portrayed as a tragic situation resulting from forced geographical relocation during this period, new possibilities also opened up, including “exile as a condition that provokes a profound change of perspective and offers knowledge and greater insight, and exile as a political, social, even metaphysical metaphor” (Gaertner, 10) (see also Goldhill; and Whitmarsh, discussing the Second Sophistic, which used exile as a trope, a strategy of ethical self-representation over against the dominant Roman culture by articulating a new sociocultural positionality through rewriting the past). Studies on either early Judaism or Jesus and the Gospels have hardly begun to consider this extensive Greco-Roman material and its possible ramifications for their fields of inquiry.

On the other hand, the very success of the concepts of exile and restoration in modern literary and philosophical circles further complicates the interpretation of ancient texts on these subjects. For example, as T. Whitmarsh observes, “The motif of exile has been used throughout history to express cultural problems and to explore identity politics. . . . Indeed, writers over the last century have pursued the theme with unprecedented vigour: in modernism and postmodernism, the alienation and solitude of the individual is frequently articulated through the typology of exile. . . . Modernist exile, especially under the influence of Sartrian notions of alienation, is now, as Bruce Robbins wittily puts it, ‘at home in the academy.’ Exile is also frequently cited as a metaphor for ‘the postmodern condition’: in an introduction to a recent collection entitled *Literature and Exile*, David Bevan claims that exile stands for all forms of estrangement: ‘exile, viscerally, is otherness.’ Exile has become one of the fundamental tropes for recent writers on culture and identity” (Whitmarsh, 269). Under these circumstances, it is necessary to be vigilant that modern and postmodern intellectual agendas are not allowed to obscure the historical interpretation of ancient texts, which is an ever-present danger (see Scott 2005).

Finally, terminological confusion impedes our understanding of ancient texts. For example, transferring the modern concept of exile to Greco-Roman antiquity proves to be problematic, not least because, as J. F. Gaertner points out, the English

word *exile* is too univocal to cover the range of usage in the corresponding Greek and Latin terms:

Whereas the modern derivatives of the Latin word *exilium* imply an involuntary departure, sanctioned by political or juridical authorities, the ancient usage of the corresponding terms *φυγή*, *fuga*, *exilium*, and their derivatives is less strict. *φυγή* and *φεύγειν* cover both the expulsion of groups or individuals and their voluntary departure. Possibly influenced by this Greek usage, Latin authors since Plautus often do not distinguish too rigorously between *fuga* (‘flight’) and *exilium* (‘exile’). . . . Moreover, ancient authors often do not distinguish between exile and other forms of displacement: ancient consolatory treatises on exile, for example, often mix mythical and historical exiles with characters that today would be called fugitives (such as Patroclus) or voluntary exiles (such as Metellus Numidicus), and Seneca compares the loss of his *patria* in exile to the condition of the many immigrants in the Rome of his day (*Helv.* 6.2-3) (Gaertner, 2-3).

Does this not suggest, therefore, that even a voluntary Jewish Diaspora could be seen as a condition of “exile,” at least in an ancient sense of the term? In that case, when set within the wider Greco-Roman context being suggested here, Y. H. Yerushalmi’s more nuanced, “dialectical” approach to Jewish Diaspora as both “exile” and “domicile”—that is, “the simultaneous awareness of being in exile, yet the profound sense of attachment to the land or place in which one lives, the sentiment *in exile* of feeling at home” (Yerushalmi, 6)—surely points the way forward for future investigations of the matter, even with respect to the pre-A.D. 70 situation (including, I would argue, Philo [see Scott 1995]).

3. Old Testament Stories and Expectations.

The most familiar story of exile is found in the Deuteronomistic History (the name commonly given corporately to the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings). This composition accounts for the fall of the northern kingdom primarily by its comments on Jeroboam and the dynasty of Omri, and by its concluding summary in 2 Kings 17:7-23. Jeroboam’s sins consisted of erecting sanctuaries at Bethel and Dan (1 Kings 12:30; 13:34), which were viewed as violations of the law of the single sanctuary (e.g., Deut 12:1-28) and as centers of idolatry (1 Kings 12:28-33; 14:15-16). The summary in 2 Kings 17:21-23 reads, “When [the LORD] had torn Israel from the house of David, they made Jeroboam son of Nebat king. Jeroboam drove Israel from following the LORD and made them commit great sin.

The people of Israel continued in all the sins that Jeroboam committed; they did not depart from them until the LORD removed Israel out of his sight, as he had foretold through all his servants the prophets. So Israel was exiled from their own land to Assyria until this day.”

In a very similar way, the Deuteronomistic History describes the fall of the southern kingdom as stemming from the sins of Rehoboam and his successors, frequently comparing Judah's kings with the northern kings in this regard (e.g., 2 Kings 8:18, 27; 16:3; 21:3). In the end, the fate of the southern kingdom was the same as that of Israel: “So Judah went into exile out of its land” (2 Kings 25:21).

Although, according to the conventional story, the inhabitants of the northern kingdom were believed to have remained in Assyrian exile “until this day” (2 Kings 17:23 [cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.133]), the exile of Judah to Babylon is understood to have been brought to an end by the decree of Cyrus permitting the rebuilding of the temple (Ezra 6:3-5) and the return of the exiles to Jerusalem (2 Chron 36:23; Ezra 1:2-4).

As familiar as this story may be, it is not the only version of events. We may cite, for example, Chronicles' apparently divergent perspective that the exile of northern Israel was limited to the Transjordan tribes, with no mention of the conquests of Tiglath-pileser in Galilee or the final destruction of and deportation from Samaria (see Japhet). Of course, differences in the perspective on the nature and extent of exile directly affect reports on and expectations of return and restoration (see Gowan). For a convenient assembly and examination of the OT texts relating to exile (both Assyrian and Babylonian), including extensive philological analysis of the Hebrew and Greek vocabularies of exile, see J. Kiefer's comprehensive study (Kiefer, 25-229, 437-695), which has not yet received the attention it deserves (on the Babylonian exile, see also Grabbe; Albertz).

In view of the problematic assumptions often made about the basic storyline of the OT relating to exile and restoration, the commonly held division of history and literature into “preexilic” and “postexilic” should be regarded as a highly problematic watershed. This is all the more true in light of subsequent Jewish tradition, to which we now turn.

4. Ongoing Exile? Restoration Already and/or Not Yet?

In later Jewish tradition the entire period after the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 up to modern times was conceived of as one

long period of “exile” (see Yerushalmi). Is the concept of an ongoing exile also represented in early Jewish literature of the Second Temple period?

First, a highly schematic answer to this question has been given in effect by J. Neusner (Neusner 1987), who actually defines Judaism(s) in terms of the recurrent theme of exile and return/restoration, which acts as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy. According to Neusner, the historical events of 586 B.C. (the exile to Babylon) and 450 B.C. (the return from Babylonian exile) are transformed in the Pentateuch's retrojected picture of the history and destiny of Israel into that generative myth of exile and return that characterizes every Judaism, then to now. In other words, even though only relatively few Jews were exiled to Babylon in the first place (most Jews remained in the land all along) and many exiled Jews never returned to the land from Babylonia, the “Judaic system,” as Neusner calls it, regards the historic events of 586 B.C. and 450 B.C. as normative for all subsequent “Judaisms,” because in a situation in which a vast number of Jews continued to live outside the land in foreign countries, the ongoing reading of the Pentateuch perpetuated the need for right living that would create the preconditions for restoration. Judaism, then, took shape as the system that accounted for the death and resurrection of Israel, the Jewish people, and pointed for the source of renewed life toward sanctification now and salvation at the end of time.

There are problems with this definition of Judaism. First, the omission of any reference to the northern tribes of Israel seems unwarranted in view of the evidence (see further below). Second, as a description of Second Temple Judaism(s), Neusner's definition would be more convincing if he had argued for it on the basis of actual early Jewish texts instead of theorizing in a generalizing and schematic way. For example, as M. A. Knibb has shown in much more specific detail (Knibb 1976; 2000), a number of Jewish texts in this period (e.g., Dan 9:24-27; CD-A I, 1—II, 1; 1 *En.* 93:8-10; *Jub.* 1:13-18) “present the exilic and postexilic periods as a unity, a state of exile, which was only brought to an end long after the return in the sixth century—in Daniel 9 in the events of the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanies; in the Damascus Document, 1 *Enoch*, and *Jubilees*, which are probably all concerned with the origins of the same group, by God's bringing into existence a chosen group, the Essenes or their immediate predecessors” (Knibb 2000, 276). The idea that such a Jewish group could emerge long after the historic return and see itself as bringing exile to an end (or at least

inaugurating the beginning of the end) is, of course, highly suggestive for an understanding of the Jesus of the Gospels within a Jewish matrix. For example, the Matthean genealogy of Jesus (Mt 1:2-17), which repeatedly emphasizes the “exile to Babylon” as a major turning point in its tripartite, fourteen-generation structure (Mt 1:11, 12, 17), suggests apparently that the entirety of the final fourteen generations “from the exile to Babylon to the Messiah” is characterized as a period of “exile” in some sense.

This brings us to a second prominent answer to the question of whether Jews in the Second Temple period regarded the exile as ongoing. In his reconstructions of the Jewish context of Jesus and of Jesus’ own intentions, Wright (e.g., Wright, xvii-xviii, 126-29) has been roundly criticized for arguing that Jews, even those already living in the traditional land of Israel, regarded themselves as “still in exile” and awaited the “end of exile” or the “return from exile.” These criticisms have not considered the issues being raised in the present article, including, for instance, the aforementioned flexible use of the term *exile* in the ancient world, even for voluntary expatriation, and the metaphorical uses of the concept by the time of the first century, particularly those involved in asserting a sociocultural self-positioning with respect to the Roman Empire. Moreover, these criticisms are valid only on the assumption of the aforementioned conventional view that we are dealing exclusively with the exile of Judah to Babylon, and that “the exile” was brought to an end by the decree of Cyrus. If either of these assumptions proves unfounded, as indeed the evidence in the preceding paragraph would already indicate, then some Jews may well have thought of themselves as still in exile, even if they were already back in the land. The massive Jewish material from the Second Temple period and beyond, which Kiefer (Kiefer, 230-436, appendices) has collected and analyzed, while certainly variegated, demonstrates the existence of numerous texts containing the notion of an ongoing exile (see also Steck, who is still helpful on this front).

Another issue that has been largely ignored in all of this debate over the possibility of an ongoing exile is that “Israel” traditionally comprises all twelve tribes (e.g., *Let. Arist.* 39, 47-51; cf. Eupolemus [according to Eusebius, *Praep.* ev. 9.34.2], who, reflecting Hasmonean expansionism to the north, refers to “the twelve tribes of the Jews”). Hence, as long as all the northern tribes—and most of the population of even the southern tribes—remained outside the land (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.131-133), the status of the whole people of Israel could be conceived as one of

“exile” (see Goldenberg, esp. 87-88; cf. Ezek 39:28). This is not to deny that definitions of who was included in (true) “Israel” varied widely during the Second Temple period, but rather to recall that the idea of “all Israel” in the sense of all twelve tribes was never completely eclipsed (for a preliminary study, see Scott 2001, 496-515). The notion of the solidarity of all Israel is a subject that requires further investigation based on the relevant sources, especially since it is probably a key to understanding the Jesus tradition. Note, for example, that already in Deuteronomy the second-person singular address of Israel is suited to the book’s concept of Israel as a corporate entity, even across the generations (cf., similarly, Dan 9:4-19) and is a key component of its covenantal theology (see McConville).

5. The Twelve and Jesus’ Ministry to All Israel.

There is no more important indication of the theme of exile and restoration in the Jesus tradition than that of the Twelve and Jesus’ ministry to all Israel. According to the Gospels, Jesus surrounded himself with an inner circle of twelve followers (see Disciples and Discipleship). Although there have been persistent questions about the actual existence of this group and its composition (see Meier), here these complex issues will be bracketed and the focus instead will be on the apparent function of Jesus’ inner circle in the Gospels.

In the context of his proclamation of the coming of the *kingdom of God, Jesus’ gathering around himself of a cadre of twelve men symbolically evokes the expectation of the regathering of the twelve tribes of Israel, which is amply represented in OT and Jewish tradition (see Sanders 1985, 95-106; 1992, 289-98; Allison 1998, 101-2, 141-45). Hence, in line with this expectation, Jesus, according to *Q tradition, promised the Twelve, “You will sit on twelve thrones judging/ruling the twelve tribes of Israel [i.e., at the consummation of the kingdom of God, when all twelve tribes of Israel will have been regathered]” (Mt 19:28 // Lk 22:30) (see Horbury; Allison 1998, 141-45). Are we dealing here with a conception of the restoration of the status quo ante based on Deuteronomic legislation, which envisions “the ‘distribution of powers’ in Israel among a number of classes of officials in [Deut] 16.18-18.22, all subordinate to the ‘thou’ [i.e., corporate Israel] in 16.18” (McConville, 34)?

The Synoptic portrayal of the geographical trajectory of Jesus’ ministry further underscores the focus on the return and restoration of all Israel. Beginning in Galilee, located in the traditional terri-

tory of the northern tribes, and ending in Jerusalem, the object of eschatological expectations about a restored cultic and/or political center for the regathered tribes of Israel, Jesus' gathering of the Twelve and leading them on a circuitous route from north to south constitutes a veritable prophetic demonstration that symbolically reconstitutes the whole people of Israel at its common center (see Freyne).

It is in this context that we begin to comprehend Luke's spotlight on an elderly widow, Anna, who was continually praying and fasting in the temple, and who, upon seeing the infant Jesus there, began "to speak about the child to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem" (Lk 2:36-38), using the language of restoration. The text emphasizes her patronymic and her tribal affiliation: "There was also a prophet, Anna the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher" (Lk 2:36). As R. Bauckham details, the names of both Anna and her father, Phanuel, have strong associations, through the book of Tobit, with the northern tribes of Israel that had gone into Assyrian exile (Bauckham 2002). Asher is, of course, one of the tribes of the northern kingdom of Israel, whose original territory lay in the western highlands of Galilee (note that Luke's narrative has Jesus' family return to Galilee directly after this pericope [Lk 2:39]). Bauckham also argues that the book of Tobit was actually written by an Assyrian exile in Media (Bauckham 2006). In any case, the portrayal of members of the northern kingdom who, like Anna, look forward to the end of exile and the restoration of *Jerusalem is a theme in Jewish tradition (e.g., Tob 13—14; 4Q372 1 [see Kugler; Thiessen]; interpretation of these two texts in light of one another is an urgent desideratum). Bauckham's seminal work on traditions relating the northern tribes of Israel (see also Allison 1998, 141; Pitre) perhaps will encourage other scholars to investigate the possible implications of this relatively neglected subject for the interpretation of Jesus and the Gospels (once again, there is abundant material in Kiefer, 230-436). According to many of these texts, the northern tribes were not "lost" (except perhaps in the sense of the term as used in Is 27:13), and certainly they had not simply "disappeared."

The mention of the northern tribes of Israel immediately raises the question of the identity and status of the *Samaritans, who figure prominently in the Jesus tradition at various points (see Meier, 532-49). The issue is extremely complex in both the Gospels themselves and other ancient literature. We have already noted 4Q372 1, which gives voice to the anguished exiles of the northern kingdom (collectively

called "Joseph") who regard the contemporary Samaritans as usurpers of their territory and call upon God as "Father" to remedy the situation. Similarly, Josephus handles the Samaritans very antagonistically, emphasizing, for example, their foreign "Cuthean" origins and their political opportunism: "But they [the Samaritans] alter their attitude according to circumstances and, when they see the Jews prospering, call them their kinsmen [*syngeneis*], on the ground that they are descended from Joseph and are related to them through their origin from him, but, when they see the Jews in trouble, they say that they have nothing whatever in common with them nor do these have any claim of friendship or race, and they declare themselves to be aliens of another race" (Josephus, *Ant.* 9.290-291). Despite these hostile contemporary portrayals, the Samaritans were Yahwists who saw themselves, and were seen by others, as "Israel." Some, if not most, of them likely were descendants of those who lived in the northern kingdom of Israel, and in any case, they identified themselves with the traditions of Israel. At the same time, the claim that "Israel" consisted only of Jews/Judeans and those who accepted the authority of Jerusalem-centered divine traditions was a long-standing point of contention between Samaritans/Israelites and Jews/Judeans (see, e.g., Jn 4:20-21). Thus, between these two Yahwistic neighbors, contradictory claims were held about who was Israel and what the divine teachings of Yahweh that defined Israel consisted of. The Samaritans had a diaspora in the Mediterranean world that extended as far as Rome. In an inscription dating between 150 B.C. and 50 B.C. (and another very similar one dating to an even earlier period), the diaspora Samaritan population on the small island in the central Aegean referred to themselves as "The Israelites on Delos [*hoi en Dēlō Israēleitai*] who make offerings to sacred Argarizein [= *hr grzym*], i.e., the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, which had been constructed in the late fourth century B.C.]" (see Levine, 110). During the same period, the name "Jeroboam" appears on coins from Samaria (Meshorer, 1:31, 160). In both cases, the implication is that the Samaritans are the descendants of the northern kingdom of Israel.

In view of the Samaritans' claim to be the true Israel, how, according to the Gospels, did Jesus respond to them, especially if, as I have suggested, Jesus' mission was to inaugurate the restoration of all Israel? The Gospels present a varied picture. On the one hand, Matthew's Gospel refers to the Samaritans only in the negative command that Jesus gives the Twelve at the beginning of the missionary discourse:

“Do not go to the Gentiles, and do not enter a city of Samaritans; go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (Mt 10:5-6). On this view, Jesus purposely excluded the Samaritans from his mission and seems to place them as in a category separate from both “Gentiles” and “Israel.” On the other hand, Luke-Acts portrays the Samaritans in a much more positive light (although not exclusively so [see Lk 9:52-53]) and explicitly includes them in Jesus’ missionary agenda. For example, in the story of Jesus’ healing of the ten lepers (Lk 17:11-19), the only one of them who returns to thank Jesus is identified as a Samaritan (Lk 17:16). Although Jesus refers to him as “this foreigner” (*ho allogenēs houtos*), in contrast to the other nine lepers, who presumably are Jews (Lk 17:17-18), this contemptuous label reflects popular Jewish opinion about the Samaritans and probably is meant as a rhetorical device to emphasize the irony of the situation rather than being an indication of Jesus’ own perspective. This interpretation is bolstered by the preceding parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:29-37 [on the numerous interpretive issues in this parable, see Snodgrass, 338-62]). When a lawyer asks Jesus what he must do to inherit eternal life, Jesus asks him in turn what is written in the law, to which the lawyer answers in terms of citations from Deuteronomy 6:5 (love of God) and Leviticus 19:18 (love of neighbor). When Jesus approves of the lawyer’s answer, exhorting the man to act accordingly and he will live, the lawyer asks a follow-up question: “And who is my neighbor?” (Lk 10:29; cf. Lk 10:36). Instead of giving a straightforward answer, Jesus tells the parable of the good Samaritan, once again putting the interpretive burden on the lawyer. In the story, it is a Samaritan who comes to aid of the half-dead man on the road, whereas the priest and the Levite (both Jews) simply pass by on the other side. The fact that this parable occurs within the broader context of Luke’s central section (Lk 9:51–19:27), which narrates Jesus’ journey from Galilee to Jerusalem via Samaria, suggests that the Samaritan’s connection with the traditional land of Israel is part of the point of the story, for the land of Israel is the place where the entire Deuteronomic law, including love of God and of one’s neighbor, must be carried out as the condition for long life in the land (cf. Deut 4:25-26, 40; 5:16, 33; 6:1-3; 11:8-9, 18-21; 22:6-7; 25:15; 30:15-20; 32:46-47) (see Talmon, 150; on very long life in the land as a Deuteronomic blessing in the time of Israel’s restoration, see Scott 2005, 103-43). Moreover, if, according to Deuteronomy, “You shall not see your neighbor’s [lit., ‘brother’s’] donkey or ox fallen on the road and ignore it; you shall help to lift

it up” (Deut 22:4), then so much more Israelites must not ignore, but rather help to lift up, their neighbor who has fallen on the road. The Samaritan in Jesus’ story fulfills this covenantal responsibility in an exemplary way and thereby models the brotherly unity between north and south that issues in the divine blessing of life everlasting (cf. Ps 133). Further corroboration that Luke-Acts regards the Samaritans as part of Israel is found in Acts 1:8, where the resurrected Jesus gives instructions about the Spirit-impelled *mission that is expected to radiate out from Jerusalem: the Greek grammar of the text (*en te Ierousalēm kai [en] pasē tē Ioudaia kai Samareia*) subtly expresses an inner unity between Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria (note the particle *te*, which connects concepts of the same kind, and the single article *tē* governing the compound object of the preposition, which shows that Judea and Samaria are regarded as amalgamated [cf., e.g., Ezek 37:15-28]). Thus, for Luke-Acts, the particular restoration of all Israel is seen as the foundation for a universal mission “to the end of the earth.”

See also GOSPEL: GOOD NEWS; ISRAEL; JUDAISM, COMMON; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; SALVATION.

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EXORCISM. See DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES.

EYEWITNESS. See HISTORICISMS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY; WITNESS.

F

FAITH

Faith is one of the most important concepts in the Gospels. It is not surprising that *pistis* (“faith, faithfulness”) and *pisteuō* (“believe, trust”) have subsequently become the central theological terms for the Christian religion. These terms occur 243 times in the NT, more frequently than “kingdom” (162x), “grace” (156x), “church” (114x), “save” (107x) and “righteousness” (92x). The concept also is found in passages that deal with trust in *God. In the Gospels “faith” refers to belief in God’s words, trust in his Son Jesus Christ (see Son of God), and faithfulness in living out his demands.

1. Historical Developments
2. Faith in the Gospels
3. Summary

1. Historical Developments.

Contrary to the claims of R. Bultmann (*TDNT* 6:181) and the history-of-religions school, *pistis/pisteuō* as a central Christian term has no parallels or precedents in Greek religions. Rather, the term and the concept are rooted in the Jewish biblical tradition. In the OT the basic demand of God from humans is *’emûnâ* (“faith/faithfulness”)—that is, faith in his words and, accordingly, faithfulness in carrying out his commandments. Faith therefore is theocentric. As an exemplar of faith, *Abraham trusts in God’s promise (Gen 15:6) and diligently obeys his commands (Gen 22:18; 26:5).

In the Second Temple period faith is expressed in variegated forms. While the element of trust in God is maintained in most literature (e.g., Philo, *Sacr.* 70-71; 1QH^a XVI, 17), there is a tendency in some Jewish sectors to equate faithfulness in carrying out God’s commandments with works-righteousness (e.g., 1 Macc 2:50-52; 4QMMT) (see Yeung, 241-52). When taken to the extreme, faithfulness to God’s *law can become the kind of self-righteousness that Jesus strongly denounces (Mt 23).

The OT understanding of faith is sustained in Jesus. What is new about Jesus is that, with his coming, faith in God becomes faith in his special emissary Jesus, who faithfully accomplishes God’s will in bringing *salvation to his people.

In the Synoptic Gospels the noun *pistis* is used almost exclusively in relation to *miracles, except in Luke 18:8; 22:32, where it refers to the fidelity of *disciples. Faith precipitates many of Jesus’ miracles (e.g., Mk 2:5; 5:34). Conversely, the lack of faith is seen as a hindrance to Jesus’ miracles (Mt 13:58 // Mk 6:5-6).

These texts have been seen by some scholars as compositions reflecting the development of belief in the early church that the earthly Jesus was to be the object of faith in the same way as the risen Lord. According to scholars such as Bultmann, the historical Jesus did not claim to be the Messiah (see Christ), and the Synoptic Jesus, unlike the Johannine Jesus, does not demand faith in his own person (Bultmann, 1:9). Jesus was at most a miracle worker. It is only the post-Easter church that turns Jesus into the center of faith. The phrase “who believes in me” (Mt 18:6) is thus a Matthean addition rather than an actual phrase used by Jesus (cf. Mk 9:42). In this way, a wedge is driven between the “miracle faith” of Jesus and the “salvation/kerygma” faith of Paul.

To the contrary, however, there is good evidence that the Jesus of the Gospels consistently demands faith in his own person. His proclamation of the imminent coming of the *kingdom of God calls for faith not only in the truth of the message but also in himself as the one who brings the kingdom (Mk 1:14-15). He is not only God’s *prophet who can perform *healings (Mk 9:23), but also the **“Son of Man,”* who has authority to judge and to forgive sins on behalf of God (Mk 2:5; cf. Dan. 7:13-14). Above all, he demands faith in himself as the Messiah (Mk 8:29; Mk 10:47 [**“Son of David”* = Messiah]).

Moreover, the alleged “miracle faith” of Jesus is actually “saving faith” by nature. This is illustrated by the formula “your faith has healed/saved [*sōzō*] you” which appears seven times in four distinct episodes in the Synoptic Gospels ([1] Mt 9:22 // Mk 5:34 // Lk 8:48; [2] Mk 10:52 // Lk 18:42; [3] Lk 7:50; [4] Lk 17:19). By the time of Jesus, the Greek word *sōzō* had become a comprehensive term to communicate the Jewish concept of healing as well as salvation, and this development offers the best background for Jesus’ use of the formula. In the Jewish healing tradition people are understood to be single entities. A person’s physical well-being is an indication of that person’s harmonious relationship with God. Since God is the ultimate author of illness (cf. Ex 15:26), illness is perceived as an unfavorable plight from which a person (whether innocent sufferer or sinning suppliant) can be saved by turning to God in faith. Seen in this light, in the four episodes mentioned above, the bleeding woman, Bartimaeus and the Samaritan leper receive salvation as much as the sinful woman in that all are restored to a harmonious relationship with God. Thus, it is totally unfounded to posit an artificial dichotomy between the “miracle faith” of Jesus and the “salvation/kerygma faith” of Paul.

2. Faith in the Gospels.

The theme of faith is intricately woven into the fabric of the theology of the four Gospels. Although each Gospel has its own emphasis, the four perspectives complement one another in producing a portrayal of faith along the same line as *’emūnā* in the OT.

2.1. Faith in Mark. Faith is a dominant theme in Mark. Its pervasiveness far exceeds the eighteen occurrences of the *pisteuō* group of words (the noun *pistis* [5x], the verb *pisteuō* [10x] and some related words, not including the heavy density of *pisteuō* words in the longer ending of Mark [Mk 16:9-20]). Since the identity of the earthly Jesus is open to those who have faith in him, the tendency among scholars to interpret this Gospel using the filter of the “messianic secret,” according to which the historical Jesus does not think that he is the Messiah, is to be rejected (see C. Marshall, 240). The fact that Jesus admonishes his disciples not to disclose his identity at the early phase of his ministry is better explained by his own timing in revealing his identity as the Messiah rather than as a later cover-up by his disciples to explain away why Jesus does not openly declare his messiahship.

Faith in Mark is theocentric (Mk 11:22). It is re-

quired to embrace the *gospel from God (Mk 1:15) and to accept Jesus as the Messiah of God (Mk 8:29). Faith also, paradoxically, is related to the theme of revelation. On the one hand, the secrets of the kingdom of God are revealed by Jesus only to his believing disciples (Mk 4:11). When Mark poignantly remarks that Jesus “could not do any mighty work” in his hometown, the stress is on Jesus’ sovereignty not to reveal to those who refuse to believe (double negative in Mk 6:5; compare the softer tone in Mt 13:58: “he did not do many mighty works there,” where the emphasis is on human responsibility). On the other hand, the faith that the disciples exhibit is not something inherent in humans, but can only be granted by God. Thus, the believing disciples are continuously found to be lacking in faith and understanding (Mk 4:40; 6:50-52; 8:17-19; 9:19; 16:8). They need to grow in faith as Jesus Christ reveals greater truths to them. The process of revelation and growth in faith is symbolized by Jesus’ two-stage healing of the *blind man at Bethsaida (Mk 8:22-25), which is unique to Mark’s narrative.

This paradox of faith is well represented by the cry of the father of the epileptic boy: “I do believe [*pisteuō*], help my unbelief [*apistia*]!” (Mk 9:24). The plea is no contradiction in terms, but rather a deep recognition of one’s helplessness as well as a strong conviction that only God and his special agent Jesus can help. Faith therefore is closely tied to *prayer as one turns to God for help and thereby experiences the power of answered prayers (Mk 9:29; 11:22-24).

In regard to the debate about whether the faith of Jesus refers to Jesus’ faith in God or to Jesus as the object of faith, there is evidence of both in Mark. Jesus’ faith serves as an exemplar to his disciples as he carries out God’s will faithfully in pronouncing judgment on the unbelieving *Israel as symbolized by the fruitless fig tree (Mk 11:12-21). The disciples are expected to work wonders through such faith (Mk 11:23; cf. the removal of the Mount of Olives in the last days foretold in Zech 14:4). However, the bulk of the faith theme in Mark relates to Jesus as the center of faith. Jesus is the Messiah and, even more, the suffering and resurrected Messiah. Those who follow him in faith must follow him in radical discipleship “on the way” (*en tē hodō*) to the cross and resurrection (Mk 8:27; 10:33, 52).

2.2. Faith in Matthew. The *pisteuō* group of words appear over thirty times in Matthew, including the noun *pistis* (8x), the verb *pisteuō* (11x), the adjective *pistos* (5x) and some related words. A favorite expression of Matthew is “of small faith” (5x; *oligopistos* in Mt 6:30; 8:26; 14:31; 16:8; cf. the noun

oligopistia in Mt 17:20), which appears outside Matthew only in Luke 12:28 (// Mt 6:30).

Faith in Matthew inherits the OT emphasis on faith expressed as faithfulness. It is closely tied to obedience and “righteousness,” the latter being a key term in Matthew referring to the kind of life and attitudes conforming to God’s standards (see Justice, Righteousness). As the ultimate exemplar of faith, Jesus is obedient to God unto death. A taunt from the disbelieving Jewish leaders, “he trusted [*pepoithen*] in God” (Mt 27:32), ironically fulfills the OT description of a true man of faith (cf. Ps 22:8). Jesus exhibits such righteousness at every juncture of his life (e.g., Mt 3:15; 26:39, 42).

However, Jesus is not merely an exemplar. By virtue of his obedience to God on the cross, he is able to save his people from sins (cf. Mt 1:21; 27:51). Therefore, not only does he call his disciples to imitate his faith, but also he demands recognition of himself as the Son of the living God, leading to consequent trust and obedience. On the basis of this recognition the Messiah builds “the church” (Mt 16:16–18)—the new *Israel of God—which is made up of both believing Jews and Gentiles (cf. Mt 8:10–11) (see Church).

Such believing acceptance of Jesus as the Christ is articulated by Peter, the typical disciple (Mt 16:16). However, this faith needs to grow if a disciple is to live out a “righteousness” that surpasses that of the *Pharisees (Mt 5:6, 10, 20). One must learn to trust God completely for daily provisions in order to be able to serve God with single-mindedness (Mt 6:24–34). To fall short of this is the mark of “little faith,” which is tainted with fears and anxieties (Mt 6:30). “Little faith” (*oligopistia*) is not the same as “no faith/unbelief” (*apistia*) in Matthew. The latter rejects Jesus the person and thus cannot experience Jesus’ miraculous power (Mt 13:58). “Little faith,” on the other hand, is a faith that sets out to follow Jesus but is tangled by doubts and worries along the way. It is nevertheless an initial faith in Jesus that has potential to grow. The resurrected Jesus urges his disciples to discard the “little faith,” as typified by Peter’s walking on the sea (cf. Mt 14:28–33; 28:17), so that they can capitalize on his living presence and become his effective witnesses among the nations (Mt 28:18–20).

2.3. Faith in Luke. As in Matthew, the *pisteuō* group of words occurs over thirty times in Luke, including the noun *pistis* (11x), the verb *pisteuō* (9x), the adjective *pistos* (6x) and some related words.

Faith in Luke is closely related to salvation and *repentance (e.g., Lk 7:50; 8:12; 17:19; 24:47). As symbolized by the parable of the sower, the kind of faith

that leads to salvation accepts God’s word and produces fruit of repentance through perseverance (Lk 8:12). Genuine faith is accompanied by love for God and Christ (Lk 7:50) and produces radical discipleship (e.g., Lk 19:8–10). In this connection, Luke shifts the emphasis from the imminent return of Christ to “today” (note the profuse use of “today” [e.g., Lk 4:21; 13:32, 33; 19:9; 23:43] and “daily” [Lk 11:3]). Faith(fulness) is required “today” as disciples are preparing for the return of their master. Not only are the disciples encouraged to wait in faith for the ultimate vindication of God’s people (Lk 18:1–8), but also they are admonished to be faithful stewards as they face temptations in this world.

Luke lays special stress on the sharing of material wealth as a sign of faith and repentance (Lk 19:1–10). Money is not evil in itself, but it can become a temptation to greed and false security apart from God (Lk 12:13–21; 18:22–25). Not only should faithful disciples trust in God’s provision and not amass wealth for themselves, but also they should love their neighbors by sharing material possessions with those in need (Lk 12:22–34; 16:1–13; cf. Lk 16:19–31) (see Rich and Poor). Jesus Christ is seen particularly as God’s representative coming to aid the poor and the needy (e.g., Lk 4:18–21; 7:11–15, 36–50). Those who follow Christ must follow suit. Because discipleship is costly, Luke stresses that whoever wants to follow Christ must count the cost before the journey (Lk 14:25–33).

2.4. Faith in John. John’s Gospel differs from the Synoptic Gospels in the high occurrence of the verb *pisteuō* (98x) and the absence of the noun *pistis*. Other than the verb, the adjectives *apistos* (“disbelieving”) and *pistos* (“believing”) each occur once, in John 20:27. Despite earlier views to the contrary, the unique Johannine construction *pisteuō eis* (“believe in”) followed by the accusative object (no less than thirty-six cases) does not signify a deeper faith than that referred to by the construction *pisteuō* followed by the dative object. The latter can denote a faith as strong as the former (e.g., Jn 5:38, 46). The two constructions are merely stylistic variations.

The dominant use of the verb *pisteuō* contributes to a dynamic portrayal of faith. Faith in John is not creedal consent but essentially relationship. The purpose of this Gospel, as stated in John 20:31, is to help readers, both believers and nonbelievers, to build a trusting relationship with Jesus Christ. There the present subjunctive *pisteuēte* (“continue to believe” [NRSV footnote]) is a more probable reading than the aorist *pisteusēte* (“come to believe” [NRSV text]). Faith is a continuous activity of trust in Jesus

Christ the living Word of God. While Jesus knows who truly believe in him (Jn 2:23-25), from a human perspective one must continue to believe (Jn 2:11), otherwise faith may end in shipwreck. The one who starts out to believe may either prove to be a genuine persevering believer (Jn 6:68-69) or turn out to be a hostile enemy of Jesus (cf. Jn 8:31, 59).

The relationship between faith and miracles in John's Gospel is paradoxical. In the Synoptic Gospels faith provides the platform for Jesus to perform his miracles (cf. Mt 13:58 // Mk 6:5-6). In John's Gospel, however, Jesus' miracles (called *sēmeia*, "signs") induce and promote faith as they serve as signs to direct people's understanding toward Jesus' identity and power (Jn 2:11). Therefore, to "come" and "see" Jesus provides a possibility for one to know Jesus better and enables one to "see" greater works of Jesus (Jn 1:46-51). Paradoxically, however, "seeing" Jesus' miracles does not necessarily guarantee faith. If seeing is not accompanied by spiritual insight, seeing may actually become a stumbling block to faith (Jn 6:26). Ultimately what is crucial is faith in Jesus' person and his words. Thus, to be able to believe the words of life without seeing miracles is most desirable, especially for John's readers, who will not be able to see the earthly Jesus themselves (Jn 20:29).

The dynamic nature of faith is expressed through the association of faith with sensory metaphors: faith "receives" (Jn 1:12), "eats and drinks" (Jn 6:35, 54), "abides" (Jn 15:7), "obeys" (Jn 14:21), "knows" (Jn 17:3, 8) and so forth. Faith leads to salvation as one partakes the life of the Father and the Son (Jn 17:3). John's Gospel relates faith with salvation more strongly than do the Synoptic Gospels.

3. Summary.

The four portrayals of faith in the four Gospels converge to highlight Jesus Christ as the object of faith. He is the Son sent by God the Father to bring salvation to people on earth. Faith in God in the end time must express itself in faith in Jesus as the Messiah. Such faith has to prove its genuineness in faithfulness in the form of radical discipleship. This is the natural development of OT *ʾēmūnā* and is also the basis of faith in the other NT writings.

See also BLINDNESS AND DEAFNESS; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; HARDNESS OF HEART; HEALING; JUSTICE, RIGHTEOUSNESS; MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES; PRAYER; SALVATION.

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M. W. Yeung

FAMILY

In the worlds of Jesus and the Gospels, the family was a social, economic, political and theological cornerstone of life. In line with the centrality of family in antiquity, family language and imagery permeate the Gospels. Jesus visits houses, eats meals in houses, teaches in houses and heals in houses. Family relationships connect individuals to wider society. Jesus addresses and draws on family life in his teaching. The family as social reality, theological agent, and community is a key component in the life of Jesus and the stories of the Gospels.

1. The Family in Social Perspective
2. The Family in Theological Perspective
3. The Family in Gospel Perspective

1. The Family in Social Perspective.

The Gospels give glimpses of household life in Roman Palestine. Jairus appears with his wife and daughter (Mk 5:40-43). Peter's household includes his brother, wife and mother-in-law (Mk 1:30), and Martha lives with her siblings (Lk 10:40; Jn 11:1-3). A family in Nain is composed of a widow and her son (Lk 7:12). A Samaritan woman who has been married five times cohabits with a sixth man (Jn 4:16-18).

The large, wealthy households of Herod Antipas and the high priest incorporate slaves and soldiers (Mk 6:17-29; 14:47, 53-72). Family connections remain important even after death (Mt 8:21; Mk 12:18-23; Lk 16:27-28; Jn 11:17-44). Few people in the Gospels appear without reference to their families (exceptions include Mk 5:1-20, 25-34; Lk 13:11-13).

1.1. Family Composition. In general, in Jesus' world the family was a patrilocal household unit: women married into their husband's household, and the inheritance followed the male line. Blood and marriage were important factors in determining kinship, but so too were living and working together. In fact, *oikia* and *oikos*, both meaning "house," can indicate family (e.g., Mk 6:4; Lk 12:52; Jn 4:53). What an individual family looked like depended on wealth, the life cycle of a household, and the needs of the household, community and kin. Depending on their circumstances, households could include three or more generations, from a husband with his wife (or wives, as suggested in *P. Yadin* 26; *P. Yadin* 34) and unmarried siblings to their unmarried *children, married sons, and grandchildren. *Slaves, apprentices and workers in the family business were part of the household. Wealthier households might also include poor relations, friends or disconnected members of the community, such as widows. Households were flexible, extendable and always changing.

1.2. Authority in the Household. According to tradition and reinforced by political rhetoric, the family in Jesus' world was hierarchical in *authority. The eldest male of the household was the patriarch, possessing all the power that patriarchy entails. Husbands held power over their wives (see Sir 25:26; 4Q418 10, 3-10), and mothers and fathers were in authority over their children, including their adult children (Ex 20:12; Tob 4:3-4; Sir 3:1-16; 4Q418 9, 17-18). Jesus supports the power of parents (Mk 7:9-13; 10:19; cf. Lk 2:51), and his *parables reflect patriarchal hierarchy (Mt 18:23-34; 21:28-31; Lk 15:11-32). The challenge of these expectations makes stories like the parable of the prodigal son and Jesus' call of *disciples away from their homes quite surprising (Mt 8:21-22; 10:34-38; Lk 9:59-62; 15:11-32).

1.3. Household Life. Patriarchal power was the ideal in antiquity. In reality, however, this hierarchy was tempered by the needs of the household. The majority of families in Roman Palestine probably were relatively poor. Daily life revolved around the work of providing for the family. Fathers and mothers, adults and young children, slaves and others in the household had responsibilities in the house, the fields or businesses based in the home (see Mt 21:28-

31; Mk 1:16-20; Lk 10:40; 15:25-32). Family members' contributions to the common life of the household gave women, children of all ages and even to some extent slaves their own power.

1.4. Households in Community. Households were strongly connected to the larger community. Like ancient Israelites, the Jews of Jesus' day saw themselves as family (see Mt 10:6; Lk 3:8; Jn 8:37-44). Households in a local community might treat each other as family, as in Luke 11:5-8; 15:3-10. Because of the public nature of private life in antiquity, furthermore, very little happened in a family without it being known and judged in the wider community. Nothing less than the public face of the household is at stake in Matthew 1:18-19; Mark 6:3-4; Luke 15:11-32.

2. The Family in Theological Perspective.

In Deuteronomy, a book of great importance in Second Temple Judaism, the family is the agent of the covenant. The story of *Israel and the ways of the covenant are lived and taught in houses marked with the words of the law. The family also provides a model for (or is modeled on) God's parental relationship with Israel (see, e.g., Deut 5:14; 6:1-9; 12:12; 14:26). The theological significance of the family in teaching and embodying Israel's identity remained strong through the Second Temple period. Jesus, his disciples and his audiences learned to keep the covenant and worship God in their family households.

2.1. Family Religion. Religion was a family affair in the Greco-Roman world. Families worshiped the household gods, honored the ancestors, and kept various cultic celebrations together at home as well as in temples. Likewise in Second Temple Judaism, children learned the laws of the covenant and the stories of the ancestors in their homes (see Deut 6:20-25; Sus 3; 4 Macc 18:10-19; Philo, *Spec.* 2.225-236; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.204-206; *Ant.* 4.260-264). Families celebrated the *Sabbath weekly and kept numerous *feasts and sacrifices throughout the Jewish year, worshiping at home as well as in public spaces like the *temple (see, e.g., Ex 20:8-11; Deut 16:9-15; Esther 9:26-28; Tob 2:1-2; *m. Pesah* 10:2-8).

The Gospels rarely picture families keeping the covenant together (though see Lk 2:21-24, 2:41-51), but Jesus teaches in homes (e.g., Mk 1:32-33; 2:1-2; 3:19-20), and the disciples on their mission take the message to houses (Mt 10:11-13; Mk 6:10), where surely families were present. Parents bring children to Jesus to be healed or blessed (e.g., Mk 5:21-43; 9:14-29; 10:13-16). Mothers, fathers and children are

present when Jesus teaches and miraculously feeds the crowds (Mt 14:21; 15:38). Families are present and important in Jesus' ministry.

Families and local communities in the Gospels also guard the covenant. In Deuteronomy families are given responsibility for punishing certain infractions of the covenant (Deut 13:6-11; 21:18-21; 22:13-21; cf. Ex 32:25-29; 1 Macc 2:42-48; 4 Macc 2:10-13). In the Second Temple period both Philo and Josephus reinforce the use of these laws (Philo, *Spec.* 1.316-318; 2.232-234; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.206; *Ant.* 4.246-248, 260-264; 16.356-369). When the people of Nazareth attempt to kill Jesus (Lk 4:29), they may be seeking to follow Deuteronomy 21:18-21. Deuteronomy 13:6-11 likely lies behind the warning that families would turn the disciples over to be killed for preaching the gospel (Mt 10:21-22; Mk 13:12-13). From the perspective of Jews who did not follow Jesus, Jesus and his disciples taught disobedience to the covenant (see esp. Acts 6:13-14; Acts 21:20-21), and their families had a serious responsibility to protect the covenant against this threat.

2.2. God and Israel. According to biblical tradition, Israel is the family of *God. The metaphor of God as parent and Israel as child pervades the OT and Second Temple Judaism. God gives birth to, nurses, and raises Israel (e.g., Deut 32:6, 10-14; Is 46:3; Hos 11:1-4). Israel should obey God as parent, but all too frequently, like the disobedient son in Deuteronomy 21:18-21, Israel rebels against God (Deut 8:1-6; 32:4-20; Jer 2:27-29; cf. Prov 3:11-12). This metaphor provides a framework for understanding God's relationship with Israel and also gives significance to human families: parents become like God in the household, and children's obedience or disobedience reflects the state of the nation (see esp. Sir 3:6; *L.A.B.* 44:7; Philo, *Spec.* 2.225-226; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.206).

In the Gospels Jesus prays to God as Father and teaches his followers to do the same (Mt 6:5-15; Mk 11:25; 14:36; Lk 10:21; 11:1-4). Jesus and his followers do the will of God the Father, even to the point of death (Mk 3:35; 14:36). For Matthew, God alone is Father (see esp. Mt 23:9). The Father provides for his children (Mt 6:25-33; 7:7-11), and the children, Jesus' followers, are to do the will of their Father (e.g., Mt 6:10; 7:21; 12:50). In John's Gospel Jesus is emphatically the Son of God the Father (e.g., Jn 1:14; 3:16; 5:17-18), and the invitation to become God's children is extended to the audience (e.g., Jn 1:11-13; 3:1-8; 4:23-24). The metaphor of God as Father is particularly important for the Gospels' conception of the identity of Jesus and his followers.

3. The Family in Gospel Perspective.

According to the Gospels, Jesus had two families: one composed of *Mary, Joseph and various brothers and sisters, and one composed of his disciples and other followers. The stories of the disciples reflect a similar experience. Some of the strongest, most shocking statements in the Gospels develop from the tension and even competition between the two types of families.

3.1. Jesus' Birth Family. Matthew 1:18-25; Luke 1:26-38; 2:1-7 tell of Jesus' birth to a virgin, Mary. Her husband, Joseph, who was emphatically not the father of her child, was a carpenter (Mt 13:55; Mk 6:3), and, given his later absence from the Gospels, he may have died in Jesus' youth. Jesus grew up in Nazareth (Mt 2:23; Mk 1:9; 6:1; Lk 2:39-40; Jn 1:45). He had several brothers and sisters (possibly children from a prior marriage of Joseph, but most probably born to Mary and Joseph [Mk 3:31; 6:3; Jn 7:3-10]). These are the people with whom Jesus played, worked and learned as he grew up.

According to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus' relationship with his birth family was difficult. Luke's Gospel shows that tensions were present in the household when Jesus was as young as twelve (though, it is quickly added, Jesus was obedient to his earthly parents [Lk 2:48-51]). Jesus' public ministry took him away from the family home in Nazareth; he traveled throughout *Galilee from a new home base in Capernaum (Mk 2:1; 3:19). The few subsequent appearances of Jesus' birth family and the people of Nazareth suggest that this move was not well regarded. In Mark 3:20-21 Jesus' own people ("the ones from him" [*hoi par' autou*]), most likely his family, attempt to take control over him because it is said (or they themselves think) that he is out of his mind. Later in the same chapter Jesus apparently rejects his mother and brothers in favor of his followers (Mk 3:31-35), and in Mark 6:1-6 the people of Nazareth, among whom Jesus grew up, reject his teaching. Like his disciples (see 3.2 below), in the Synoptic Gospels Jesus experiences conflict with his birth family (Mt 12:46-50; 13:54-58; Lk 4:22-30; 8:19-21).

The Gospel of John presents a slightly different picture of Jesus' relationship with his family. Mary is instrumental in Jesus' first public sign, the turning of water into wine in Cana (Jn 2:1-11). She is present at the crucifixion (as she may be as well in the Synoptics), and some of Jesus' last words on the cross are concerned with her future (Jn 19:26-27). This loving, caring relationship contrasts with the picture developed in the Synoptics, and yet in John

7:1-9 Jesus is still in tension with his brothers, who do not believe in him.

The tension between Jesus and his birth family in the Gospels, especially in Mark, is likely indicative of historical reality. If Jesus were identified as theologically or socially deviant, his family and local community would have rejected him. The tension between Jesus and his family carries over to the disciples and their families. Jesus and his message divide members of households (see Mt 10:34-36).

3.2. Jesus' Redefined Family. In Mark 3:31-35 Jesus redefines his family: his mother, brothers and sisters are not his family; rather, those who do the will of God are. Jesus associates nearly entirely with this new family in the Gospels, living with them, eating with them, teaching them and traveling with them. The creative power of Matthew 12:49-50; Mark 3:34-35; Luke 8:21 should not be overlooked. In the Synoptic Gospels the *disciples are family.

In Mark 1:16-20 Jesus calls his first disciples away from their families and jobs to follow him. Although the disciples continue to associate with their families throughout the Gospel (see Mk 1:29), the fundamental separation from the family demanded by Jesus remains a key element of discipleship (see Mk 10:21). In Matthew 8:22; Luke 9:59-62 Jesus demands that potential followers not bury their parents or even say goodbye to their families. He also baldly states that his followers must love him more than they do their families (or hate their families); Jesus has come to divide family members from one another (Mt 10:34-39; Lk 12:49-53; 14:25-27). Leaving home is a serious cost of discipleship. This radical call to discipleship is not unknown in Jewish tradition (or Greco-Roman, for that matter). Elijah asked the same of Elisha (1 Kings 19:20); Abraham left his home in obedience to God (Gen 12:1); proselytes to Judaism left their families to join God's people (e.g., Philo, *Virt.* 214-225; *Spec.* 1.51-52). Jesus' demands would not have been incomprehensible to his audience, but the strong words of Matthew 10:34-39; Luke 12:49-53 are still surprising and even shocking.

In return for leaving everything to follow Jesus, the disciples receive a new family, with houses, siblings, mothers, children, fields and persecution (but not fathers [Mk 10:28-31]). For Mark, this new family is dedicated to doing the will of God (Mk 3:35). It is a group of equals modeled on Jesus as servant of all (Mk 10:42-45), and it is a group that forgives (Mk 11:25). Matthew emphasizes Jesus' disciples as siblings who are called to love and forgive each other in imitation of their Father in heaven (e.g., Mt 5:21-26;

7:1-5; 18:15-22). As followers of Jesus, the disciples are members of his household (and thus subject to the same accusations that he faces [Mt 10:24-25]). They are also warned that in addition to the violence from their families of origin mentioned above (Mt 10:21-22; Mk 13:12-13), members of this new family will betray each other under persecution (Mt 24:9-12). Being part of Jesus' family is costly.

John's use of family language centers on God as Father, Jesus as Son, and the resultant invitation to become children of God. The demand in the Synoptics that disciples be separated from their households is absent from John's story, which instead focuses on the families of Jesus, his followers and others in the community (e.g., Jn 1:40-41; 2:12; 4:53; 11:1-3). The disciples are to love each other (e.g., Jn 13:33-35), but love is an expression of their unity with God and Jesus rather than their identity as family.

The family is a pervasive reality and image in the Gospels. Households provide the setting for many stories, and Jesus' teachings often relate to family life. While the radical nature of discipleship demands putting Jesus ahead of family obligations, Jesus gives the disciples a new family with God as Father. It is difficult to underestimate the significance of family for Jesus, his disciples and the narrative worlds of the Gospels.

See also CHILD, CHILDREN; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; DIVORCE; WOMEN.

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C. Reeder

FAREWELL DISCOURSE

The ancients found great interest in the last words of a prominent person. The scene is so prevalent that “farewell discourse” (“farewell address,” “final discourse,” or “testament”) has become a recognized genre of ancient literature. It features the last words of a dying figure to those intimately associated with the speaker (with a decidedly forward-looking agenda). The Gospels include two scenes of this type regarding Jesus (Lk 22:14-38 and Jn 13-17). This article explores their interpretation in light of the genre.

1. The Genre
2. The Lukan Farewell Discourse
3. The Johannine Farewell Discourse

1. The Genre.

1.1. Description. The genre of the farewell scene varies in its component parts and complexities. Thus, it is better to describe a series of conventions that might be employed rather than a monolithic fixed form (Kurz 2000, 71). These features include announcement of death, parenetic sayings or exhortations, prophecies or predictions, retrospective accounts of the individual’s life, the determination of a successor, a prayer, final instructions and instructions for burial (Segovia, 12).

Greco-Roman examples of the farewell scene include Plato, *Phaedo*; Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 66; *Otho* 15-17; Diogenes Laertius, *Epicurus* 10.16-18. Examples in extrabiblical Jewish literature include *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; 1 Maccabees 2:49-70; Tobit 14:3-11; Philo, *Life of Moses* 2.288-292; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 4.309-331; 12.279-284. Biblical examples include Deuteronomy 31-33; Joshua 23-24; 1 Samuel 12:1-25; 1 Chronicles 28-29; Luke 22:21-38; John 13-17; Acts 20:17-38 (Kurz 1985, 262-63). It is also possible to consider both 2 Peter and 2 Timothy as testamental in nature. In the canonical Gospels only Luke 22:14-38 and John 13-17 are viable candidates.

1.2 Literary Issues. The two scenes in the Gospels more closely resemble the Jewish testamentary literature than their Greco-Roman counterparts. Jewish testamentary literature differs from Greco-Roman examples at important points. First, they emphasize predictions or prophecies regarding the future from a monotheistic theological perspective (e.g., Tob. 14:4-7, understandably not common in pagan sources). Second, examples of Jewish testamentary literature are longer. Greco-Roman farewell addresses tended to be short, with only a few having any significant length (note, e.g., thirty-two words in Plutarch’s *Cato Minor*) (see Kurz 1985, 255). Third,

many of the deaths in the pagan literature are suicides that provide an example of how to die nobly (again, e.g., *Cato Minor*). In the Jewish world testamentary literature (derived from the biblical examples, especially Gen 48-49) commonly focuses on the man of God who leaves words of instruction for his followers who carry on after his death (e.g., *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, leaving ethical instructions drawn from the examples of the patriarchs’ lives).

Nevertheless, the Gospel accounts also deviate from the Jewish testaments at certain key points (for nine points of departure, see Bammel, 111-19). This argues against the idea that genres are unbending forms. Rather than proposing new genres and sub-genres, R. Sheridan suggests reading the scene in light of the use of genre in ancient literature. For Sheridan, following the literary theorist M. Bakhtin, literary genres are not rigid forms that require one to seek another genre classification when a form deviates from the expected form (a taxonomic approach). Instead, each text “employs” a genre rather than “belongs to” a given genre. Genres are open-ended and can be modified by the writer within the general parameters that influence the possible interpretation (Sheridan, 295). Thus, divergences from the form can indicate specific theological emphases of the individual writers.

Typically, the literary purpose of the farewell form in the Gospels focuses attention on the importance of Jesus’ teaching (Green, 750). More specifically, both Luke and John employ the genre to orient the reader to the meaning of Jesus’ death and the proper response of the disciples.

2. The Lukan Farewell Discourse.

The Lukan farewell occurs immediately after the Olivet discourse and before the passion of Jesus. As in Matthew and Mark, it encompasses the institution of the Lord’s Supper (see Last Supper), but it contains teaching material not found in the other Synoptic Gospels. It is interesting to note that Luke’s account is similar to the Johannine sequence of events but differs in specific content (see Soards, 55). The included material shapes the scene to be most reflective of a farewell address, although the meal setting also brings to mind, to a lesser extent, the Greco-Roman *symposium*.

2.1. The Message of Luke’s Farewell Discourse. A farewell scene, since it is filled with drama and emotion, tends to stand out to the reader. Luke’s employment of the form interprets, in dramatic fashion, Jesus’ death as he sets the stage for the final act

(Johnson, 335). Furthermore, it defines authentic *discipleship for his followers in the midst of a cosmic struggle.

2.1.1. *The Meaning of the Lord's Death (Lk 22:14-23)*. The address begins with the institution of the Lord's Supper. Jesus' transformation of the Passover ultimately defines the meaning of his forthcoming death. He will give his body and blood "for you," referring to his disciples (Lk 22:19-20), to establish the new covenant. The stimulus for this announcement is not simply that Jesus will die, but that his death fulfills the plan of God (Lk 22:22). The announcement of Jesus' betrayer is woven into the account without a grammatical marker for a break. The link seems to be the unfolding of the plan of God. While the treachery is shocking, it is by no means unknown to Jesus, and it is necessary in order to fulfill God's plan that has been set in motion. However, Jesus notes the personal responsibility of the betrayer within divine sovereignty.

2.1.2. *Greatness in the Kingdom (Lk 22:24-30)*. The next unit defines the nature of the coming *kingdom. Jesus has twice mentioned the coming kingdom in the discourse (Lk 22:16, 18). Unlike in the present world, the great ones in the kingdom serve as Jesus has done (Lk 22:25-27). Thus, Luke's common theme of reversal for following Jesus is articulated here. Although the message of humble service is not unique to Luke (see, e.g., Mt 20:20-28; Mk 9:33-37; 10:35-45), its inclusion at Jesus' farewell highlights its importance for authentic discipleship.

2.1.3. *Prediction of Immediate Trials (Lk 22:31-38)*. The discourse concludes with a dire warning. Humble service takes place in the midst of an eschatological battle. Predictions of cosmic struggles are common in Jewish farewell addresses, and Luke's account is no exception (Neyrey, 35). The preceding narrative had already mentioned Satan's part in the struggle (Lk 22:3), signaling an *apocalyptic battle. The *devil is again mentioned at Luke 22:31, where the use of the plural pronoun in the Greek text ("Satan has demanded to sift *all of you* as wheat") indicates that each of the disciples will battle individually with the devil. The discourse concludes with an exhortation for all the disciples to be prepared for their journey. Jesus compares this journey to the sending of the seventy (Lk 10:4), but this time he encourages bringing along a money belt and a bag and, ominously, obtaining a sword (Lk 22:36). The sword most likely indicates facing hostility rather than advocating violence (Green, 775). All of these expressions of the cosmic struggle are the result of the plan

of God unfolding. As Jesus cites Isaiah 53:12 (the Suffering *Servant), Luke brings the reader full-circle back to the purpose for Jesus' death.

2.2. *Conclusion*. By employing the farewell form, Luke highlights three major points as the cross is looming. First, he shows Jesus as the master of his fate. He is not simply a victim of tragedy; he actively participates in unfolding God's plan. He is fully aware of both earthly and spiritual dimensions and is fully committed to completing the plan. Second, Luke highlights the meaning of Jesus' death, guiding the reader to view Jesus' passion from the perspective of its necessity in establishing the new covenant. Finally, Luke charts the path of true discipleship in the kingdom as humble service in the midst of an eschatological struggle. The use of the farewell form enables the writer to highlight the importance of these points, which are major themes throughout the Gospel of Luke.

3. The Johannine Farewell Discourse.

The Johannine farewell is clearly reminiscent of the genre of the farewell scene (Parsenios, 4), but some divergences are quite pronounced. Although some *previous* studies have emphasized a complex history of composition behind the discourse (e.g., Beutler; Detwiler), there is good evidence supporting a unified composition (see Kellum). As such, the sheer length of John 13:31-17:26 (almost 15 percent of this Gospel), marks a departure from most farewell forms, whether Greco-Roman or Jewish. Furthermore, the Johannine farewell includes no strict rehearsals of the past, extended prophecies, funeral preparations; and it contains an extended analogy. Thus, the Johannine farewell discourse is both familiar and somewhat unique in relation to known forms.

The Johannine farewell discourse shares some points of similarity with Deuteronomy and the Mosaic farewell (Deut 31-33) (see Moses). Jesus' entreaty "Let not your heart be troubled" (Jn 14:1), immediately following his statement of departure, is similar to Moses' "Be strong and courageous" (Deut 31:7) (Keener, 931). Furthermore, the final *prayer of Jesus (Jn 17) perhaps is reminiscent of the final blessing of Moses (Deut 33). Additionally, A. Lacomara suggests a number of compelling conceptual links with Deuteronomy (e.g., faith/love/obedience as the expression of love for Father/Christ, mutual love among believers, blessings for believers, provision for propagating the covenant). This set of allusions strongly suggests that the Johannine farewell flows out of the *typology of Jesus as the new Moses (well

established in Johannine scholarship) and the constitution and life of the people of God under the new covenant.

3.1. The Message of the Johannine Farewell Discourse. The discourse proper is divided into three major units with an introduction (Jn 13:31-38) and a short conclusion (Jn 16:33). John 17, the final prayer, functions as a summary and transitions to Jesus' arrest and passion. The discourse occurs on the night before Jesus' crucifixion, and so it stands at a strategic point in the literary plan of John's Gospel. Even though Jesus has presented himself to Israel, they have, by and large, rejected him (cf. Jn 1:11; 12:37). From John 13 forward, Jesus is concerned with the establishment and the life of the messianic community (cf. Jn 20:30-31). The Johannine farewell discourse is the main substance of that teaching.

3.1.1. Consolation and Continuing Presence (Jn 14:1-31). John 14:1-15 features two basic appeals: to believe and to *love/obey. The immediate intent is to console the disciples in light of Jesus' impending absence. However, believing *God and loving God and his servant are familiar covenantal themes (Deut 6:5; Ex 14:31). These covenantal overtones are important for understanding the substance of the Johannine farewell discourse.

Nevertheless, the points of discontinuity between covenants are enlightening. First, the object of faith in the new covenant is both God and Jesus (Jn 14:1-6), and Jesus is the way to and the substance of the Father's presence (Jn 14:6, 21). Second, in the Mosaic farewell only Joshua enjoys the presence of the Spirit of wisdom (Deut 33:9), whereas in John the true followers of Jesus will receive the Paraclete and enjoy several benefits (*see* Holy Spirit). These include the continued presence of Jesus (Jn 14:18, 21), a permanent indwelling teacher (Jn 14:16, 26) and the promise of greater works (Jn 14:12-14). Finally, under the Mosaic covenant the blessings are followed by curses for breaking the covenant (e.g., Deut 31:16-18), but such provision is made here in John.

3.1.2. The Life of the New Community (Jn 15:1-16:4a). The analogy of the vine and the branches is a major departure from both the Second Temple testament genre and the biblical examples of farewell scenes. Its uniqueness, among other factors, marks it as the climax of the discourse, highlighting the life of the new messianic community as a unifying theme through the second major unit (Jn 15:1-16:4a). In this analogy Jesus identifies himself as the "true vine" in contrast to Israel (Jn 15:1; cf. Is 5:7). The implication is not that the new community replaces Israel;

rather, it is Jesus himself who stands in for Israel. And it is the relationship to Jesus that defines membership in Israel.

Jesus previously promised that he and the Father would make their "abode" (*monē*) in his disciples (Jn 14:23). This, as the basis of the new community, is expressed through the cognate "abide" (*menō*) in the analogy. *Abiding is the disciple's duty, the essence of which is to love Jesus (Jn 14:21; 15:10). As branches are in vital connection with the vine, so likewise a unity is produced through loving/obeying Jesus. Within this unity believers are also commanded to love one another (Jn 15:17). In the new community individuals are to unite together through their love for Jesus and each other.

The command to abide is followed by a warning regarding impending persecution. Identification with Jesus brings with it the same hatred that he has received from the world (Jn 15:18-19). The world will hate, expel, persecute and kill his disciples. Yet, the task of disciples, who are empowered by the Paraclete, is to bear witness to the world in the midst of this hostility on behalf of Jesus (Jn 15:26-27).

3.1.3. Advantages of Jesus' Departure (Jn 16:4b-33). The final section (Jn 16:4b-33) returns to the topic of Jesus' departure and spells out three specific advantages of it: the giving of the Paraclete, the promise of joy in Jesus' presence, direct access to the Father. The ministry of the Paraclete is two-sided: he prosecutes the world (Jn 16:8-11) but will also glorify Christ by guiding the disciples (Jn 16:12-15). After Jesus' resurrection the disciples will have an abiding *joy (although they grieve now), and they will enjoy new privileges in prayer marking a new age. The farewell concludes with a return to the specific covenantal language that those who follow Jesus' instructions to believe, obey, abide and love will have *peace (Jn 16:33; cf. 14:28).

3.1.4. The Final Prayer (Jn 17:1-26). Two characteristic features of biblical and Second Temple testamentary literature appear at the final prayer of Jesus, though with adaptations (as earlier). First, it is common for biblical testaments to conclude with blessings (Gen 49; Deut 31-33), but here the blessing is actually an intercession on behalf of the disciples. Second, John 17:1-6 could be construed as a rehearsal of Jesus' life, but it is actually a statement of the completion of his mission. John, then, continues to "bend" the farewell form. Jesus prays for the protection of the current disciples and that future disciples would have unity, both reflecting God's *glory for the sake of the *mission.

3.2. Conclusion. The Johannine farewell dis-

course follows a long line of testamentary literature, but it cannot be characterized by a strict dependence on the form. It also exhibits strong conceptual ties to Deuteronomy and the Mosaic farewell. Yet, this too is not a slavish imitation. Christ is the new Moses with a new commandment, but he is also the way to the Father, the new Israel, and the object of the worshippers' affections. These differences may in fact constitute a conscious bending of the form (so Attridge, 17). Given that the subject (Jesus) and the subject matter (salvation history) fall outside conventional stereotypes, we should not be surprised if Jesus' farewell to his followers does so as well.

See also ABIDING; DEATH OF JESUS; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; LAST SUPPER; PASSION NARRATIVE.

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L. S. Kellum

FASTING

In the Synoptic Gospels fasting appears in both teaching discourses (Mt 6:16-18; 9:14-17 // Mk 2:18-22 // Lk 5:33-39) and in practice (Mt 4:2; Lk 2:37). The topic of fasting is not raised in the Gospel of John. Jews traditionally fasted by abstaining from the consumption of food and drink for a period of time (Esther 4:16).

1. Fasting in the Old Testament and Second Temple Judaism
2. Fasting in the Gospels
3. Conclusion

1. Fasting in the Old Testament and Second Temple Judaism.

On the Day of Atonement Israel was required to observe a fast (Lev 23:27; Acts 27:9), but individuals and groups also chose to fast spontaneously. This ritual was regularly practiced under four circumstances: mourning (1 Sam 31:13), petitions for aid (2 Sam 12:16; Ezra 8:21), repentance/acts of piety (Neh 9:1-3; Joel 1:14; cf. Lk 2:37) and the pursuit of wisdom (2 Chron 20:3). Such situations often were interconnected. When Daniel learned that Jerusalem would lay desolate for seventy years, he fasted and prayed, confessing his sins and petitioning for mercy on Jerusalem and guidance for his people (Dan 9:1-19).

The rationale for fasting is not worked out explicitly in the OT, but on a number of occasions it is associated with humility (Ezra 8:21; Ps 35:13; Is 58:3, 5; cf. Sir 34:26; Pss. Sol. 3:8 [LXX: *tapeinoō*]). This religious posture had two apparent purposes. First, fasting was an admittance and actualization of the reality of human dependence on God, a concept captured aptly in Deuteronomy 8:3: "He humbled you by letting you go hungry, then feeding you with manna . . . in order to make you understand that one does not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of the Lord" (NRSV). Second, fasting placed the individual in a heightened state of divine receptivity. Philo, for example, argues that when the outward (bodily) senses are feasting, the mind suffers from a famine, but when a physical fast is observed, the mind can consume more heartily (see Philo, *Migr.* 204).

In the prophetic tradition fasting was criticized not as a practice per se (see Joel 2:12) but rather when performed without a devoted heart (Zech 7:5), with deep-seated pride (Is 58:4-6), or while injustice was done to the weak and needy (Is 1:13-17; 53:3-6). The concern was never with the validity of fasting as an expression of worship and submission to the Lord but rather with hypocrisy and arrogance.

2. Fasting in the Gospels.

2.1. Jesus' Fast in the Wilderness (Mt 4:2; cf. Lk 4:2). Matthew does not explain why Jesus fasted for forty days and nights in the wilderness (see Temptation of Jesus). Given his interest in comparing Jesus to *Moses, who also fasted for forty days and nights on Mount Sinai (Ex 34:28), the point may be that Jesus was placing himself in a position of intensified communion with God, as the great patriarch did in the receiving of the law. It is also possible that the author had in mind Israel's forty years of hunger (Deut 8:1-3); after all, both Matthew and Luke note that Jesus was famished after his fast. In that case, Jesus was demonstrating the teaching and vision of Deuteronomy 8:3 (see 1 above), a text that he quotes to the tempter two verses later (Mt 4:4).

2.2. Jesus' Teaching on Fasting (Mt 6:16-18). In the *Sermon on the Mount Jesus addressed in succession the pious acts of almsgiving, *prayer and fasting. He presumed that his audience would fast ("And when you fast" [Mt 6:16]), but he spurned the disposition of "hypocrites" who make a show of it. By encouraging secret fasting, Jesus was focusing not on hiding the practice from others, but on performing the rite exclusively for the audience of the Father (Mt 6:18).

2.3. The Question about Fasting (Mt 9:14-17 // Mk 2:18-22 // Lk 5:33-39). This Synoptic episode revolves around the fact that *John the Baptist's disciples fasted, but Jesus' disciples did not. It would have appeared odd to some that Jesus, a prophet-like figure who ostensibly approved of John the Baptist's ministry, did not encourage his followers to perform such a time-honored act of zeal. What made this matter all the more pressing was the general importance of food matters as a social distinctive that set Israel apart from the other nations, especially as aliens and foreigners (see, e.g., Dan 1:8). Alongside the practice of circumcision and the observance of the *Sabbath rest, dietary restrictions functioned as key boundary markers that were clearly recognized by Israel's neighbors (e.g., Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.4.3-4; Suetonius, *Aug.* 76.2).

Jesus did not respond to this question directly, but instead offered a series of similitudes. He likened the situation to a wedding, where the attendants do not fast while the *bridegroom is present. Instead, they feast and celebrate. Clearly, Jesus is the "bridegroom" in this scenario, and the logic behind this parable is that his disciples did not fast because his presence with them was an occasion for jubilation, not austerity. The subsequent illustrations regarding the patch and the wine have a common concern over

the ultimate futility of not recognizing the "new" of Jesus' presence and arrival, which cannot be combined with the "old" of John's fasting.

Traditionally, scholars have concluded that Jesus was referring here to the incompatibility of the old ways of *Judaism and the new ways of Jesus/Christianity. However, Jesus went on to affirm that the disciples would fast when he was "taken away" (Mk 2:20). The point of this fasting episode is not about the general legitimacy of the ritual of fasting; it is the particular disruption that Jesus brought to the life and destiny of God's people.

3. Conclusion.

In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus encouraged the ongoing practice of fasting, especially as it exemplifies a posture of humility and conscious dependence on God. The early church continued to value fasting (Acts 13:2-3; 14:23; *Did.* 8:1; *Pol. Phil.* 7:2). Some criticism carried on regarding the problem of empty ritual observance (*Herm.* 54). The practice itself, though, often was praised when accompanied by a spirit of devotion. In fact, in 2 *Clement* 16:4 it is hailed as greater than prayer.

See also BRIDE, BRIDEGROOM; PRAYER.

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FATHER, GOD AS. See GOD.

FEASTS

Festive holidays celebrating the seasons and special events through honoring the gods were important aspects of private and social life in the ancient world (Cicero, *Nat. d.* 2.3; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.35). The Jews in Jerusalem and in the Diaspora (Philo, *Mos.* 2.41-42) were especially renowned for their strict adherence to their feasts (Plutarch, *Superst.* 169C), which provided a precise and regular pattern to the days,

weeks, months and years. The Gospels mention the Feasts of Unleavened Bread, Passover, Weeks, Tabernacles and Dedication. Though not mentioned, Purim and New Moon were also celebrated and part of the social world of Jesus and the Gospels.

There were also occasional feasts associated with, for example, a royal birth and birthdays (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.321), a king's accession (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.189), military victories (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.82), unexpected deliverance (3 Macc 6:30-40; 7:17-20), completion of the temple (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.421-423) and buildings (Josephus, *Ant.* 16.136-142), weddings (Mt 25:1-13; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.202-203) and sheep shearing (2 Sam 13:23-27). Not only did the festivals change over time and from one place to another, but also different branches or sects of the Jews followed slightly different regulations (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.19). The particular concern of this article is not the daily (Mk 14:3; Lk 7:36; 11:37) and *Sabbath meals, but rather the feasts or banquets and pilgrim festivals that took place in the period and help us understand Jesus and the Gospel writers.

1. Terminology
2. The Greco-Roman World
3. Second Temple Judaism
4. Jesus
5. The Gospels

1. Terminology.

The Greek noun *heortē* ("feast" or "festival"), first known in Homer referring to a public festival, free of work, honoring a deity (*Od.* 21.258), also came to refer to holiday making or amusement (Plato, *Phaedr.* 276b) and celebration (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.660). The LXX uses *heortē* to translate the Hebrew *hāg*, which referred to a procession, round dance or festival (1 Kings 12:32-33; Neh 8:18). A broader term, *mōēd*, denoting appointed time (Ps 102:13) or place (Ps 74:4) or feast (Lam 2:7), especially the great annual festivals (Lev 23:2), could also be translated using *heortē* (e.g., Ex 23:15; Deut 31:10; Is 1:14). The association between *mōēd* (as season) and new moon (e.g., Num 10:10; 1 Chron 23:31) indicates that the times of festivals were taken to be fixed by Yahweh through the heavenly bodies (Gen 1:14; Ps 104:19; 1QS X, 1-4).

From its early use, up to and beyond the NT period, the verb *heortazō* meant "to celebrate" or "to feast" (Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.60; Plutarch, *Cam.* 42.5; Philo, *Flacc.* 118; Clement, *Protr.* 2). In the LXX the verb translates *hāgag*, which meant "to leap like a drunk" (Ps 107:27) or "to celebrate a day or festival" (Ex 5:1; 12:14).

In the Gospels *heortē* (also Col 2:16; and Lk 23:17 in, e.g., D, W, Q, Y, *f*^{1.13}) is often used alone (Mt 26:5; 27:15; Mk 14:2; 15:6; Lk 2:42), especially in the Fourth Gospel (Jn 4:45; 7:8, 10, 11, 14, 37; 11:56; 12:12, 20; 13:29), the context identifying the feast. Without the article, *heortē* could refer to any feast, as in the phrase a "festival of the Jews" (Jn 5:1). Other times the feast is specified: "to the feast of the Passover" (Lk 2:41; Jn 13:1); "the feast of Unleavened Bread called Passover" (Lk 22:1); "in the Passover in the festival" (Jn 2:23); "the Passover, the festival of the Jews" (Jn 6:4); and "the festival of the Jews, the Tabernacles" (7:2). The feast can also be identified by the name alone: "Passover" (Mt 26:2; Mk 14:14; Lk 22:15; Jn 12:1), "Unleavened Bread" (Mt 26:17; Mk 14:1; Lk 22:7), "Dedication" (Jn 10:22). The Synoptic Gospel writers can use the term "Unleavened Bread" to include Passover (Mk 14:1 // Lk 22:1; Mt 26:17 // Mk 14:12 // Lk 22:7).

The noun *deipnon* ("dinner") could be used for an everyday meal (Lk 14:12; P.Oxy. 110) or for formal dinners or banquets (P.Oxy. 111), when guests reclined (e.g., Mk 12:39; Jn 12:2), and also for cultic meals (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.73) for which invitations were sent (P.Fouad 76; P.Oxy. 523; 1485), and in which a shared union between the deity and the diners was assumed (1 Cor 11:20-22; P.Colon. inv. 2555; P.Oxy. 1485). In the Fourth Gospel the term "dinner" is used for the *Last Supper (Jn 13:2, 4; 21:20). Following an OT (e.g., LXX Is 25:6; Ezek 39:17-20) and well-known metaphor (2 Esd 2:38; 1 En. 60:7-8; 62:14; 1Q28a II, 11-23; Rev 19:9, 17), Luke uses the term to refer to the eschatological banquet (Lk 14:16) and thus to *salvation (14:17, 24). The Gospels also use *gamos* for a "wedding feast" (e.g., Mt 22:2; Lk 12:36; Jn 2:1-2).

2. The Greco-Roman World.

The feast or banquet (*symposion*), well known since Plato (*The Symposium*), remained socially and politically important (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 10-12). On an Athenian model, as well as annual sacrifices (notably for the New Year), cities across the Hellenic world held agonistic festivals involving a procession, a sacrifice, a contest (*agōn*)—for example, boxing, animal racing, drama—and a banquet (Burkert, 99-109, 225-46) (see Philo, *Cher.* 92). Under Roman influence, the games (*ludi*) aspect of the festivals increased in importance; and across Palestine (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.422-423; *Ant.* 15.341), including Jerusalem, theaters, amphitheaters and gymnasia were built by *Herod the Great (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.268-269).

3. Second Temple Judaism.

The Jews were known for their shared meals or banquets (*syndeipna*) (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.214-215, 261). Common to the feasts or festivals were joy and gladness (Ex 32:6; Is 58:13; *Jub.* 49:2), wine (*Jub.* 49:6; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.189) and feasting, though not to excess (Philo, *Spec.* 2.42, 193-194); the cessation (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.189) or prohibition of work, for at least some of the festival (Lev 23:7-8; 11Q19 IX, 10; XVII, 10-16); liturgy and ceremonies; large crowds (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.420-421); and the inclusion of non-Jews (Deut 16:11, 14; Neh 8:10-12; Tob 2:1-2; Jn 12:20; Philo, *Mos.* 2.20, 41-44). Reflecting an established view (e.g., Ps 51:17), Philo says that true worship or a feast depended on a person's devotion, not the sacrifice (Philo, *Mos.* 2.108; *Det.* 20-21).

Although the Torah required all Israelite males to attend all three pilgrimage festivals (Ex 23:17; 34:23; Deut 16:16), and *Jerusalem retained a central place for Diaspora Jews (2 Macc 1:7, 12; Wis 12:3; Philo, *Flacc.* 46), those under the age of twenty (*Jub.* 49:17; 11Q19 XVII, 8-9) and the disabled and aged were exempt (*m. Hag.* 1:1). Also, given the expense and time involved, it is not surprising that it was mostly those who lived closer to Jerusalem who attended and outnumbered those from the Diaspora (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.43), who, selected by their townspeople (Tob 1:6; Philo, *Legat.* 312-313; *Spec.* 1.78), may have attended only once in a lifetime. In any case, the festivals were celebrated across the Diaspora (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.213-216, 240-246, 256-258; 16.27; Philo, *Legat.* 213).

Philo argues that Passover should be celebrated outside Palestine (*Mos.* 2.232-233), and there is evidence the Jews celebrated Passover in Alexandria (Wis 18:9) and Rome (*t. Yom Tov.* 2:15). At Elephantine the Jews were celebrating Passover and Unleavened Bread (*TAD* A4.1; A4.7.20-21). At Hierapolis the Jews were celebrating Passover as well as Weeks (*CIJ* 777). Further, we know of Jewish temples in Hellenistic times at Elephantine (*TAD* A4.7), Leontopolis (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.62-73), Shechem and a partially built one at 'Arâq el-Emîr in the Transjordan (Campbell), as well as at Syrian Antioch (Josephus, *J.W.* 7.43-45) and "other places" where the Jews had settled, as Josephus put it (*Ant.* 13.66), and would offer sacrifices.

The *synagogue, found across the Diaspora, was seen by the society at large as the focus of Jewish life, and as meals were part of synagogue activities (Runesson, 181) it is probable they were used for the feasts. Also, the synagogues were treated like temples, including by Gentiles (*Ant.* 16.168), Josephus appearing

to use the term "temple" (*hieron*) for the synagogue at Syrian Antioch (*J.W.* 7.45). It is probable, then, that sacrifices were offered in or near synagogues in the Diaspora (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.260-261; *CPJ* 467).

Further, Philo describes Passover as being celebrated in homes (Philo, *Spec.* 2.145-149; *QE* 1.10). At Qumran, although bone deposits and the scrolls (4Q320 iv.III-IV; 11Q19 XVII, 6-9) do not make it clear whether Passover was practiced within the community (de Vaux 1973, 12-16), Josephus appears to suggest that the *Essenes performed their own sacrifices (*Ant.* 18.19).

At least by the Maccabean period Tabernacles was widely celebrated (Josephus, *Ant.* 3.244-245)—for example, in Greece (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 4.6.2), Egypt (2 Macc 1:9, 18; Philo, *Flacc.* 116-118; *CPJ* 452a) and at Qumran (4Q320; 4Q321; 11Q19 XLII, 11-17). Tobit is portrayed as celebrating Weeks in his home (Tob 2:1-3). Hanukkah was celebrated in Jerusalem, but also more widely (2 Macc 1:18). With such widespread celebration of the festivals, including in homes, they could be expected to have been well known and to have provided the early readers of the Gospels with powerful interpretive images.

3.1. Pilgrim Festivals. For an agrarian society the three annual Jewish pilgrim festivals marked the seasons: Passover and Unleavened Bread at the beginning of the barley harvest in the spring (Lev 23:1-14); Weeks at the end of the barley harvest and the height of the wheat harvest in the summer (Ex 34:22; Lev 23:15-21); and Booths or Tabernacles at the late harvest gathering of crops in the autumn (Lev 23:33-36).

"Countless multitudes" (Philo, *Spec.* 1.69) from all over the Diaspora (Acts 2:9-11), including women and children (Lk 2:41-43; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.109), as well as animals for sacrifice (*m. Bik.* 3:3), came to the festivals in Jerusalem (cf. *b. Pesah.* 64b), so that whole towns in the region would be deserted (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.515). For personal safety and the protection of the accompanying temple tax (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.313), pilgrims traveled in large groups (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.232), either by road (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.118) or by sea (Philo, *Spec.* 1.69). Festivities invariably began along the way with music and singing (e.g., Ps 43:3-4; 84:1-2; Is 30:29). Taking the requirements of Numbers 18:21-24 and Deuteronomy 14:22-29 to be complementary (*m. Ter.* 1:5), a second tithe in cash could be spent on anything in Jerusalem (Deut 14:26; *t. Ma'as.* Š.), underlining the commercial significance of the festivals for the city (Tob 1:7-8).

Pilgrims arrived a week early (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.290), some for purification from corpse impurity (Num 19:1-22; Philo, *Spec.* 1.261-266). The visitors

stayed in neighboring villages (Mk 11:11), in rooms associated with synagogues (CII 2.1404), in homes and inns (*t. Ma'as. Š.* 1:11-13) or in tents brought with them (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.217). At one Passover (A.D. 65), Josephus says, there were three million visitors (*J.W.* 2.280; cf. 6.420-427). More reasonably, there may have been around two hundred thousand pilgrims in Jerusalem for a festival (Jeremias 1969, 77-84).

The volatility of jubilant crowds at the festivals in Jerusalem (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.88), and the active presence of bandits (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.165, 186-187) or the urban assassins known as the *sicarii* (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.254-256), for example, caused the Roman governor to be on hand to bring in extra troops, and for guards to be posted on roofs of the temple porticoes (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.244; *Ant.* 20.192), sometimes resulting in deadly clashes (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.10-13, 224; *Ant.* 13.372-373). Self-styled prophets also took advantage of large audiences at the festivals (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.300-309) (see Revolutionary Movements).

3.1.1. *Passover* (Heb. *pesaḥ*). Although probably not as well attended as Tabernacles, for Jesus and the Gospel writers, Passover appears to have been the most significant feast. The earliest biblical witnesses to feasts (one cultic calendar from a Yahwist perspective [Ex 34:18-26], and another Elohist [23:14-17]), include the pilgrimages, probably to local shrines (Deut 16:5, 16), of Unleavened Bread, Harvest or Weeks, and Tabernacles. The Passover is not mentioned.

Passover may have originated as a pilgrim festival before the exodus (Ex 5:1-3) or in a sacrificial rite among nomadic shepherds (de Vaux 1997, 489), and it involved the slaughter of a sheep or goat (Ex 12:21; cf. Ex 12:5; Deut 16:2; 2 Chron 35:7) in the first month, Abib (Ex 13:4) (after the exile called "Nisan" [Esther 3:7]), on the evening of the 14th—that is, at full moon, perhaps because there was the most light for the feast. The rite of sprinkling blood on the doorposts to identify Israelite homes was early connected with the Egyptian killing of the firstborn (Ex 12:23) and gave it the association with the exodus (Ex 23:15; 34:18). This association continued (*m. Pesaḥ.* 10:5), and Nisan became the month in which future redemption was expected (*b. Roš Haš.* 11a). The sacrifice was roasted whole (Ex 12:8-9) (later broiled [LXX Deut 16:7; *m. Pesaḥ.* 5:10]), and then, with the people dressed for travel (Ex 12:11), it was completely eaten that night in family groups (Ex 12:21, 43-49; Deut 16:1-8). Though not mentioned in the early texts (Ex 12:1-28; Deut 16:1-8), singing eventually became part of the celebrations in Jerusalem (2 Chron 35:15; *Jub.* 49:6) and in, for example, Alexandria (Wis 18:9;

Philo, *Spec.* 2.148). Resident aliens who wished to do so could also keep Passover (Ex 12:48-49; Num 9:14).

It probably was Hezekiah and the reforms of Josiah and the Deuteronomists that, for many, transformed this family feast into an annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Ex 12:21-23; Deut 16:1-5; 2 Kings 23:21-23). From this cultic centralization (Deut 16:2, 7; 2 Kings 23:21-23) the slaughter, cooking and eating the animals was expected to take place in the temple forecourt (2 Chron 30:1-5; 35:13-14; *Jub.* 49:16-21), the blood being poured on the base of the altar (2 Chron 30:16; 35:11). According to Numbers 9:10-11, those on a journey, or unclean, could celebrate Passover a month later. Large numbers of pilgrims gathered around each sacrifice in groups of not less than ten persons (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.423). Perhaps because of increasing crowds in Jerusalem, by NT times the slaughter, probably conducted by the people not the priests (Ex 12:6; cf. Philo, *Mos.* 2.224; *m. Pesaḥ.* 5:5), took place at the temple (before the evening Tamid [11Q19 XVII, 6-9; *Jub.* 49:10]), but many of the animals probably were cooked and eaten in homes (Mk 14:12-25; *m. Pesaḥ.* 5:10; 7:12; 8:13).

3.1.2. *The Feast of Unleavened Bread* (Heb. *ḥag hammaṣṣôt*). In the early festival lists this festival is a period of seven days in the first month during which no leavened bread was eaten (Ex 23:15; 34:18). Each day sacrifices and grain offerings were to be made. Also, the first and the last days of the feast were for assembling, not work (Lev 23:7-8; Num 28:18-25). The festival, perhaps at first independent of Passover (Lev 23:4-8, 11-16; Num 28—29; Deut 16:7b), was celebrated not the day after but rather, according to a disputed phrase, on the "day after the Sabbath" (Lev 23:11) (Hartley, 385-86). The shared connection with the escape from Egypt (Ex 12:12-13, 17), being in the same month (Ex 23:15; Deut 16:1-3), and after the exile the fixing of the date of Unleavened Bread between 14 and 21 Nisan (Ex 12:18), brought the two festivals together as consecutive celebrations (Lev 23:4-8; Num 28:16-25; Deut 16:1-8; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.249) and eventually as one (Ezra 6:19-22; Lk 22:1; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.21; 17.213; 18.29).

3.1.3. *Feast of Weeks* (Heb. *ḥag šābū'ôt*). This feast is also called "the day of the first fruits" (Ex 34:22; Num 28:26) or "the feast of the harvest" (Ex 23:16). Being celebrated "fifty" (LXX: *pentēkonta*) days after the raising of the sheaf of the first fruits at the end of Passover and Unleavened Bread (Lev 23:9-16) gave it the name "Pentecost" (Tob 2:1; 2 Macc 12:31-32), used in the NT at Acts 2:1; 20:16; 1 Corinthians 16:8. Connected with the exodus in Deuteronomy 16:10-12 (and perhaps 2 Chron 15:10-14), by the second cen-

tury B.C. the daylong feast, free of work (Lev 23:21; Num 28:26), was associated with the giving of the law (especially at Qumran [1QS I, 16—II, 25]) and the covenants of Moses (*Jub.* 1:1-26; 14:1-20), Noah (*Jub.* 6:1-31) and Abraham (*Jub.* 15:1-6). Pilgrims were expected to bring two leavened loaves from their settlements (Lev 23:17) and also grain and drink offerings; animal sacrifices also were to be offered (Lev 23:18-20; Num 28:27-31).

3.1.4. *Feast of Booths or Tabernacles* (Heb. ḥag has-sukôt). Mentioned in all the biblical festival calendars (Ex 23:16; 34:22; Lev 23:39-43; Num 29:12-38; Deut 16:1-17), this feast was also called “feast of ingathering” (Ex 23:16; 34:22), or “feast of Yahweh” (Lev 23:39; Judg 21:19; Hos 9:5), or “feast to Yahweh” (Lev 23:34, 41; Num 29:12), or simply “the feast” (1 Kings 8:2, 65; 12:32; 2 Chron 5:3; Neh 8:14; Ezek 45:25; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.100; Jn 7:2), indicating its popularity and importance, including in NT times. Coming immediately after gathering the grain and pressing the wine (Deut 16:13), it was, not surprisingly, the most joyous of the three pilgrim feasts (Lev 23:40; Deut 16:14; Neh 8:17; *Jub.* 16:27) and the one during which the greatest number of sacrifices were offered (Num 29:12-38; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.246-247).

Originally a seven-day feast (Deut 16:15), perhaps taken up from the Canaanites (Judg 9:27; 21:19-21), after the exile the feast was fixed to begin at the autumnal equinox (15 to 21 Tishri [Philo, *Spec.* 2.204]), and a day of assembly without work was required on the first day and on an additional eighth day (Lev 23:34-36). Also added to the feast was the requirement to live in booths (Lev 23:42; Neh 8:14-17) or temporary huts (Gen 33:17; Jon 4:5) or tents (Josephus, *Ant.* 3.244), and a connection was made with the exodus (Lev 23:43).

In this instance, broadly reflecting traditions known in NT times, the Mishnah says that at the end of the first day, along with dancing and singing, candlesticks in the court of women were lit that shed light across Jerusalem (*m. Sukkah* 5:1-3). Each morning a procession involving singing the Hallel psalms (Pss 113—118) and the carrying of tree branches and fruit (Lev 23:40; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.245; 13.372; *m. Sukkah* 3:9; 4:1) went down to the Pool of Siloam, and a golden flask of water (of about one and a half pints) was drawn. When the procession reached the Water Gate on the return journey, the shofar was blown (*m. Sukkah* 4:5; *m. Roš Haš.* 4:9); near the altar the water was poured into a bowl, and wine into another (*m. Sukkah* 4:9). These libations, offered before the rainy season, were widely associated with calling for rain (Zech 14:17; *m. Ta'an.* 1:1; *t. Sukkah* 3:18).

Each day the procession went around the altar (seven times on the last day) amid music and singing (*m. Sukkah* 4:5). Deuteronomy 31:9-13 says that every seven years the law was to be read publicly. Notably, in Deutero-Zechariah the festival is associated with the hope of Yahweh one day coming as king (Zech 14:16-21), a point picked up by the messianic pretender Bar Kokhba, using symbols from the feast on his coins.

3.2. Other Feasts.

3.2.1. *Hanukkah* (Heb. ḥănukkâ). This is the feast of “dedication” (LXX: *enkainismos*, “consecration” or “dedication” [Num 7:10, 11, 84; 2 Chron 7:9]; *enkainōsis*, “consecration” or “dedication” [Num 7:88]; *enkainia*, “feast of consecration” [Neh 12:27]). Judas Maccabeus arranged for the derelict and profaned Jerusalem temple to be cleansed and refurbished, including building a new altar (1 Macc 4:36-51; 2 Macc 2:19; 10:1-8). Following the initial dedication and eight-day celebration (from 25 Kislev [mid-December] 164 B.C. [1 Macc 4:52-58; Jn 10:22 says that it was winter]), “Judas and his brothers and all the assembly of Israel determined that every year the days of dedication [*egkainismos*] should be observed with joy and gladness” (1 Macc 4:59). Not surprisingly, in 2 Maccabees Hanukkah is modeled on, though not identified with (Rankin, 91-104), Tabernacles (2 Macc 10:6-8), the feast at which the temple had been dedicated by Solomon (1 Kings 8:2, 65). The festival involved each home lighting a lamp (2 Macc 1:8-9; *m. B. Qam.* 6:6). However, Josephus says that the festival (*heortē*), still observed in his time, was called the festival of “Lights” (*phōta*) because of the unexpected right to worship (*Ant.* 12.325). There is no mention of Hanukkah in Qumran literature, perhaps because that community honored Mosaic, not civic, festivals (11Q19) or because the festival was not being celebrated at the time (Solis-Cohen, 41-42). There is no evidence that the feast was connected with the birthday of the sun (except by calendrical coincidence) or with Dionysius or with the king’s birthday (2 Macc 6:7).

3.2.2. *Purim* (Heb. pûrîm). The Hebrew term (Esther 3:7; 9:24-32; *m. Meg.* 3:4, 6) derives from the Akkadian *pûrû*, “lots” (LXX: *phourai*, “lots” [Esther 3:7; 9:24-28]; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.291-296). This feast, of uncertain origins, is also called the “Day of Mordecai” (2 Macc 15:36). It is said to have been instituted by Mordecai, celebrating deliverance from Haman, who had cast a “lot” to determine that the slaughter of the Jews would take place on 13 (or 14 [LXX and Old Latin]) Adar (Esther 3:7; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.291). The festival involved feasting, joy, sending gifts of

food to one another and to the poor, and reading the scroll of Esther (Esther 9:17-32; *m. Meg.* 1:1).

3.2.3. *New Moon* (*Heb.* *rōš hōdeš*). The Hebrew term means, literally, “head of the month.” According to Numbers 28:11-15, the start of each lunar month was to be marked with sacrifices, offerings and libations (Is 1:13-14; Hos 2:11). The OT mentions visitation to a prophet (2 Kings 4:23) and abstention from work (Amos 8:5), and in 1 Samuel 20 feasting takes place over two days (1 Sam 20:5, 18-19, 26-27). Although celebrated through the OT period (Ezra 3:5; Neh 10:34) and into the time of Jesus and the Gospels (Col 2:16), only the seventh new moon maintained its importance (Lev 23:24-25; Num 29:1-6).

4. Jesus.

It is no surprise that the Gospels tell us little about Jesus and the feasts. As a Torah-observant Jew, he could be expected to have taken part in the feasts, which he had a reputation of enjoying (Lk 7:34), including the pilgrimages to Jerusalem. The Fourth Gospel says that Jesus’ brothers urged him to go to Tabernacles to take advantage of the crowd to make his work known (Jn 7:2-4). It is said that eventually he went and, in the middle of the feast, taught in the *temple (Jn 7:10, 14).

Coming to Jerusalem for Passover (Mk 14:12) with his followers, among crowds of pilgrims (Mk 10:46; 11:8), Jesus does not approach on foot, as expected (*m. Hag.* 1:1), but instead enacts the prophecy of Zechariah 9:9 by riding on a donkey (see Triumphant Entry). In this, Jesus uses the backdrop of Passover, commemorating and anticipating salvation, to make an implicit claim to messianic kingship (cf. Gen 49:10-11; 1 Kings 1:38-40). He is likely to have arrived in Jerusalem on 8 Nisan, a week before Passover (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.290), perhaps taking part in the purifications (Jn 11:55; cf. Num 19:1-19). During this period, when Jerusalem was crowded, Jesus entered the temple and overturned “the tables of the money changers and the seats of those who sold doves” (Mk 11:15). Acting as a *prophet, as others sometimes did in the festivals (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.300-309), at a time of year when the temple was seen in its greatest glory, Jesus most probably was predicting its destruction, and a new temple built by God (cf. Is 60:13; 1 En. 90:28-29) (see Temple Act).

Although the Gospels do not say, the disciples’ preparation for Passover (Mk 14:12) could be expected to involve the customary buying a lamb and slaughtering it at the temple before bringing it to the home for cooking and eating. As was the convention at a dinner (Jn 12:2), feast or banquet (Mk 2:15; Lk

13:29; 14:8), including the Passover meal, as a symbol of freedom (*y. Pesah.* 10:1 [III 37b]; *t. Pesah.* 10:1), Jesus and his followers reclined (Mk 14:18; Jn 13:23; cf. *m. Pesah.* 10:1) rather than sat at table (*y. Ber.* 8:4a; *b. Sanh.* 38a).

As was also expected at Passover, during the meal Jesus broke bread (Mk 14:22; cf. *m. Pesah.* 10:3), and he interpreted the act. In Mark, what is probably the oldest form of Jesus’ words at the Passover meal (see Last Supper), Jesus, as was customary, interpreted the elements of the meal (Ex 12:26-27; 13:8; *m. Pesah.* 10:4-5; Philo, *Spec.* 2.158-161) in contemporary (*m. Pesah.* 10:5) and eschatological terms (*y. Pesah.* 10:1 [VI]). The bread of affliction (Deut 16:3; Philo, *Congr.* 161-167) he interpreted as his body in relation to his impending death (Mk 14:22). Drunk only at family celebrations, and festivals and feasts (*b. Pesah.* 109a) (Jeremias 1966, 50), including Passover (*m. Pesah.* 10:1), the wine, probably red (cf. Mk 14:24) (Jeremias 1966, 53), is interpreted to point to the future kingdom understood as a feast (Mt 22:1-22). The custom of giving something to the poor on Passover night probably also was followed by Jesus (Jn 13:29; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.29-30; *m. Pesah.* 9:11), as was the singing of a hymn at the end of the meal (Mk 14:26; cf. Philo, *Spec.* 2.148; *m. Pesah.* 10:7).

5. The Gospels.

It is only in the passion narrative of the Synoptic Gospels that a pilgrim feast, Passover, features significantly. There are hints earlier, however, of an assumed knowledge of the feasts, and Jesus often is portrayed as involved in meals and banquets. In the Fourth Gospel the feasts, particularly Passover, function as interpretive lenses for much of the narrative.

5.1. *Mark.* In the earliest Gospel Jesus is portrayed at formal banquets with tax collectors and sinners, those he had come to call (Mk 2:15, 17) (see Table Fellowship). Herod’s birthday banquet (Mk 6:17-30) is used, in part, to show the incomprehension about Jesus (Mk 6:14-16) by the social elite (those able to recline at a feast [Mk 6:26]), for whom the head of John, a forerunner of Jesus, is served on a platter. In contrast to this feast bringing the death of John and foreshadowing the *death of Jesus (Mk 6:29; 15:46), the following feast provided by Jesus for a crowd of five thousand (Mk 6:30-44) seated like common people (Mk 6:39; cf. Amos 6:4; Sir 41:19) more than satisfies (Mk 6:42-43), as it foreshadows the Last Supper (Mk 6:41; 14:22). Using two different words, Mark says that Jesus asks the people to be seated in “groups” (*symposia* [Mk 6:39]) as at a banquet in which conversation was valued (Plutarch,

Mor. 157d; 704d; Philo, *Opif.* 78), and that they sat in “groups” (*prasiai* [Mk 6:40]), or rows (Sir 24:31), as the people of God had been organized during the exodus (Ex 18:21; Deut 1:15) and would be in the eschatological battle (1QM IV, 1-5). The second feeding story reinforces these themes, but for *Gentiles (Mk 7:31; 8:10), and with mention of the three days (Mk 8:2) it calls to mind the expected passion (Mk 8:31; 9:30-32; 10:34; 14:58; 15:29) and becomes a foretaste of the eschatological banquet (cf. Is 25:6). Mark proposes that, as the host of these feasts, the identity of Jesus as the Messiah can be discerned (Mk 8:11-21).

Tabernacles is echoed in the story of the *transfiguration (also in Mt 17:1-9 // Lk 9:28-36), with Peter offering to make three booths (*skēnē* [Mk 9:5]). In that God was expected to live with his people in tents in the messianic era (1 *En.* 39:4-8; 41:2; 71:16; 2 *En.* 61:2), perhaps Mark, as well as Matthew and Luke, who followed him, are affirming that, in the tradition and hope of *Elijah and *Moses, Jesus the Son (Mk 9:7 // Mt 17:5 // Lk 9:35) was already offering that salvation, to be fully understood in light of the *resurrection (Mk 9:9 // Mt 17:9; cf. Lk 9:36).

Approaching Jerusalem, Jesus is accompanied by a crowd of Passover pilgrims (Mk 11:1-4; 14:2-16) singing the customary psalms (Pss 113–118), Mark giving the impression that Jesus was the subject of the praise as a king (Mk 11:9-11; cf. Ps 118:26). Passover is reestablished (Mk 14:1) as the backdrop for the royal anointing of Jesus’ head (cf. Ex 29:7; 1 Sam 10:1; 2 Kings 9:3), so that his death (Mk 14:1) becomes his enthronement. In the Last Supper, a Passover meal (Mk 14:12), Jesus interprets his death as for others (Mk 14:24; cf. Mk 10:45) and the meal in relation to his death as marking the promise of the coming kingdom (Mk 14:25).

The practice of releasing a prisoner during a festival (Mk 15:6; Jn 18:39), otherwise unknown (though see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.4, 28; *Ant.* 20.208-210, 215; *m. Pesah.* 8:6; PFlor. 61.59-62), in Mark’s narrative emphasizes the widespread, sustained and deliberate condemnation of Jesus.

5.2. Matthew. Since the guests are described as reclining, Jesus’ first meal in Matthew is a feast or banquet with “tax collectors and sinners,” with Jesus as the host (Mt 9:10), making the point that he has “come to call not the righteous but sinners” (Mt 9:13) (see Sin, Sinner). In turn, the feast is a foretaste of the eschatological banquet (cf. Is 25:6-8) to which the good and bad are invited (Mt 21:31; 22:10) from all over the Diaspora (Mt 8:11; cf. Zech 8:7; Bar 5:5; Pss. Sol. 11:2).

As for Mark, the Last Supper is a Passover meal

(Mt 26:17), but Matthew strengthens the salvific theme provided by the exodus. The disciples’ preparation echoes those following Moses’ instruction (Mt 26:19; cf. Ex 12:28), and Matthew adds the phrase, “for the forgiveness of sins” (Mt 26:28 [cf. *Tg. Onq.* 24:8]) to Jesus’ words interpreting the cup. Moreover, the feeding of the five thousand “when it was evening” (Mt 14:15; 26:20), and the reclining (Mt 14:19; 26:20), and the taking, blessing, breaking and giving the bread (Mt 14:19; 26:26) anticipate and interpret Passover, itself foreshadowing the messianic banquet hosted by the compassionate Messiah abundantly meeting the needs of the multitudes, including the Gentiles (cf. Mt 15:29-39).

5.3. Luke. From the initial theme of God feeding the hungry (Lk 1:53), developed through the meal scenes and banquets, in Luke’s Gospel *table fellowship and feasts are particularly important in understanding Jesus, salvation (Lk 15:11-32) and his teaching (Lk 11:37-41). Since women and children were not obligated to attend the festivals (*m. Hag.* 1:1), Jesus’ faithfulness to Jewish traditions is established early in portraying the boy Jesus and his mother each year accompanying his father as pilgrims to Passover (Lk 2:41-52).

Levi the tax collector, not Jesus (Lk 5:29 // Mt 9:10), is the host of the first meal, making the point that salvation is inclusive (Lk 15:1-2) and is to be reflected by Jesus’ followers (Lk 7:44-46). The meal that Jesus hosts, in which five thousand are more than satisfied (Lk 9:10-17), identifies him as the Messiah (Lk 9:18-20), who does what God and his prophets (2 Kings 4:42-44) in the OT did for his people (Ex 16; Num 11), and looks forward to both the Last Supper (Lk 9:16; 22:19) and the Messianic banquet (Lk 14:15-24; 16:19-31). The meal that Mary and Martha host draws attention to the need for service (Lk 10:29-37), but more importantly, to listen to Jesus (Lk 10:38-42). The meal that Zacchaeus hosts (Lk 19:5 [on *menō*, “remain,” involving a meal, see Lk 10:7]) is an expression of salvation (Lk 19:9) and a challenge to those who refuse it (Lk 15:1; 19:1).

For the *Last Supper, which, Luke emphasizes, is a Passover meal (Lk 22:1, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15), Jesus is not powerless; as host (Lk 22:11, 14) and head of the group (cf. Ex 12:3-4), he takes the initiative and knows where the feast is to take place (Lk 22:7-8 // Mk 14:12-13). The eschatological significance of Passover is signaled in “when the hour came” (Lk 22:14; cf. Lk 12:40, 46; 14:17; 22:53). Calling those with him *apostles” (Lk 22:14 // Mk 14:17) connects Passover with the life of the church (Lk 6:12-13; Acts 1:2). Although all his feasts have anticipated the eschato-

logical banquet (Lk 12:35-37; 13:28-29), Jesus is particularly eager to celebrate this Passover meal because it will be the last one before the Passover is fulfilled in the kingdom of God (Lk 22:15-16). Jesus interprets the broken bread as his body "given for you" (Lk 22:19 [on the state of the text, see Jeremias 1966, 139-59]), giving it not simply martyrological (cf. Is 53:10), but a strong sacrificial (cf. Ex 30:14; Lev 22:14; Lk 2:24) and redemptive significance (cf. Lev 5:7; Ezek 43:21; Gal 1:4; 3:13). Jesus says that his followers are to repeat the meal "in remembrance" of him (Lk 22:19), suggesting that they are to eat or live together in a way that recalls the significance of his life and death for others. The emphasis on the church is brought out in Jesus saying the cup is poured out for "you" (Lk 22:20), the apostles (Lk 22:14). The final meal, after the resurrection, in echoing the Last Supper, is said to reveal Jesus's identity to his followers (Lk 24:30-31).

5.4. John. Set "on the third day," Jesus' first miracle or sign at a wedding banquet (*gamos* [Jn 2:1]) may be intended to evoke the resurrection (Jn 2:19-20). Also, the association of this feast (Jn 2:13) and the feeding of the multitude (Jn 6:4), as well as the Last Supper (Jn 13:1), with Passover draws them into the symbolism available for interpreting the Eucharist.

The last day of Tabernacles (Jn 7:37), during which rain was eagerly anticipated, provides the setting for Jesus to say that the thirsty believer can drink from him (rather than Moses [Ex 17:6]), and that the Spirit will be the source of rivers of living water (Jn 7:37-39). This festival, combining the images of water and light, as in the exodus narrative (Ex 13:21; Zech 14:6-8), is also the setting for Jesus to say that he is the light not simply of Jerusalem but of the whole world (Jn 8:12), as illustrated in bringing "light to the "blind (Jn 9:5-7) or those in darkness (Jn 12:46). Consistent with Johannine irony, Jesus the new temple (Jn 2:19-21; 4:20-24) is rejected by the Jews (Jn 10:31-39) at the festival of Dedication of the temple (Jn 10:22) (see 3.2.1 above).

From early in the narrative (Jn 1:29, 36) the Fourth Gospel uses Passover and its interpretive significance as an ongoing backdrop for the story of Jesus, mentioning three separate Passovers. (1) Early in his ministry Jesus goes up to Jerusalem and drives out the merchants and money changers from the temple (Jn 2:13, 23). The next feast, an unidentified one ("feast," *heortē* without the article [P⁶⁶, P⁷⁵], may be intended to be Weeks [Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* 36.1]), is used to account for Jesus being in Jerusalem on another occasion (Jn 5:1). (2) Jesus, though remaining in Galilee, feeds a crowd of five thousand

Passover pilgrims (Jn 6:4), in which readers would see eucharistic allusions (Jn 6:11, 24-34). In the following story of Jesus walking on the sea, with its exodus theme, an echo of Passover may also be intended (Jn 6:19; cf. Ps 77:19), as it is in the mention of "manna in the wilderness" (Jn 6:31) in the ensuing discussion of the feeding establishing that Jesus is the "bread from heaven" (Jn 6:35-51), and that those who eat his flesh and drink his blood live in him, and he in them (Jn 6:52-60). (3) Jesus' entry into Jerusalem probably is connected not with Tabernacles (Jn 12:12), but with Passover, the context for the Passion (Jn 11:55; 12:1; 13:1; 18:28, 39; 19:14).

However, the Last Supper in the Fourth Gospel (Jn 13:1-38) is not a Passover meal, as it takes place before Passover (Jn 13:1). Instead, it is the trial that takes place on the eve of Passover (Jn 18:28) at noon (Jn 19:14), and Jesus' crucifixion is a little later, at the time when the slaughtering of the lambs at the temple began (*m. Pesah.* 5:1). Jesus becomes the Paschal lamb with unbroken bones (Jn 19:33, 36; cf. Ex 12:46; Jn 1:29), and hyssop is used to offer him wine (Jn 19:29), as it was used in the Passover to apply blood to the doorposts (Ex 12:22).

That the Synoptic Gospels equate the Last Supper with the Passover meal, while the Fourth Gospel dates the death of Jesus at Passover, is more likely to be due to Johannine theological preferences (Jn 1:29; 19:36) (shared by Paul [1 Cor 5:7]) than a difference in calendars (Jeremias 1966, 89-105; *HJP*² 1.587-601). As in Luke, so too in the final scene of the Fourth Gospel, an epilogue, Jesus is host at a meal with eucharistic overtones (Jn 21:13; cf. Jn 6:11) in which he reveals himself as the Lord (Jn 21:1, 13-14) and as still nourishing and abundantly (cf. Jn 2:1-11) supplying the needs of his followers.

See also JUDAISM, COMMON; LAST SUPPER; SABBATH; SYNAGOGUE; TABLE FELLOWSHIP; TEMPLE.

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FEMINIST AND WOMANIST CRITICISMS

Feminist and womanist criticisms derive from women's historical struggles for freedom from slavery and gender oppression and in pursuit of equal rights and privileges long denied women. Although rooted in the abolitionist and women's suffrage movements, both have become critical academic disciplines that take seriously women's historical and contemporary lived experiences. Women's experiences and cultural artifacts are affirmed as legitimate lenses or frameworks for engaging in liberative theoretical, theological, ethical, and interpretative reflection about the Bible, Jesus, Women, and interpretations. Feminist and womanist criticisms strive to maintain a political edge intent on dismantling or transforming

oppressive systems and ideologies while remaining critically self-reflective.

1. Definitions and History
2. (Re)Sources and Methods/Lenses of Interpretation
3. Contexts, Critical Consciousness and Language Matter
4. Reading Women, Jesus and the Gospels
5. Moving Forward

1. Definitions and History.

Feminism is a movement consisting of women and men who maintain that women deserve the full rights and privileges that their humanity demands. B. hooks, E. Schüssler Fiorenza and other feminists have expressed feminism's mantra simply as "Women are people too." Historically, women's subordination and disenfranchisement have been theologically, effectively and legislatively rationalized. Whereas the historical subordination of women casts a long shadow in contemporary societies, feminism engages in a continual consciousness raising regarding the social construction of gender bias and the oppression of women and others. Feminism is anti-sexism, but it is not anti-male. Not every male is sexist and oppressive; not every female is a feminist. Feminism as a political movement strives to expose, deconstruct, transform and obliterate exploitation, hegemonic dominations, systemic oppressions and other manifestations of injustice. Feminist and womanist critics such as K. Cannon, E. Schüssler Fiorenza, B. hooks and A.-J. Levine contend that feminism cannot dismantle institutionalized oppressions until it recognizes and accepts its complicit involvement and consciously transforms and replaces oppressive ideas and actions with liberating theories and practices. Feminism never perfectly incarnates its theoretical or political agenda, but it is reflective, self-critical and continually evolving.

The formal women's suffrage movement began with the Seneca Falls Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, when white women insisted on the right to work outside of their homes and to vote. Enslaved and free black women, already working outside of their "homes," were invited to support (with their presence but not their voices) the women's rights movement in lieu of the abolition of American slavery; black women refused to choose between the two. Slavery, segregation and racism plagued black people's lives in America regardless of their gender. Black women struggled simultaneously against racism and sexism. Modern feminists concede that poor women and women of color experi-

ence interlocking oppressions, as opposed to hierarchically ordered subordinations. Today feminism is a global phenomenon of diverse women and men speaking, theorizing and actualizing liberative transformation in and through their particular contexts.

The term *womanist* first appeared in the 1979 short story "Coming Apart," by author/poet Alice Walker. In Walker's narrative she describes the black wife as a womanist or "a feminist, only more common," acting and resisting in the context of black folks' everyday lives. In Walker's 1983 book *In Search of Our Mothers' Garden* she further defines a womanist as a black woman engaged in grown folks' talk, audacious, loving women and men sexually and non-sexually, serious and in charge, concerned for the health of the whole community, and who periodically distances herself from family, community and others in order to safeguard, regain and/or maintain her (and the community's) physical, emotional and spiritual health. Womanism as a political movement strives for and promotes survival and an improved quality of life for black women, their communities and other oppressed persons. Some womanists, such as D. Williams, K. Cannon and E. Townes, appropriate the term *womanism* to describe black women's theological and ethical reflections.

Feminism and womanism are not mutually exclusive categories. Some black women, such as hooks, self-identify as black feminists. Many black women religious and nonreligious scholars and nonacademics self-identify as womanists. As a movement by and for black women, womanism declares that black women's experience matters. They resist and reject efforts to subsume their lived experiences and knowledge under that of white men and women and black men as normative and universal. Black women's lived experience, past and present, is a legitimate starting point and lens for biblical interpretation, constructing theories and doctrines, mundane practice, and for doing theological and ethical reflection.

Feminists and womanists variously and to different degrees acknowledge and seek to address multidimensional, interlocking oppressions that women and men experience, including sexism, gender dualism, racism, (neo)colonialism, imperialism, classism, ageism, heterosexism, anti-Semitism, anti-Judaism, poverty, religious exclusivism and other oppressions. Womanists, like feminists, are not a monolithic group; each recognizes their collective identity and the significance of individual perspectives and experiences. Feminists and womanists claim the right to author and act as subjects of their

own narratives and theological reflection, to expose and name their own oppressions, and to decide what practices are relevant and liberative for themselves and their communities. They prioritize the construction of liberative theories and practices and understand the interconnectedness of theory and practice. Feminists and womanists value both intragroup and intergroup dialogue and collaboration (table talk and banquet talk) with other feminists and womanists globally.

2. (Re)Sources and Methods/Lenses of Interpretation.

Feminist and womanist sources for biblical interpretation and for theological and ethical reflection include the biblical canon (whether Protestant, Catholic or Orthodox) as well as extrabiblical and/or noncanonical texts (written and oral). They mine the Synoptic Gospels, John's Gospel and the hypothetical *Q sayings source as well as Hellenistic Jewish texts (e.g., Judith, Tobit, Susanna) and noncanonical apocryphal texts (e.g., *Gospel of Mary*, *Protevangelium of James*, *Gospel of Thomas*). Archaeological inscriptions and artifacts aid in reconstructing and recovering women's historical participation and agency in the Gospels. Epistemological resources for doing feminist and womanist hermeneutics include women's remembrances of lived experiences located in survival and liberation traditions and in cultural artifacts (ancient texts, the Bible, folk literature, slave songs and narratives, the black church[es], visual art, music, literature [fiction and nonfiction]). Sources of knowledge and wisdom also include early or proto-feminist and proto-womanist interpreters, preachers and prophetic voices such as Sojourner Truth, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Anna Julia Cooper and Christina Rosetti (see Taylor and Choi). Many feminist and womanists, including B. hooks, K. Cannon, E. Townes and E. Schüssler Fiorenza, understand knowledge as "embodied-mediated." They argue that since all knowing is embodied, all knowledge is infallible. According to M. Aquino and A. Isasi-Díaz, the embodied daily life (*lo cotidiano*) of Latinas or *mujeristas* constitutes mundane conscious material and cultural experiences and/or struggles—action and reflection occurring daily in spaces of theological discourse. Many reject the strict dichotomy between biblical interpretation and theological reflection.

Feminists and womanists employ a variety of interpretive and cross-disciplinary methods or lenses. Some employ literary criticisms—*narrative criticism (e.g., Anderson; Dewey with Rhoads; Tolbert),

rhetorical criticism (e.g., Schüssler Fiorenza 2000; Matthews), reader-response criticism (e.g., Anderson; Fehribach; Kinukawa 2000; Wainwright 1998a)—and “postcolonial and/or liberationist criticisms (e.g., Aquino; Dube 2004; Kinukawa 2004; Kwok; Tamez 2002b). Others also pursue historical reconstruction (e.g., Kraemer and D’Angelo; Schüssler Fiorenza 1984). Many use a combination of methods or lenses. Even while employing to various degrees historical-critical methods (searching behind the text for original meaning, sources, audience, etc.), feminists such as E. Schüssler Fiorenza and J. Schaberg disavow its objectivist and/or positivist claims (value-neutral, ideologically free, scientific, free from subjectivity). Further, they reject the notion that by using historical-critical and social-science methodologies, biblical scholars can produce the original and unbiased truth about Jesus and the early Jesus movement. But in fact many mainstream biblical scholars deny and obscure the fact that all knowledge production is contextual and embodied.

3. Contexts, Critical Consciousness and Language Matter.

Not all Jewish, black, white, Latina/mujerista, Asian, Muslim or Native American feminists or womanists will read texts and contexts the same by virtue of identification with an ethnic or socially constructed racial group, despite shared cultural and historical experiences. Likewise, feminists and womanists vary in the authority that they attribute to the Bible. Some, such as “radical feminist” M. Daly, totally reject the Bible and biblical authority. But most agree that the Gospels and Jesus (and the Bible) can be interpreted in liberative ways when read with a critical consciousness. According to feminists and womanists, reading critically means becoming intentionally aware of the presence and function of androcentric (male-centered), misogynistic (demonstrating dislike for or bias against women and their agency) and patriarchal (father- or male-dominated) language and contexts including the perspectives of the Gospel writers and of the first-century Eastern Mediterranean world. In other words, many read with a “hermeneutics of suspicion,” conscious of male bias and viewpoints imposed upon or inscribed in the biblical text. E. Schüssler Fiorenza coined the term *kyriarchy* (from the Greek noun *kyrios*, referring to “lord, master, husband, father”) as inclusive of patriarchy and other oppressions, such as classism. Feminists and womanists employ various methods to expose, name and challenge such biases and to offer

alternative readings so that oppressive contexts, frameworks, images and rhetoric are not (re)inscribed onto women’s lives and ministry.

J. Grant, E. Schüssler Fiorenza, J. Glancy and M. Smith argue that biblical interpreters should critique the reinscription of “master/slave” language and images in parables and other texts that identify Jesus and/or God with the slave master who expects and exacts profits and servitude from slaves and cruelly punishes them for noncompliance. They question the theological and practical implications of a God or Savior who behaves like a slave master. Feminists and womanists generally believe that when language functions oppressively to stereotype, circumscribe, prescribe and/or proscribe women and others, it must be exposed, deconstructed, reconstructed and sometimes abandoned.

4. Reading Women, Jesus and the Gospels.

Liberative interpretation often requires the reconstruction of historical memory, or “re-membering,” based on available sources and historical imagination, or what E. Schüssler Fiorenza calls “emancipatory historiography.” Thus, feminists and womanists’ re-presentations of women and the Jesus movement often engage a critical re-membering.

Protofeminists and womanists (e.g., Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Sojourner Truth) apologetically re-membered or highlighted biblical images of women as teachers, preachers, apostles and prophets in order to affirm women’s presence and significance in the Jesus movement and consequently in contemporary life. Since Luke’s Gospel contains the largest representation of women, many feminists and womanists, past and present, consider it the most liberating of the four canonical Gospels. Others, such as R. D’Angelo, T. Seim, I. Reimer and M. Smith, argue that although Luke contains more images of women, most women in Luke (and Acts) are muted or characterized as “auxiliary” to the Jesus movement.

Since Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s 1895 *Woman’s Bible*, feminists have produced commentaries employing multiple methods for critically reading texts concerning women. These include the pioneering one-volume *Women’s Bible Commentary* (Newsom and Ringe [being revised with J. Lapsley in 2012]), the two-volume *Searching the Scriptures* (Schüssler Fiorenza 1994), *The IVP Women’s Bible Commentary* (Kroeger and Evans) and other one-volume commentaries, such as those in the *Feminist Companion* to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings series (e.g., Levine and Blickenstaff 2001; 2002).

In addition to commentaries and articles covering women in the Gospels (and Acts) and apocryphal texts, feminist and womanist scholars have engaged in historical and literary (re)constructions and/or critical readings of women, named and unnamed, including Mary the mother of Jesus, Anna, the woman who anointed Jesus at Bethany, the bent-over woman, the bleeding woman, the Syrophoenician/Canaanite woman and Mary Magdalene (e.g., Schaberg 2002; Pippin 2004; Thurston; Brock; Gaventa 1995, 2005; Kraemer and D'Angelo; Matthews; Dube 2004; Kinukawa 1994, 2000; Levine and Blickenstaff 2002), as well as other texts (with or without women) that have theological, ecclesiological, christological and ethical implications for women and other oppressed peoples (e.g., Aquino; Tamez 2002a, 2005; Ringe 1985).

Critical remembering and analysis of the Gospels is not limited to representations of women; it also includes interpretations of Jesus. Feminist and womanist scholars such as D. Williams, E. Schüssler Fiorenza, J. Terrell and R. St. Clair emphasize Jesus' life and ministry, arguing that his masculine gender is of no necessary significance for salvation or ecclesiology. They further argue that Jesus, like John the Baptist before him, preached a sociopolitical message about the *basileia* (domain) of God, which is a tensive symbol representing a realized, imminent and future reality. Other feminists and womanists argue that Jesus is found in typically feminine settings and is accused of characteristically feminine offenses. Jesus shaped women, and women shaped Jesus, as the story of the Syrophoenician woman demonstrates.

Some feminist/womanist scholars carefully maintain Jesus' Jewishness and the Jewish beginnings of the Jesus movement and critique the anti-Semitic and/or anti-Jewish rhetoric of the Gospels. A. Reinhartz, E. Wainwright, A.-J. Levine and others have critiqued anti-Judaism in feminist and other scholarship that, for example, effectively divorces Jesus from *Judaism as the singular, paradigmatic rogue Jew who grants equality to women, dismisses Torah, and lived and ministered as a Galilean (versus a Judean). Feminist and womanists generally affirm Jesus' Jewishness, that he respected Jewish practices, and that he advocated for social justice in step with the tradition of the prophets. Jewish and other feminists and womanists agree that Jesus must be understood within his historical Jewish context and not constructed so as to condemn Judaism and Jews. Likewise, Jesus' early forerunners and his disciples were Jewish; Jewish *women belonged to and shaped the Jesus reform movement.

B. Gaventa has protested the Jesus Seminar's portrayal of Jesus as non-Jewish; the entire canon is relevant for constructing Jesus' identity. According to Schüssler Fiorenza, research on the historical Jesus, with its claims to scientific positivistic methodologies that purport to construct the real historical Jesus, requires critical exploration into the rhetorical politics of meaning-making. Schüssler Fiorenza further argues that mainstream research on the historical Jesus harmonizes the multiple perspectives and representations of Jesus in Christian Scripture and traditions to create a definite monolithic discourse that fashions the historical Jesus in the likeness of elite white males; any literary or rhetorical reconstruction of Jesus is a re-presentation. Cannon notes that the quest for the historical Jesus reached its zenith in the West during colonialism and the confiscation of land and resources for Western expansionism. Thus, Cannon coined the phrases "missiologic of imminent Parousia" and "theologic of racialized normativity," which reflect how Christian missionary expansionists employed the Great Commission and the eschatological imminent return of Jesus as a motivation and rationalization for the Christianizing and enslaving of Africans.

K. Douglas, H. Chung, M. Aquino and other feminists and womanists emphasize that God in Jesus unites concretely with black, Asian and Latina women, and with all oppressed peoples. Douglas also asserts that an understanding of Christ as symbolically black affirms that Christ is with the black community in its struggle for survival, liberation and wholeness, and that black men and women can see themselves in the image of Christ. Thus, feminists and womanists assert that Jesus' crucifixion is a reminder of God's "with-us-ness," and that Christ, as *prophet, challenges oppressions inside and outside of community.

Some feminists and womanists reject a hermeneutics of sacrifice and/or are concerned with how interpretations of Jesus' crucifixion impact women's everyday lives (e.g., Reid; Terrell; St. Clair). They argue that the crucifixion should not be interpreted in a way that glorifies violence and women's oppressions. Terrell asserts that God does not glory in suffering or blood loss by one person for the sake of another, promoting a hermeneutic of sacrificial violence, particularly against the weak in society. But Jesus' sacrificial act resulted from his confrontation with evil. Williams, St. Clair, R. Weems and others identify agony, shame and surrogacy as critical aspects of women's lived experiences. They argue that Jesus calls his disciples to partner with him in his

ministry and not in his pain. Thus, agony (pain and suffering) is not prerequisite for discipleship or ministry. Pain as recognized, named and transformed agony is a consequence of discipleship. Postcolonial feminist M. Dube argues that women must name Jesus for themselves. According to Dube and others, Jesus is the liberator who frees the people from oppressive political and economic systems, repressive religious institutions and spirituality, and gender injustices. According to Dube, S. Ringe, E. Tamez and others, a liberator Jesus sends women to proclaim and embody a gospel of grace and liberation.

5. Moving Forward.

Critics such as S. Yang, A. Smith, Cannon, Levine and Wainwright hope that feminism and womanism will remain a political movement dedicated to (1) consciousness raising and theories that translate into social justice activities that transform communities; (2) the promotion of international, intergenerational, multicultural, cross-disciplinary dialogues, agendas and advocacy services; (3) engagement of emerging voices such as those of Muslim and Native feminist scholars; (4) critique of internalized oppressions, such as the use of binary assumptions (e.g., secular versus religious, religion versus politics, Christian versus secular), of identity politics that disavow ethnic cultures while tacitly reinscribing white privilege, and of the relationship between empire and Christian hegemony and its partnership with imperialism and expansionism; and (5) continual rethinking of feminist and womanist biblical interpretations, theologies and ethics.

See also LATINO/LATINA CRITICISM; POSTCOLONIAL CRITICISM; WOMEN.

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FINAL DISCOURSE. See FAREWELL DISCOURSE.

FOOD LAWS. See JUDAISM, COMMON.

FOOTWASHING. See SLAVE, SERVANT.

FORGIVENESS OF SINS

Rendering terms closely associated with “freedom, release, letting go” (*aphiēmi*, *aphesis*, *apolyō*), “forgiveness” in the Gospels represents less a static, juridical concept of expunging a record of transgression than a dynamic, social-psychological experience of being released from the deleterious effects of guilt and sinful behavior and restoring broken relations between human beings and God and among themselves. Forgiveness thus most closely aligns with liberation, *salvation, reconciliation and restoration. Because of humankind’s deeply flawed nature, forgiveness ultimately depends on the gracious love of God mediated through Jesus Christ. But far from being passive recipients, people respond to God’s reconciling *mercy in various ways, especially repentance, *baptism, confession, *prayer and forgiveness of others. But these practices appear intermittently in Gospel accounts and more as correlates than strict prerequisites of forgiveness.

1. The Triple Tradition
2. Matthew
3. Luke
4. John

1. The Triple Tradition.

1.1. The Mission of John the Baptist (Mt 3:1-6; Mk 1:1-6; Lk 3:1-6). Preparing God’s people for the climactic coming of the Lord in salvation and judgment, the prophet John proclaims and practices “a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness [*aphesis*] of sins.” No particular efficacy is tied to John’s baptism as an atoning or cleansing ritual; rather, it functions as an act of renewal, a recrossing of the Jordan River, as it were, anticipating the final establishment of God’s rule in the land. Accompanied by repentance and confession of *sins, the forgiveness envisioned by John fits the people to welcome and walk with their soon-coming Lord along “straight paths” (cf. Is 40:3-4) (see John the Baptist).

1.2. The Healing of the Paralytic and Eating with “Sinners” (Mt 9:1-13; Mk 2:1-17; Lk 5:17-32). In restoring a paralyzed man brought by supportive friends, Jesus jolts some religious teachers (scribes) by juxtaposing statements of forgiveness and *healing (“Your sins are forgiven [*aphiēmi*]. . . . Stand up, take your bed/mat and walk”). Although not insinu-

ating any direct, causative link between this man’s iniquity and disability, as if the latter were somehow a merited punishment, Jesus does imply a broad connection between forgiveness and wholeness. His main point, however, stresses his “authority on earth to forgive sins” as “the Son of Man,” God’s supreme agent of *judgment and deliverance for his suffering people (cf. Dan 7:13-27). This represents nothing less than Jesus’ claim to divine authority, since only God can forgive sins. Accordingly, because certain scribes resist granting such exclusive power to Jesus, or any other human being, they accuse him of committing *blasphemy.

In the next scene, Jesus calls a tax collector (Matthew/Levi) to follow him and then dines in this man’s home with a large group of other “tax collectors and sinners.” Again, Jesus shocks some religious experts, but not for pronouncing forgiveness. Here the conflict concerns Jesus’ *table fellowship with sinners, which involves a certain welcoming and reconciling relationship with them. Saying nothing about forgiveness, Jesus defends his conduct as integral to his physician-like vocation of helping the weak and wayward. In Matthew and Mark, such therapeutic ministry remains open-ended; only Luke pinpoints the reformative goal of Jesus’ outreach: “I have come to call . . . sinners to repentance” (Lk 5:32 [cf. Mt 9:13; Mk 2:17]).

1.3. The Unpardonable Sin (Mt 12:31-32; Mk 3:28-30; Lk 12:10). The blasphemy question related to forgiveness arises again, initiated this time by Jesus regarding the one transgression that “will not be forgiven.” Affirming the accessibility of forgiveness for a wide range of “sins and blasphemies,” including calumnies against the *Son of Man, the sole exception concerns blasphemy against the *Holy Spirit. Never defining the precise content of such a heinous utterance, Jesus likely has in view more of a hardened disposition than random declaration against God’s Spirit. The context in Matthew and Mark suggests a perverse, irrational partnering of the Holy Spirit with evil spirits, of God with Satan (Mt 12:22-30; Mk 3:21-27) (see Demon, Devil, Satan); such a distorted view of God’s work effectively denies the need for and means of forgiveness. In Luke’s version the context implies a scenario of persecution prompting public renunciation of Christian faith, thus evidencing tragic alienation from the Holy Spirit, who provides the will and words to confirm true allegiance to God (Lk 12:11-12).

1.4. Prayer (Mt 6:12-15; Mk 11:25; Lk 11:4). Jesus advocates *praying to God the Father as a prime means of asking and receiving forgiveness. Though

inviting everyone to approach God directly without intermediaries, Jesus assumes a deeply communal and mutual experience of prayer and forgiveness. In the Lord's Prayer we should plead collectively, "Forgive us our debts/sins," as we commit ourselves to forgive all who have offended us (Mt 6:11-15; Lk 11:4). Mark 11:25 reverses the order, placing priority on forgiving others: "Whenever you (all) stand praying, forgive"—first of all—"anything against anyone, in order that [*hina*] your heavenly Father might also forgive you (all)." Forgiveness by God motivates forgiveness of others; and in turn, forgiveness of others authenticates alliance with God. Three different terms denote sinful objects of forgiveness in these texts: *opheilēma* (Mt 6:12), *hamartia* (Lk 11:4), *paraptōma* (Mt 6:14-15; Mk 11:25). The first is the most distinctive, referring to "debts" both morally and financially. Nevertheless, forgiveness should not be reduced to a mechanical accounting operation, wiping the record clean. It retains a personal dimension, a reconciling not only of the books but also, more importantly, of the bond between us and "everyone indebted [*opheilō*] to us" (Lk 11:4 [cf. Mt 6:12]).

1.5. The Lord's Supper (Mt 26:27-29; Mk 14:23-25; Lk 22:16-18, 20). The Synoptic Gospels agree that Jesus' eucharistic words of institution identify the cup of wine with his outpoured blood, certifying a renewed covenantal bond with God (see Last Supper). Though no doubt implied in Mark and Luke, Matthew alone explicitly connects this "covenant" (*diathēkē*) with "forgiveness [*aphesis*] of sins" (Mt 26:28). Such a covenantal framework enhances the relational, reconciliatory thrust of Jesus' ministry of forgiveness.

2. Matthew.

2.1. Jesus' Name (Mt 1:21). Matthew does not overtly identify Jesus' name as the medium of forgiving sins (as in Lk 24:47; Acts 2:38; 10:43), but he comes close with the angelic birth announcement: "And you will call his name Jesus; for he will save [*sōzō*] his people from their sins" (Mt 1:21). Building on Jesus' Hebrew name (*yēšūa*), meaning, "salvation, deliverance, help," this text orients his identity and mission around securing his people's salvation from sins. Such deliverance no doubt includes forgiveness as part of a dynamic, holistic project of rescuing people from the ravages of sin and enabling them to flourish.

2.2. The Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:21-26, 38-48; 6:12-15; 7:1-5). Apart from the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:12-15), the first major block of Jesus' teaching in Matthew 5—7 contains no direct instruction about

forgiveness (see Sermon on the Mount/Plain). But multiple units reinforce the fundamental duty of overcoming grievances with other persons in the family of God. Before presenting a gift at God's altar, one must "first [*prōton*] be reconciled" with any offending or offended "brother" (or sister) (Mt 5:21-26); worshiping God is pointless apart from open fellowship with others. Along with pursuing reconciliation, one must also avoid retaliation against oppressors, including proportional responses of vengeance ("eye for an eye"). Jesus, in one of his most radical teachings, advocates total self-surrender to the deeds and needs of others, including evil deeds such as striking a person's cheek or suing for a person's clothing (Mt 5:38-42); though not stated, perhaps Jesus takes the view that only God can execute just and righteous vengeance (cf. Deut 32:35; Rom 12:19). Beyond promoting passive nonretaliation against opponents, Jesus also pushes for positive responses: "Love your enemies, and pray for those persecuting you" (Mt 5:44 [cf. Lk 6:27-28]). These absurd, counterintuitive actions are possible only for "children of your heavenly Father," who reflect their Father's pure, self-giving love for "evil/unjust" as well as "good/just" creatures (Mt 5:45-48). Moreover, patience with flawed human beings, including enemies, springs from honest awareness of our own sinful and hurtful proclivities (Mt 7:1-5).

2.3. Church Relations (Mt 18). In the middle of Matthew's fourth block of teaching, Peter asks Jesus how often he (Peter) must forgive a "brother" who sins against him, suggesting an upper limit of seven times (Mt 18:21). This question follows Jesus' extended instruction about dealing with weak members and strained relations within the church (*ekklēsia* [Mt 18:17]), calling for removing obstacles that impede struggling "little ones" (Mt 18:1-9), retrieving those who have strayed (Mt 18:10-14), and reconciling the estranged (Mt 18:15-20). Although Jesus does not demand *aphesis* per se in this section, Peter's query rightly subsumes these concerns for church unity and pastoral care under the "forgiveness" umbrella. However, Peter errs in his quest for boundaries: where he proposes a maximum of seven occasions, Jesus compounds it to seventy times that, which is to say, forgiveness has no expiration date.

Jesus then launches into a parable demonstrating the *hypocrisy of an unforgiving disposition (Mt 18:23-35). The story reflects precarious economic realities in the ancient world. A master-creditor orders a servant who is unable to repay an enormous debt to be sold, together with all his family and possessions, into debtor's slavery (imprisonment); but

when the debtor pleads for patience, the compassionate lord “releases” (*apolyō*) and “forgives” (*aphiēmi*) him the entire debt (Mt 18:27). In turn, however, this forgiven debtor callously refuses to show mercy to a fellow servant who owes him a much lesser sum. In the end, the master harshly judges the first servant for failing to forgive as he had been forgiven. This emphasis on the social responsibility of forgiving debts, as the Lord has forgiven us, reinforces Matthew’s version of the Lord’s Prayer (cf. Mt 6:12, 14-15). And again, the close linkage of debts and sins involves more than a numbers game; economic “forgiveness,” as surely as other types, has profound implications for human relationships and overall well-being.

3. Luke.

3.1. Zechariah’s Song (Lk 1:76-79). Inspired by the Holy Spirit (Lk 1:67), Zechariah poetically forecasts the prophetic mission of his son, John the Baptist, in parallel terms of “salvation” and “forgiveness”: “to give knowledge of salvation [*sōtēria*] to his people by the forgiveness [*aphesis*] of sins” (Lk 1:77). The wider context of Zechariah’s Benedictus imagines such salvation/forgiveness as sociopolitical liberation from oppressive enemies, freeing God’s people to serve their covenantal Lord “without fear” (Lk 1:71-75).

3.2. Jesus’ Sermon in Nazareth (Lk 4:16-21). In Jesus’ first public proclamation in his hometown synagogue, he identifies his vocation with that of the Spirit-anointed, “evangelical” (*euangelizomai*) prophet profiled in Isaiah. Although this mission does not explicitly include forgiving sins, the common term for “forgiveness” (*aphesis*) appears twice designating “release” or “freedom” from other enslaving elements: “The Spirit of the Lord . . . has sent me to proclaim release [*aphesis*] to the captives . . . to send forth the oppressed in freedom [*aphesis*]” (Lk 4:18-19 [cf. Is 61:1; 58:6]). Moreover, the announcement of the *Jubilee “year of the Lord’s favor” envisages wide-scale remission/forgiveness of debts (Lk 4:19; cf. Lev 25:8-55). The “good news” communicated by Jesus thus encompasses emancipation from physical, psychological, social and economic encumbrances as well as “spiritual” sins. Multifaceted *aphesis* drives Luke’s holistic vision of salvation.

3.3. Jesus as “Friend of Sinners.” Luke places special emphasis on Jesus’ role as “friend of sinners” (Lk 7:34), especially in contexts of table fellowship. In addition to Jesus’ act of eating with tax collectors and sinners in Levi’s house (Lk 5:29-32), three episodes stand out.

3.3.1. The “Sinful” Woman (Lk 7:36-50). At a dinner party for Jesus hosted by Simon the *Pharisee, an uninvited, anonymous *woman known for her “many [unspecified] sins” (Lk 7:47) lavishly kisses and anoints Jesus’ feet, wiping them with her hair. Whereas Simon looks askance at this woman and likewise at Jesus for accepting her advances, Jesus twice commends her and pronounces that her sins “have been forgiven” (*apheōntai* [Lk 7:47-48]). The use of the perfect tense here suggests a past and permanent state of forgiveness that the woman did nothing to merit. Her extravagant hospitality toward Jesus (which Simon had failed to show) demonstrates her grateful love for Jesus’ freely granted forgiveness. It also demonstrates her “faithful” (*pistis*) response to her experience of “having been saved” (*sesōken* [Lk 7:50]), again expressed in the perfect tense. Luke once again reinforces the link between forgiveness and salvation.

3.3.2. The “Lost” Son (Lk 15:11-32). Told in defense of his controversial practice of eating with “sinners” (Lk 15:1-2), Jesus’ longest parable features a rebellious younger son who abandons his father and squanders his inheritance in worthless pursuits. At rock bottom, however, he returns home, confesses and repents of his sin (cf. Lk 15:7, 10), but notably he does not request his father’s forgiveness. Assuming that he has forfeited his family position, the best he hopes for is employment as a farmhand. But his father will have none of it. Virtually ignoring his son’s confession, the father showers him with gifts and a lavish banquet as signs of full, family fellowship. No probation is required, no conditions laid down, and no formal words of forgiveness uttered. Much to the chagrin of the elder son, the father welcomes his “lost” and, for all practical purposes, “dead” son home again with unstinting joy and love. The emphasis falls more on reconciling and restoring the sinner than on remitting sins.

3.3.3. The Tax Collector Zacchaeus (Lk 19:1-10). When Jesus goes to the house of the diminutive, wealthy chief tax officer Zacchaeus, he draws criticism from the Jericho citizenry for associating with a known “sinner” (Lk 19:7). Although Jesus issues no call for repentance, Zacchaeus pledges to give half of his possessions to the poor and to restore fraudulent excesses fourfold. His use of the present tense (“I am giving [*didōmi*] to the poor” [Lk 19:8]) may imply a pattern of generous practice before he met Jesus. In any case, though not pronouncing Zacchaeus “forgiven,” Jesus confirms his experience of “salvation” (*sōtēria*) and reconciled status in the covenant family of Abraham (Lk 19:10).

3.4. “Father Forgive Them . . .” (Lk 23:34). This famous prayer of Jesus uttered from the cross is omitted in some of the best available manuscripts. However, though likely not included in Luke’s original work, it has the ring of an authentic saying of Jesus and fits well in its context. Directed toward Jesus’ executioners, the petition provides a poignant example of loving and praying for one’s abusers (Lk 6:27-28; cf. Mt 5:43-44) and meshes with Jesus’ promise of eternal fellowship with a criminal dying alongside him (Lk 23:39-43). Jesus’ concern for restoring sinful human beings persists up to his final breath.

3.5. The Great Commission (Lk 24:44-49). In his final words to his followers the risen Jesus commissions them “to proclaim in his name repentance for the forgiveness of sins to all nations” (Lk 24:47) (*see Mission*). This announcement identifies the source of forgiveness as the exalted person (“name”) of Christ, its ground as the disposition of repentance (a key Lukan theme), and its scope as all peoples of the world. Christian forgiveness thus ultimately seeks inclusive, intercultural reconciliation—universal peace on earth (cf. Lk 2:14).

4. John.

The terminology of “forgiveness” is comparatively rare in John’s Gospel. Contrary to popular thought, Jesus never mentions “forgiveness” or “sins” in discussing “new birth” with Nicodemus (Jn 3:1-21) or living water with the Samaritan woman (Jn 4:1-42); likewise in the scene in which Jesus washes his disciples’ feet, which dramatizes acts of humble service rather than rites of removing sin (Jn 13:1-20). But several incidents dealing with sin and sinners provide glimpses of John’s understanding of forgiveness.

4.1. The Witness of John the Baptist (Jn 1:29). The Fourth Gospel does not directly associate John the Baptist’s baptism with “forgiveness of sins” (Jn 1:25-28). Rather, John’s work and witness are strictly preparatory for the coming of Jesus, “the Lamb of God who takes away (*airō*) the sin of the world” (Jn 1:29). This image portends the linkage of Jesus’ death with that of the Passover lamb (see Jn 19:31-36), a sacrifice that signified national release from slavery, not personal atonement for sins (cf. Ex 12:1-28). Thus, the redemptive function of Jesus’ death provides freedom and restoration from the oppressive, enslaving effects of “the sin of the world” (cf. Jn 8:31-36).

4.2. Jesus’ Encounters with “Sinners” (Jn 5:1-14; 9:1-41). Similar to his response to the Synoptic paralytic, the Johannine Jesus treats both physical and sinful conditions of the lame man by the pool of Beth-zatha. In this case, however, Jesus offers no

pronouncement of forgiveness, but rather a final exhortation to the restored man: “Sin no more, so that nothing worse happens to you” (Jn 5:14). Jesus assumes a stronger causal connection here than in the Synoptic story between the crippled man’s iniquity and disability; by the same token, a tighter nexus also emerges between remission of sin and restoration to health. But such a pattern is not absolute in John, as Jesus later dismisses his disciples’ speculation that personal or parental sin had directly caused a young man’s congenital blindness (Jn 9:1-4). After Jesus wondrously gives sight to this man on the Sabbath, the Pharisees render a split decision: some denounce both Jesus and the healed man as “sinners,” the former for breaking Sabbath law and the latter for being “born completely in sins” and testifying to Jesus’ miracle; others, however, give Jesus the benefit of the doubt: “How can a man who is a sinner do such signs?” (Jn 9:16 [cf. Jn 9:31-34]) In any event, the authorities ultimately expel the man from the synagogue, whereupon Jesus seeks and “finds [*heuriskō*] him,” and he accepts Jesus as the Son of Man and Lord (Jn 9:35-38); here we have the Fourth Gospel’s twist on Jesus’ receiving and restoring “lost” ones regarded as “sinners.”

4.3. The Great Commission (Jn 20:19-23). In John’s only explicit reference to “forgiving sins,” the risen Jesus sends out his followers “as the Father has sent [him],” with authority to remit (*aphiēmi*) or retain (*krateō*) the sins “of any persons” they choose (Jn 20:21-23). As in Luke, the disciples’ forgiveness-focused mission is rooted in Jesus’ own God-given vocation and the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit, except that here Jesus imparts the Spirit as he sends them forth (Jn 20:22), whereas in Luke he charges them to wait for this promised gift (Lk 24:49; cf. Acts 1:4-5, 8). The most distinctive, and potentially problematic, element of the Johannine commission is the disciples’ apparent prerogative not to forgive sins. Jesus does not specify any cases that might merit “retaining” sins, thus demanding faithful reliance on the Spirit’s discernment and responsibility to “convict the world concerning sin, righteousness and judgment” (Jn 16:8).

See also MERCY; REPENTANCE; SIN, SINNER; TABLE FELLOWSHIP.

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F. S. Spencer

FORM CRITICISM

Anticipated by the early twentieth-century biblical critic Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) and developed by his students (Karl L. Schmidt [1891–1956], Martin Dibelius [1883–1947] and Rudolf Bultmann [1884–1976]), form criticism is a methodology that has exerted considerable influence on Gospel studies for much of the past century. Over the last thirty to forty years, however, traditional form criticism has undergone revision, giving way to fresh approaches to the Gospel material. These later approaches, though bearing a family resemblance to classic form criticism in many of their assumptions and methods, are in other respects fundamentally different. Thus form criticism should be understood not so much as a consistent and clearly defined critical approach but as a methodological trajectory that seeks through various strategies to elucidate the relationship between the form of a text (a literary question) and its *Sitz im Leben*, that is, its “setting in life” (a socio-historical question). This article will concern itself with the origins of form criticism, offer an evaluation of the movement as epitomized in its pioneers, and finally focus on new form criticism as more recently developed by Klaus Berger.

1. The Rise of Classic Form Criticism
2. A Review and Evaluation of Classic Form Criticism
3. New Form Criticism

1. The Rise of Classic Form Criticism.

Classic form criticism is most typically associated with the aforementioned scholars Schmidt, Dibelius and Bultmann; the pioneer form critic in England was Vincent Taylor (1887–1968). Of these the most important are Dibelius and Bultmann, who along with Gunkel each merit his own discussion.

1.1. Gunkel. Although the roots of form criticism, as applied to the Gospels, are many and complex, its taproot and main precursor was Hermann Gunkel. As a New-Testament-turned-Old-Testament scholar,

Gunkel focused on reconstructing the discrete sociohistorical settings behind the Psalms and Genesis. Since each psalm operated according to its own specific genre, and since Genesis too was—on the prevailing theory—not really one text but rather an amalgamation of various texts originating from different periods, Gunkel saw important work to be done in establishing a *Gattungsgeschichte* (“history of genres”). Such a *Gattungsgeschichte* would ideally begin with an identification of genres within the biblical text and then seek to correlate them in relationship to one another within an evolutionary spectrum.

Gunkel recognized two main literary classifications: prose and poetry. Beneath the heading of prose, he subsumed the categories of myth, folktale, romance, legend and historical narrative; to poetry belonged wisdom writings, prophetic oracles, lyric poetry and hymns, among other categories. Gunkel’s goal was to associate each genre with a particular *Sitz im Volksleben* (“setting in the people’s life”), that is, a generalized setting that might be thought to recur in the cycles of Israel’s national cultic life. Toward achieving this goal, Gunkel insisted on the importance of ascertaining the specific dynamics bound up in the context of the original oral performance(s). The identity of the speaker and the identity of the audience, as well as the aims and expectations of both in the communicative act, were all crucial questions; they were also questions that could illuminate or be illuminated by the genre and the proposed setting-in-life.

1.2. Dibelius. In the same year that Karl Schmidt published his *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (“The Framework of the History of Jesus”) (1919), Martin Dibelius released *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (“The Form-History of the Gospel”—the later English translation appears as *From Tradition to Gospel* [1935 (orig. 1919)]). In titling his book, Dibelius had in fact coined the term *Formgeschichte* (“Form-History”) as a take-off on the title of another well-known book by Eduard Norden, which included a similar term, *Formengeschichte* (“History of Forms”). In doing so, Dibelius seems to have been deliberately setting himself apart from Norden, as if to say that although his predecessor was interested in a history of literary forms, this work would quite differently be concerned with the history of life *behind* the forms. Though seemingly a slight shift in emphasis, the implications were in fact profound. Self-consciously distancing himself from approaches that took the biblical writers seriously as authors (in the artistic sense), Dibelius instead directed his attention to the social realities that

supposedly provoked such literature.

In the opening chapter of *From Tradition to Gospel*, Dibelius tips his hat not only to Gunkel but also to the seminal counter-Enlightenment figure J. G. Herder (1744–1803). Setting the stage for German historicism (which began to take shape in the mid-nineteenth century and peaked in the opening decades of the twentieth century), Herder, like the historicist movement itself, nurtured a great interest in oral folk traditions. These traditions, according to the philosophical tenets of this broad perspective, would not only faithfully express the “spirit” of the people but would also remain generally impervious to the influence of particular historical events as well as any individual attempts to reshape those traditions. Synthesizing Gunkel’s interest in forms with historicism’s insistence on the staying power of oral communal traditions, Dibelius set out to reconstruct a history of forms as applied to the Gospels. In so doing, he assumed that “the personal peculiarities of the composer or narrator have little significance; much greater importance attaches to the form in which the tradition is cast by practical necessities, by usage or by origin” (Dibelius 1935 [orig. 1919], 1).

Dibelius stipulates three kinds of sermonizing underlying the Gospel material: that which is oriented to unbelievers (*Missionspredigt*), to believers (*kultische Predigt*) and to new converts (*katechetische Predigt*). Within this taxonomy, Dibelius also identified major forms, the most prominent being the paradigm, the tale (miracle stories), the legend, and paraenesis (exhortation). Since these forms had nothing to do with the evangelists, who, again, were seen as nothing but artless compilers in the process, each discrete form was regarded as setting the boundaries for an isolated free-floating unit of oral tradition. Accordingly, the only potentially meaningful unit was each isolated form, at least as it was reconstructed.

Comparing and contrasting Dibelius and Gunkel is instructive. Like Gunkel, Dibelius assumed that the biblical materials were essentially oral folk traditions, and precisely on this account their form and substance must have been almost entirely determined by the social needs of the community. This means that the original impetus behind the isolated Gospel materials could only be recovered on reconstructing the situation of the community (*Sitz im Leben*) in which these discrete materials first took shape at the oral stage. At the same time, Dibelius also set himself apart from Gunkel in several respects. First, whereas Gunkel’s interest in “form” pertained first and foremost to the issue of literary

genre (which thus involved contemplating texts in their much larger finished form), Dibelius applied his own taxonomy not to genre but to hypothesized oral-based entities, which in the nature of the case were relatively small literary subunits. Second, rejecting Gunkel’s twofold concern with aesthetic issues and the position of the individual speaker (intentions, concerns and disposition) in the communicative act, Dibelius drew a tight correlation between form, which supposedly had its own predictable aims, and the theorized social setting (*Sitz im Leben*). Along the same lines, because a certain setting alone was virtually a sufficient condition for engendering a certain form, recognition of the form could by itself provide the key for reconstructing the social situation. In sum, Dibelius’s approach to the Gospels was one in which the particularities of history (pertaining either to the life and death of Jesus or any specific events befalling the post-Easter community) were largely extraneous to the formation and transmission of the Gospel materials.

1.3. Bultmann. Deeply influenced by both Gunkel and Dibelius but much more closely allied with the latter, Rudolf Bultmann carried forward the form-critical project in his famous *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (1963 [orig. 1921]). Like Dibelius (and against Gunkel), Bultmann was suspicious of any readings of the Gospel material that took seriously the aesthetic quality of the material. Such considerations distracted from the main task of reconstructing the *Sitz im Leben* behind the text. Like Dibelius, Bultmann saw the transition from orality to inscripturation as seamless and unproblematic. For both scholars the biblical text was simply a written distillation of the oral tradition (on which point see the extensive critique of Kelber 1983). Finally, Bultmann shared with Dibelius the assumption that forms were not generated in response to unique historical occasions but instead emerged out of recurring patterns of community life.

Notwithstanding his many similarities to Dibelius, Bultmann also had his own distinctive contribution. First, much more so than Dibelius, Bultmann was interested in the diachronic study of oral traditions as they underwent transformation. Taking his cues from a staple conviction of German romanticism and evolutionary idealism, Bultmann supposed that complexity was largely a function of time, so that the quest for origins coincided with the quest for simplicity. In other words, Bultmann assumed that oral traditions originated in fairly simple form but over time became increasingly intricate and layered. Building on this assumption, Bultmann’s proj-

ect soon became a task of literary archeology, in which the various levels of an isolated Gospel saying or pericope could be broken down and assigned to various stages in the tradition history—whether to the level of redaction, the ecclesial *Sitz im Leben*, the setting of Jesus himself, or even prior to Jesus. Bultmann allowed for the reality of mixed forms but was nonetheless methodologically predisposed to separate out incongruities or apparent tensions as they occurred in form or content.

An even more significant difference between Dibelius and Bultmann lay in the latter's ability to integrate form criticism as a component piece of his larger theological project. Already a year before the publication of *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (1921), Bultmann had publicly subscribed to Richard Reitzenstein's theory that the outline of the Gospel story was indebted to a Hellenistic mythology, which was in turn a variation of an Iranian myth of the Primal Man. For Bultmann this historical explanation was an attractive option in that it provided a certain theological cash value to his emerging theological program. In revolt against his mentor Wilhelm Herrmann and the broader swath of liberalism that Herrmann represented, Bultmann sought to establish myth—which was by definition historically situated and not to be confused with God's self-revelation or the "reality of God"—as the necessary complement to revelation. If revelation was the hand, then myth was the glove that the hand must wear; or, to change metaphors, if the essence of the *kerygma* (proclamation) was the corn, then myth was the husk.

In some sense, this husk was disposable even as it was, in another sense, altogether necessary. For Bultmann, Christianity finally came into its own once the simple ethical teachings of Jesus found their way into the Hellenistic framework of Mark, which with its own interest in the miraculous and secret epiphanies seemed to be inspired by the myth of the Primal Man. Indeed, only by assuming this particularized *form*, which in this case happened to be derived from the Hellenistic environment, could the *kerygma* of the early church make itself comprehensible to its target culture. By applying form criticism, the student of the Gospels was poised to delineate and ultimately discard the husk of historically conditioned form. Thus Bultmann's form criticism was also closely tied to his program of demythologization (the process of removing the allegedly mythical elements of a narrative in order to discern the narrative's proper meaning). Form criticism not only operated in a way that was analogous to demythologization,

but it was also inevitably integral to the process of demythologization. It is for this reason that the term *form criticism* is sometimes applied to scholarly writing that simply seeks to discount the authenticity of the miraculous (Berger 2005, 2). Given the inevitable circularity between the assumptions and results of Bultmann's approach, attempts to describe it as "scientific," rampant in the literature of the mid-twentieth century (e.g., Doty, 293), must be regarded as spurious.

Finally, it is important to mention Bultmann's application of the criterion of double dissimilarity (*see* Criteria of Authenticity). This criterion refers to the isolation of authentic Jesus material (i.e., words or deeds that may credibly be traced back to the historical Jesus) by virtue of its discontinuity with both the early church and ambient *Judaism, since it would not be possible to ascribe this same material either to the early church or to ambient Judaism. This criteria also worked with Bultmann's theological endeavor, at least to the extent that he sought to portray Jesus, on the one side, as a Jew who "overcame" Judaism, and, on the other, as a figure utterly distinct from the early church. Bultmann restricted application of this tool to sayings material, particularly parables, while it fell to the post-Bultmannians to apply it more broadly (Theissen and Winter, 112).

2. A Review and Evaluation of Classic Form Criticism.

2.1. Review. Although there are some disagreements among the leading form critics, it is possible to identify a set of operative assumptions associated with form criticism as a movement. The following list of propositions attempts to enumerate these assumptions and summarize the above discussion: (1) Gospel traditions originated in small, isolated units and were transmitted much in the same way as folk traditions; (2) the pure form of traditions tended to become increasingly complex through acquiring layers of accretion; (3) reconstructions of the pure form provide a window into the community's *Sitz im Leben*; (4) oral traditions were both generated and freely modified on the basis of the community's needs; and (5) material authentic to Jesus can be identified by the application of the criteria of dissimilarity.

In due course, this fifth assumption would move beyond the confines of form criticism as a literary or sociological task and come to play a key role in the study of the historical Jesus (Keith). One could almost say these five assumptions form the five pillars of form criticism. Their validity has been

broadly taken for granted for the better part of the twentieth century.

2.2. Evaluation. In the past several decades, scholars of various theological stripes have increasingly questioned form criticism's basic tenets. In some cases, this critique accompanies a plea to modify form-critical procedures; in other cases, one meets an outright repudiation of some (or all) of the key principles of form criticism. Each of the five assumptions listed above has drawn its share of critique.

First, given the dearth of evidence surrounding the origination of Gospel traditions and our equally scanty insight into the mechanics of their transmission, some critics have maintained that the strength of basic form-critical reconstruction (that Jesus traditions began as small, isolated units only to be passed down as folk tradition) has been overstated. For example, in the 1930s British scholar C. H. Dodd challenged the notion of small, free-floating units by arguing that it was possible to trace whole extended narratives of Jesus material back to early eyewitness accounts (Dodd). With the rise of *redaction criticism in the 1950s and literary criticism in the 1970s and 1980s (see Narrative Criticism), others became increasingly doubtful that the individual evangelists were truly as immaterial to the traditioning process as the form critics had made them out to be. Clearly, the Gospel writers were more intrusive than had formerly been thought. They had their own agendas in collecting, selecting, framing and shaping antecedent material. But if this is so, then what is to prevent the possibility of comparable editorial manipulation of the material at an earlier, pre-Gospel stage? (In all fairness, Bultmann granted this possibility, even if he failed to account for it within his schema.)

Moreover, if the evangelists did indeed exert their own shaping influence on the materials, this suggests that the evangelists also harbored their own theological and perhaps even historical interests. And if the Gospel writers were interested in conveying history (as understood on their terms), then it is also reasonable to suppose that these same writers sought out various and more direct lines of access than would be normally available through oral tradition alone (cf. Luke 1:1-4). This possibility is problematic for form criticism, for if, as has been argued recently, any of the evangelists were either themselves eyewitnesses or had contact with individuals who were, this would effectively short-circuit the long and winding chain of transmission that form criticism presupposes (Bauckham 2006, 2008; Evans) (see Orality and Oral Transmission).

The second pillar sketched above (that tradition

departs from pure form with time) is also liable to doubt. E. P. Sanders subjected this proposition to criticism by showing that the Gospel tradition (at least in its written form) did not in fact mutate in predictable ways. More recent research, drawing on the oral studies of Albert Lord among others, maintains limits to the aggregation occurring within oral forms (Mournet, 187-91). At any rate, without stronger empirical evidence to bolster the claim, the dictum of Bultmann and Dibelius (but disputed by Taylor) falls flat.

Third, the one-to-one correspondence between form and *Sitz im Leben*, which form criticism alleges, has also proved controversial. Such controversy in fact entered the discussion very early on (Easton, 80-81). Much more recently, B. Gerhardsson (2005) has argued that since all clear, extant examples of paraenesis (exhortation) within early Christian literature manifestly do *not* convey the teachings of Jesus (e.g., James, 1 John, sermons within Acts), the argument of the form critics, who ascribe a paraenetic function to so much of the Gospel material, begins to look like a case of special pleading. In summarizing this critique, C. Tuckett (2009, 24) states that such an argument places "a radical question mark against the assumption of the form critics that the *Sitz im Leben* of a tradition could be deduced from its 'form.'" M. Buss has also argued that form criticism's view of form as a purely socially derived phenomenon is problematic, given the human subject's inevitable tendency to ascribe form in the very act of perception (1999, 310). More recently, drawing on Ludwig Wittgenstein and other philosophers who emphasize the socially embedded nature of discourse, Buss (2010, 213-17) calls for developing a new model of form criticism that is more sensitive to the interpersonal dynamics that obtain in the communicative act. On a general level, although it is true that a given form may make some settings more likely than others, this hardly puts critics in a position where one can be securely inferred from the other—not, at least, with the same confidence that the early twentieth-century form critics exuded. In some sense, form criticism's tight-knit correlation between form and *Sitz im Leben* has become increasingly implausible not only because it has been deemed reductionistic but also because Western thought has moved on from the kind of positivism that once made such inferences feasible.

Whether and to what extent traditions were subject to modification according to the needs of the community (the fourth assumption) is a point of debate. Stiff challenges to this viewpoint emerged first

in the contributions of Gerhardsson (1961), who argued that the preservation of the Jesus tradition finds closest analogy to the tightly controlled methods of rabbinic transmission (see Teacher). A second wave of opposition to the form-critical model has surged in more recent years with the works of scholars who prefer to think of the Synoptic tradition as the end-product of an “informal, controlled oral tradition” (Bailey; Dunn; Mournet). However the transmission of the Jesus material took place in its details, a critical mass of scholars insist that Jesus’ followers preserved traditions about Jesus with a reasonable degree of continuity, so that haphazard revision of those traditions would have been, at best, the exception rather than rule.

Finally, the *criteria of authenticity have also fallen onto hard times. In a famous article, M. D. Hooker laments the intrinsic weakness of the criterion of double dissimilarity, arguing that what was originally designed by form critics as a literary tool can only wreak havoc as a historical tool. The criterion continues to be deemed problematic inasmuch as it unavoidably puts the critic in the awkward and ultimately untenable position of pitting the Gospel writers, who are representative of early Christianity, against their own subject, Jesus himself. Even more vexing is its way of forcing the historical Jesus, who was patently a Jew, into a non-Jewish mold. Due especially to the gravity of the latter problem, Bultmann’s criterion has been broadly modified to what is now sometimes called the criterion of dissimilarity to Christianity (Winter and Theissen; Holmén).

In short, the basic principles of classic form criticism are conspicuously enveloped by a dark cloud of suspicion. Battered from all angles, the major pillars of form criticism, which in an earlier day had been so resilient to criticism, now show signs of buckling. In this light, S. Byrskog (2009, 19) rightly notes that scholars have been forced either to abandon it or to modify it substantively.

3. New Form Criticism.

If not coincidental it is nonetheless striking that classic form criticism would be taken to task on three separate fronts in three highly influential pieces, all penned in the space of three years. First, J. Muilenburg reflected both on the merits and shortcomings of form criticism, opining that in contrast to current trends that undervalue the aesthetic aspect of the biblical text “a responsible and proper articulation of the [biblical] words in their linguistic patterns and in their precise formulations will reveal to us the texture and fabric of the writer’s thoughts” (1969, 7). Soon

afterward, E. Güttgemanns (1979 [orig. 1970]) critiqued form criticism as linguistically naive, primarily in its failure to distinguish oral from written modes of discourse. According to Güttgemanns, the Gospel text was an auto-semantic linguistic form, entailing its own universe of discourse as a self-contained unity; form criticism’s fatal flaw consisted in not taking this unity seriously. Finally, J. M. Robinson and H. Koester objected to what they perceived to be the essentialism of their mentor Bultmann (1971, 9). Against Bultmann’s artificially conceived form-critical categories, Robinson and Koester press the case for understanding early Christianity in terms of its trajectories, even as these trajectories came to expression in its diverse literature. In retrospect, the guild of NT scholarship seemed to be preparing itself for new ways of thinking about form criticism. Such “new ways” would ideally give due attention to the Gospels *as literature* (Muilenburg), respect the autonomy of the Gospel text as something that can produce meaning without recourse to any theorized life behind the text (Güttgemanns), and finally, allow for the considerations of settings not in static terms but as being in a state of flux along a trajectory (Robinson and Koester).

Whether or not K. Berger self-consciously set himself to formulating his new form criticism in direct response to any of these specific appeals, his project certainly expresses a special concern with rhetoric, the self-contained biblical text and historical trajectories—all of which constitute a decisive break with classic form criticism. In the opening pages of his *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments* (“Form Criticism of the New Testament”) (1984), Berger announces that “Form Criticism is the combining of genre-criticism (*Gattungskritik*) and genre-history (*Gattungsgeschichte*)” (1984, 9). Genre-criticism involves the identification of literature within certain generic categories according to certain textual markers typical of the genre. Genre-history pertains to the reception of a particular text-type through the course of world history, although Jewish and Greco-Roman analogues will naturally prove to be most useful. Self-consciously retrieving Gunkel and Norden’s unfinished project of *Gattungs-research* (a project that, it is to be recalled, Dibelius repudiated), Berger insists on the paramount importance of genre (as opposed to oral form), insofar as this literary property, more than any other factor, provides the communicative meeting ground and decisive point of contact between the author and the author’s readers. Toward establishing genre in the biblical texts, Berger follows

Aristotle's rhetorical categories and proposes a taxonomy involving three basic categories: texts designed to motivate or warn its readers (symbuleutic), texts created to impress the readers (epideictic) and texts meant to explain a line of reasoning or course of action (dicanic) (1984, 18-19). As a rule, the Gospels belong to the category of epideictic. As such, the critic must expect that the Gospels are designed to fortify a sense of communal identity by presenting certain idealized "types" as the anchoring model for the community.

In new form criticism, primary attention is given to determining the author's goal and the rhetorical means by which they seek to achieve that goal. Whereas classic form criticism was oriented to the past—specifically to the oral prehistories and the traditions-history surrounding the Jesus tradition (1984, 11)—Berger's project sets its sights on the Gospel writers as they anticipated—in the very act of composition—the future reception of their works, a vision that looked for change in thinking or behavior on the part of the audience. Because he sees considerable interchange between oral and written modalities in the ancient world (with oral sources becoming written texts only to become oral traditions once again) (1984, 16), Berger is able to sidestep a major preoccupation of contemporary scholarship, namely, how transitional shifts from oral to written modes in the formation of the Gospel traditions should affect our overall understanding of the text.

Notably, Berger's approach includes a radical extension of the concept of *Sitz im Leben*. In classic form criticism the term *Sitz im Leben* was restricted to generalized social settings behind the putative discrete oral traditions. Later, in the post-Bultmannian period, the concept of *Sitz im Leben* was extended to include the setting of the redactor, as well as the setting of the historical Jesus (Byrskog 2007, 8-11). Taking this extension to its logical conclusion, Berger conceives of the *Sitz im Leben* as the typical situation in which the Gospel material is received within the scope of early Christianity. It is neither to be limited to the first rehearsals of the Gospel material nor to any particular receptions thereafter but refers more broadly to a trajectory of reception. The consideration of a text's potential impact on this trajectory of believing communities is meant to serve as a point to which interpretations of text and the immediate setting may be triangulated. On this reasoning, a text's function can in some measure be determined pragmatically by examining how the text functioned in practice.

In terms of specifics, Berger stipulates that a text

and situation may be correlated by taking up a five-step procedure. First, there must be some reconstruction of the specific questions that the text is attempting to answer. Second, Berger rules out the one-to-one correspondence between setting and genre: for any given issue, there may be any number of appropriate genres—and vice versa. Third, where an author reproduces a preexisting tradition, it stands to reason that they have an "active interest" in that tradition. Fourth, it is necessary, if possible, to reconstruct the ideological interests of the text's target group. Fifth, Berger recognizes that some genres will fall in and out of fashion in different times and in different places; accordingly, theories of genealogical development are ruled out, and any attempts to plot biblical texts against a reconstructed "genre timeline" must be deemed futile.

To be sure, although his extensive cataloguing of genres may prove taxing for even the most patient of readers, Berger's creative synthesis may well provide the theoretical underpinnings for moving beyond a significant impasse in biblical studies. For too long, those who have attended to the hypothetical world *behind* the text (i.e., those concerned to reconstruct the *Sitz im Leben* of one or another stage) have failed to integrate satisfactorily the findings of those who focus on the symbolic world *in* the text (literary critics), just as literary critics have also generally neglected to bring their results to bear on historical realities. By combining an interest in the rhetorical design of the final text with a related interest in the setting in which such rhetorical designs make most sense, Berger has effectively proposed a model that brings together what post-Enlightenment subspecialization has put asunder. As for the quality and quantity of discussion that Berger's new form criticism may provoke—this remains to be seen.

See also CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY; GOSPEL: GENRE; GOSPELS: HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION; HISTORICISMS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY; NARRATIVE CRITICISM; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS; REDACTION CRITICISM.

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N. Perrin

FOURFOLD GOSPEL. See CANON; CANONICAL CRITICISM.

FOURTH GOSPEL. See JOHN, GOSPEL OF.

FRAGMENTARY HYPOTHESIS. See SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

FREEDOM

The term *eleutheria* ("freedom") and its cognates in the Gospels is a broad and complex notion that speaks to the dimensions of freedom exhibited by and accessible through Jesus Christ. Although the noun *eleutheria* never occurs in the Gospels, the adjective *eleutheros* is used only three times (Mt 17:26; Jn 8:33, 36), and the verb *eleutheroō* only twice (Jn 8:32, 36), the theme of freedom is more central to the biblical message than the words alone suggest.

1. Freedom in the Old Testament
2. Freedom in the Synoptic Gospels
3. Freedom in the Gospel of John

1. Freedom in the Old Testament.

The OT offers no abstract definition of freedom, but rather conceives of it in concrete terms. The paradigmatic event that served as a model or metaphor for later events and experiences was the exodus from slavery in Egypt. Israel's enslavement was viewed not in abstraction as a status of subjection but as part of the concrete evils of oppression, such as hard labor and infanticide (Ex 1:11-16), that distress the people and evoke God's concern and redemptive action (Ex 2:23-25; 3:7-10; 6:5-7). The exodus serves as God's out-

standing act of benevolence toward Israel. From the perspective of Israel, the exodus served as the establishment of the eternal enthronement (i.e., rule, kingship) of God (Ps. 93:1-5), as the basis of their obedience to God in keeping with the covenant established between them (Ex 19:4-6; Deut 6:20-25), and as the grounds for dedication and consecration to the service of their God (Lev 25:42, 55). The paradigmatic event of the exodus becomes both liberation from degrading bondage under an oppressive ruler and freedom for the establishment of endless service of the God who remembers his covenant, redeems from exile and oppression, and gives commandments through which the people of God are sanctified.

2. Freedom in the Synoptic Gospels.

In the NT freedom deepens and extends these emphases on freedom and service. The exodus liberation becomes in the NT a type of Christ's liberation of those enslaved to sin and death. Freedom is deepened to include liberation from our sinful imprisonment, and service is restored to its proper ruler, God. In the Synoptics this is displayed throughout the ministry of Jesus, who liberated slaves of *sin and those held captive by *demons (Mk 5:15) and oppressed by disease and handicaps (e.g., Mk 5:29; Lk 13:12).

Freedom also involves a social critique and vision where domination, enslavement and elitism would give way to mutuality, love, compassion and inclusiveness. Jesus challenged a notion of freedom promulgated by the dominant political forces prevailing in the first-century A.D. Mediterranean world, and he offered instead a freedom that restored the dignity and worth of the human person, for whom true exaltation is found in service to God alone (Mt 23:8-12). The Gospel of Mark is especially attentive to demonstrate how the notion of freedom was exemplified in the life of Jesus (cf. the rhetorical unit of Mk 1:21—3:5) and in the response of the disciples to Jesus (cf. Mk 6:6-30).

Jesus not only creates freedom, but also acts and speaks with freedom, not controlled by the structures and ideologies of his social context. Jesus' entire ministry, including his interaction with the people and practices of social and religious institutions (e.g., Mt 17:24-27), depict him as truly free and as the administrator and representative of God's freedom. Jesus is free to accept the action of God as ruler (Mk 1:15), free from worry of daily needs (Lk 12:22-24), free from worry about enemies (Lk 6:27-30), free from worldly pursuits (Lk 22:25-26). He even describes himself, who is implicitly the most worthy of greatness, as the most remarkable exam-

ple of service—a stark depiction of true freedom (Lk 22:27; cf. Mt 23:10-11; Mk 10:43-44). With hardly any occurrences of the term *eleutheria* ("freedom"), the notion of freedom is the subject of Jesus' actions and preaching, and is the root of his entire ministry.

3. Freedom in the Gospel of John.

The depth of freedom is depicted most clearly in the Gospel of John. In John 8:31-36 Jesus declares that by continuing in his word, his disciples will know the truth, and the truth "will make you free" (*eleutheroō*). The force of the word "truth" in John's Gospel is better conveyed by the word "reality." Truth is the reality seen when all the illusions and delusions of sin are dispelled by the word of God. To be left to construct the world on our own is *slavery, but to discern reality is liberation. This freedom from slavery to truth is personal, and what liberates is the encounter of the reality of things in the person of Jesus, who reflects his Father's divinity and models true humanity.

This freedom is not merely from the illusions of sin, but also from the dominion of the devil. In John 8:37-47 Jesus claims that the actions of the Jews show that they belong to another house, the house of slavery, which is also the house of the devil. Echoing the exodus event and the evil dominion of Pharaoh, where the slaves of Pharaoh were said to be members of the "house of the slaves" (e.g., Ex 13:3; 20:2; Deut 5:6; Josh 24:17; Judg 6:8; Jer 34:13; Mic 6:4), Jesus implies that those Jews who oppose him are under the rule of the devil (Jn 8:44). The freedom that Jesus offers is a liberation that turns slaves into children, and those under the household of the devil into eternal members of the household of "the Father" (Jn 8:38; cf. Is 63:16). This, Jesus declares, is true freedom, offered by means of the sending of a new *Moses (Jn 8:42) and a new Passover lamb (Jn 6:51-58; cf. Jn 1:29).

The freedom to which Jesus' followers are set free by the "truth" is ultimately identical with "life," with Jesus serving as the "way" to both (Jn 14:6). John uses several theological symbols (e.g., revelation, word, truth, life) to describe the positive and negative forms of the liberation that Jesus establishes. Positively, it means freedom for "life." Negatively, however, it means truth or an unconcealing in the sense of unveiling—that is, freedom from falsehood or darkness. The negative form of freedom is displayed in Jesus' *prayer for the unity of his *disciples (Jn 17:20-23). The divine intimacy and in-one-anotherness of the Father and the Son are to be shared among those who know God the Father

in Jesus the *Son. Jesus speaks of a personal freedom that can manifest itself only in relationships to others that are reinforced by a genuine openness of love that is rooted in intimacy with God. It is the interrelation of the personal and corporate dimensions of freedom that expresses the real freedom of Jesus and his disciples. This kind of freedom is a liberation from enslavement to self-interest and the devil and also a freedom for the good of others, ultimately manifesting itself in service to God and humanity (cf. Jn 13:3-5).

See also DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; ETHICS OF JESUS; FORGIVENESS OF SINS; HEALING; SIN, SINNER.

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E. W. Klink III

FULFILLMENT. See OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS.

G

GALILEAN MISSION. *See* MISSION.

GALILEE

The region of Galilee was the setting of much of Jesus' ministry, and the history as well as the social, economic and religious significance of the region sheds light on the Gospel accounts of Jesus.

1. History and Geography
2. Society and Religion
3. Jesus and Galilee

1. History and Geography.

Originally the Hebrew name *haggālīl* probably denoted the region around Kadesh northwest of Lake Hula (Josh 21:32; 1 Chron 6:61). Later it referred to the entire region belonging to the tribe of Naphtali, including the eastern portion of Asher and the northern portion of Zebulun and Issachar. The demise of the Northern Kingdom, Israel (722/721 B.C.), brought great destruction to the Jewish population and the immigration of pagan foreigners (2 Kings 17:6; Tob 1:2); thus the name "region of the Gentiles" (*gālīl haggōyīm*) came into use (Is 9:1). During the Maccabean revolt many of the remaining Jews were evacuated (1 Macc 5:23). The Hasmonean king Aristobulus I conquered Galilee (by now it bore the Greek name *Galilaia*) in 104/3 B.C., bringing it once more under Jewish domination. He forced the Gentile population to convert to *Judaism (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.318-19). Under Herod the Great (404 B.C.) and his son Herod Antipas, who ruled until A.D. 39, Galilee enjoyed prosperous times (*see* Herodian Dynasty). After the short reign of Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 41-44) it came under direct Roman rule (*see* Rome). The failure of the procurators led to the growth of the Zealots, a nationalistic, *revolutionary movement. Finally, the Jewish War broke out (A.D. 66), which was over in Galilee by A.D. 68. Not until after the fall of *Jerusalem (A.D. 70) did Galilee (Tiberias) become the center of *rabbinic learning.

At the time of Jesus the borders of Galilee ran as follows (Josephus, *J.W.* 3.35-39): the southern boundary was the north edge of the Plain of Esdraelon. The eastern boundary was the Jordan River from as far north as Lake Hula southward through the Sea of Galilee. The northern boundary was Gischala (probably the place of origin of Paul's parents; *see* Jerome, *Vir.* 3.5). The western boundary was Cabul. These borders bounded a territory about 40 kilometers in diameter. Any location could be reached in no more than two days' journey. Geographically, Galilee may be divided into three different areas. Lower Galilee in the south consists of a hilly region with occasional plains. Upper Galilee in the north rises to an elevation of 1200 meters; in NT times it was heavily forested and partially impassible. The Jordan valley and the Sea of Galilee lie ca. 200 meters below sea level. Fertile soil, relatively abundant precipitation and a mild climate furnish good conditions for agriculture.

2. Society and Religion.

In Jesus' time Galilee was an intensively worked export area for wheat and olives, but also for wine. The fishing activity on the Sea of Galilee and the dried fish industry in the town of Magdala were of special significance (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.608-610; 3.443-445) (*see* Economics). According to *Josephus, therefore, Galilee was a rich and heavily populated land (Josephus, *J.W.* 3.42-43; *Life* 325). The population may be placed at between two and three hundred thousand. Wealth was, however, very unevenly distributed. To be sure, alongside the rich upper class there was a somewhat larger middle class than was common in ancient times. But the majority of the population was lower class (tenant farmers, day laborers). In addition to religiously grounded rejection of the Roman ruling class, social need kindled a mood finding expression in revolutionary activity, especially from the second half of the A.D. 40s onward. The

inflexibility and fearlessness of the Galileans was proverbial (Josephus, *J.W.* 3.41).

In NT times Jews comprised the vast majority of the Galilean population. The view that the area was at that time half pagan is a modern scientific myth. Josephus refers repeatedly to the piety of the Galileans and their loyalty to the Torah. NT references to the large numbers of synagogues in Galilee confirm this (Mt 4:23; 9:35; Mk 1:39; Lk 4:14-15). These references are supported by archeological findings (*GBL* 3.150712). In the pre-A.D. 70 layers there is an abundance of ritual baths (*miqwaot*) and ritually clean stone vessels but no pig bones. Nevertheless, in addition to the native Aramaic there was very widespread knowledge of Greek; this is already evident from names like Andrew and Philip among Jesus' *disciples (see *Languages of Palestine*). Inhabitants of Jerusalem regarded Galilee as a backward locale (cf. Acts 2:7), peculiar first of all because of its dialect (Mt 26:73), in which laryngeal sounds were swallowed. Pharisaism (see Pharisees) attracted its adherents mostly from the middle class of the larger Galilean towns. As conservative country folk, however, most Galileans prior to A.D. 70 had reservations about the innovations of the pharisaical halakah. Occasional disparaging remarks from rabbis indicate that the dislike was mutual (y. *Šabb.* 15d).

3. Jesus and Galilee.

Prior to his public ministry Jesus lived in Nazareth, located in Lower Galilee (Mt 2:22-23; 4:12-13; 13:54; Mk 6:1; Lk 4:16). He devoted the first portion of his activity to Galilee (Mt 4:23; Mk 1:14, 39; Lk 4:15-16), especially to the areas of Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum on the northwest bank of the Sea of Galilee (Mt 11:21-24; Lk 10:13-15). Matthew was probably not the first to see in this the fulfillment of the OT prophecy of Isaiah 9:1-2 (MT 8:23—9:1) (Mt 4:12-17: Jesus himself performed by this kind of geographical concentration a kind of sign as a covert reference to his messianic claim; see *Old Testament in the Gospels*). Some Jewish circles expected the inbreaking of the end times to take place in the northern reaches of the promised land. Even if John's Gospel is reliable in reporting Jesus' pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the schematic outline of the Synoptics (first Galilee, then Jerusalem) is justified in locating Jesus' original emphasis in Galilee. Jesus' *parables also testify to an intensive Galilean ministry, for they generally reflect the specific conditions of rural Galilee, as J. Jeremias' work on the parables has effectively demonstrated. Since immediately af-

ter the first Easter early Christianity spread primarily into hellenized cities, this is a remarkable indicator of the reliability of the Synoptic tradition.

After a time of preaching the *gospel, Jesus had to recognize that a thoroughgoing conversion of the Galileans was not taking place. He therefore pronounced divine judgment on the chief centers of his Galilean ministry (Mt 11:21-24 par.). The logion found in Luke 13:13 belongs here, too; it cannot serve as proof that *Galilean* was another term for *Zealot* in NT times. After this so-called Galilean crisis, and also due to the growing danger posed by the petty king Herod Antipas (Mt 14:13; cf. Lk 13:31-33), Jesus withdrew with his most loyal disciples into regions outside Galilee's borders. These included the "hills of Tyre" (Mk 7:24) and the Decapolis (Mk 7:31) or Gaulanitis (Mk 8:27). This withdrawal results in tensions which reflect a situation that can be traced back to Hasmonean times and the relations between Galileans and the Gentiles of surrounding areas (Mk 7:24-30; cf. Mk 5:1-20). This is a clear indication that authentic local color is in evidence. Both Matthew (Mt 28:16-20) and John (Jn 21) know of appearances of the *resurrected Jesus in Galilee, and Mark must presuppose the same (Mk 14:28; 16:7). So Jewish Christian churches may have formed in Galilee immediately after the first Easter (Acts 9:31; cf. Str-B I.159-60).

See also ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY; ECONOMICS.

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R. Riesner

GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE. See GETHSEMANE.

GENEALOGY

A genealogy is a list of the ancestors of a person or group. Although ancestral registers existed in several ancient Near Eastern societies and in the Greco-Roman world, such genealogies were usually brief and typically pertained to royalty. Extended genealogies are found primarily in Hebrew and Jewish circles. The OT contains approximately twenty-five genealogies.

The word “genealogy” (*genealogia*) appears neither in the LXX (but see 1 Chron 5:1, where the verb *genealogēō* occurs, meaning to “enroll in a genealogy”) nor in the Gospels. The term occurs only twice in the NT; 1 Timothy 1:4 and Titus 3:9, in both cases the writer warning against genealogical speculation. These passages apparently refer not to genealogies of Jesus, but rather to the OT or genealogies of the patriarchs found in Second Temple literature that some were employing as the basis for non-Pauline doctrine and morally dubious behavior.

Only two genealogies appear in the NT: Matthew 1:1-17; Luke 3:23-38. Both are genealogies of Jesus. While having much in common, they differ in terms of their placement within the narratives of the respective Gospels and in several particulars.

1. Matthew’s Genealogy (Mt 1:1-17)
2. Luke’s Genealogy (Lk 3:23-28)
3. Comparison of the Two Genealogies

1. Matthew’s Genealogy (Mt 1:1-17).

Matthew begins his Gospel with a genealogy that contains a list of generations extending from Abraham to “Jesus, who is called the Christ.” For the names “Abraham” through “Zerubbabel” (Mt 1:2-13a) the list appears to draw on genealogies found in Genesis 4—11; Ruth 4:18-22; 1 Chronicles 1—9, while omitting the names of three kings between Joram and Uzziah (also known as Azariah) in Matthew 1:8 (Ahaziah, Jehoash [also known as Joash], Amaziah) and also Eliakim (also known as Jehoiakim) between Josiah and Jeconiah (also known as Jehoia-kin) in Matthew 1:11. It is impossible to say with confidence whether Matthew developed this portion of the genealogy himself or adopted a preexisting list,

while presumably introducing some elements of his own. This preexisting list could be based on sound historical records (see, e.g., Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3). In the end, the provenance of the list makes little difference for interpretation, since the genealogy fits with the Matthean perspective. The list from Abiud through Jacob (Mt 1:13b-16a) may have derived from a “popular genealogy of the Royal House of David” (Brown) or from genealogical records of the family of Joseph.

The genealogy contains a threefold movement: the heading (Mt 1:1); the genealogical list (Mt 1:2-16); the summary conclusion (1:17). The genealogical list subdivides into three sections: from Abraham to David (Mt 1:2-6a); from David to the deportation (Mt 1:6b-11); from the deportation to Christ (Mt 1:12-16). This subdivision is not indicated within the genealogical list itself, but is suggested by the summary statement of Matthew 1:17.

The heading (Mt 1:1) provides a general introduction to the passage. This verse indicates that the reader is to construe the following list as a “book of genealogy” (*biblos geneseōs*; the word *genesis* sometimes means “beginning” [cf. Mt 1:18]). It is arresting that the evangelist identifies this passage as the genealogy “of Jesus Christ,” since OT genealogies typically are named for the progenitor rather than the progeny (e.g., Gen 5:1; 10:1). This practice in OT genealogies reflects the conviction that descendants gain meaning and significance by virtue of the forefather. By reversing the expectations of the heading, Matthew suggests that here the progenitors gain their meaning and significance from their descendant, Jesus Christ.

The heading of Matthew 1:1 contains three christological titles, each one given specific content and supported by the genealogical list that follows. Moreover, Matthew relates the titles in the heading to the genealogical list by way of chiasm (see Table 1).

Table 1. Matthew’s Genealogical Chiasm

Mt 1:1	A	Christ
	B	son of David
	C	son of Abraham
Mt 1:2-16	C'	Abraham (v. 2)
	B'	David (v. 6)
	A'	Christ (v. 16)

Sometimes chiastic arrangements emphasize the middle member (C). But the considerations that often the A/A' members are stressed in chiasm and

that Matthew's Gospel does not otherwise explicitly refer to Jesus as "son of Abraham" suggest that this arrangement points to the relative prominence of Jesus as the *Christ. This passage may indicate that Jesus functions as *son of David and son of *Abraham by virtue of his role as Christ, and that his Davidic and Abrahamic sonship is derived from his Messiahship. The evangelist brings the genealogical list to its climax in Matthew 1:16: "Jesus, who is called the Christ." Here is one way in which the genealogy gives specific content to the christological titles of Matthew 1:1: Jesus is the Christ as one who brings salvation history, which began with Abraham, to its climax or goal.

The genealogical list contains several "interruptions" to the underlying pattern "A was the father of B." For example, "and his brothers" is added in Matthew 1:2, 11; and "and Zerah" appears in Matthew 1:3. The most obvious interruption pertains to the inclusion of four *women in the list: Tamar (Mt 1:3), Rahab and Ruth (Mt 1:5) and "the wife of Uriah" (Mt 1:6). One may include also *Mary in this list (Mt 1:16). Several major proposals have been made. First, some have argued that the four women were sinners (e.g., many of the church fathers, including Jerome [see Heffern; Stauffer]), and that they are included in the genealogy to anticipate Jesus' role as savior of the unrighteous (e.g., Mt 9:12-13). Few today hold this view, as the OT does not present these women as sinners, and Jews of the first century A.D. generally held them in high regard.

A second proposal, represented especially by R. Brown, contends that the four women shared two things with Mary: scandalous sexual irregularities in the union with their partners and a commitment to take initiative, with the result that they played major roles in the plan of God, so that "they came to be considered the instrument of God's providence or of His Holy Spirit" (Brown, 73). The combination of scandalous unions and self-initiative may be found in the case of Tamar, but it encounters difficulties with the other women. In addition, it is unclear how Mary took the initiative. Moreover, the connection between scandalous union, initiative of the women, and the Holy Spirit is unclear. Brown sought to identify a complex matrix of features in the attempt to bring all five of the women under a common umbrella, but he was unable to demonstrate that all of the features were present in any one case or to establish the interconnections between these features.

A third proposal maintains that the four women were Gentiles, and their presence in the genealogy points to the universal character of the call to *dis-

cipleship to Jesus (e.g., Bauer; Heffern; Keener). This proposal is supported by the reference to "son of Abraham," which may point to Jesus as the one who fulfills the promise to Abraham that in Abraham's son (seed) all the nations of the earth would be blessed (e.g., Gen 22:18), by the naming of Bathsheba in Matthew 1:6 as "the wife of Uriah" (according to 2 Samuel, "the Hittite"), and by Matthew's emphasis on the incorporation of the Gentiles into the people of God.

The difficulty of finding common elements among all four of the women has led J. Hood recently to posit that Matthew wishes to link Tamar, Rahab, Ruth and Uriah. He insists that all of them were regarded as extraordinarily righteous. But the fact that Matthew seems to highlight the presence of women here weakens the appeal of this suggestion.

Matthew concludes the passage with the summary of Matthew 1:17, which infers from the list that salvation history can be divided into three sets of fourteen generations, culminating in Jesus Christ. This conclusion points to the significance of the number "fourteen." Possibly, Matthew wishes the reader to understand this number as a doubled "seven." Matthew is fond of the number "seven," using it consistently, as does the rest of the biblical tradition, to indicate perfection or sufficiency; and at one point he employs a multiple of "seven" to indicate extravagant completeness (Mt 18:22). Hence, the fact that the prehistory of the Messiah is marked by "fourteen" suggests both that Jesus perfectly fulfills the roles of Christ, son of David and son of Abraham, and that his appearance came at precisely the point when the period of preparation was complete.

In addition, the number "fourteen" may express a gematria on the name "David" (i.e., the numerical value of the Hebrew letters of the name "David" totals fourteen). If so, even as the inclusion of the (Gentile) women in the genealogy substantiates the claim that Jesus is the son of Abraham who brings salvation to Gentiles, so the reference to fourteen substantiates the claim that Jesus is the son of David, the messiah-king sent specifically to the Jews to bring them salvation (cf. Mt 1:18-2:10).

The 3x14 schema is possible only because of the omission of four names between David and the deportation (Mt 1:6b-11), as described above. It is complicated also by the fact that one cannot easily discern fourteen generations in the second (Mt 1:6b-11) and third (Mt 1:12-16) segments. As it stands, either the second or the third segment contains only thirteen generations. The reader must count Mary as a

generation, or consider that those who follow Jesus (the church) constitute the final generation, or count Jesus and the Christ as separate generations, or count Jeconiah twice because he is mentioned on both sides of the reference to the deportation, the event that marks the break between the second and third segments.

Possibly, the omissions within the second segment represent inadvertent deletions on the part of whoever compiled the genealogy, whether it was Matthew or an unknown person responsible for an earlier form of the genealogy. It is also possible that Matthew deliberately deleted these names in order to construct the symmetrical schema, choosing to extract the three generations after Joram because of the curse laid upon the descendants of Ahab, whose daughter Athaliah married Joram (1 Kings 21:21). In the end, this omission of names forms no real problem, for genealogies often omitted generations on the principle that a grandson or more remote descendant is considered a son (see Mt 1:1).

2. Luke's Genealogy (Lk 3:23-38).

Luke's genealogy consists of a list of seventy-eight names (including "God") moving in ascending order from Jesus through Adam to God. In contrast to Matthew's genealogy, the theological message of this passage does not depend upon a great deal of internal structuring. Many scholars have discerned here the clustering of names in blocks of seven. And some have suggested that the genealogy originally was structured according to eleven periods, each containing seven generations, possibly indicating that the history of the world has been moving toward the twelfth period of eschatological or apocalyptic fulfillment (similar to 1 En. 93; 2 Bar. 53-74; 4 Ezra 14:11). But even if such was the original form of the genealogy, this sevenfold structuring seems not to reflect Luke's own theological emphases. The remainder of Luke-Acts evinces no interest in apocalyptic periodization, and Luke seems to have weakened the effect of the original genealogy by reversing the order so that it reaches its culmination not in the final apocalyptic fulfillment but rather in the beginning, in Adam the son of God.

Thus, the Lukan genealogy in its present form reaches its climax in Adam, and finally in God. This consideration explains its placement within Luke's narrative and its theological function within Luke-Acts. The genealogy follows immediately upon the *baptism of Jesus when God declares, "You are my beloved Son" (Lk 3:22), and immediately precedes the temptation narrative, in which the devil twice

addresses Jesus as "the Son of God" (Lk 4:3, 9). As such, the genealogy suggests that the divine sonship that belonged to humanity as a whole but has been profoundly compromised in the fall as a result of Adam's succumbing to temptation is realized through Jesus precisely in his role as the Son of God, who fulfills God's covenant promises to David (Lk 1:26-35) and who inaugurates the eschatological *kingdom of God by his obedience to God through the empowerment of God's Spirit (Lk 3:21-23; 4:1-21). Although Luke-Acts contains no further reference to Adam, this understanding of humanity is expressed in Acts 17:22-31 and is reflected in several strands of NT Christianity (Rom 15:14; 1 Cor 15:22, 45; 1 Tim 2:13-14; Rev 12:9; 20:2).

3. Comparison of the Two Genealogies.

The genealogies of Matthew and of Luke agree in the section dealing with the generations between Abraham and David (with some variation in spelling). They agree also that Shealtiel and Zerubbabel are among Jesus' progenitors, and that Jesus is the son of Joseph. But in addition to the fact that Luke's genealogy is much longer and progresses according to ascending rather than descending order, the individual names in the respective genealogies differ almost completely after the mention of David. Especially prominent is the fact that Luke traces Jesus' Davidic sonship through Nathan rather than through Solomon (so Matthew), and that Luke identifies Joseph's father as Heli rather than as Jacob (so Matthew). The inclination in Luke's genealogy to trace Jesus' line through Nathan rather than Jeconiah may stem from Jeremiah's curse on Jeconiah's descendants (Jer 22:24-30), with the corollary conviction that God chose to bring the Messiah through the nonroyal Davidic line of Nathan. The other differences between the two genealogies have been explained on the basis of levirate marriage (the practice of a man marrying a childless brother or near kinsman and raising children in the name of the deceased relative [see Deut 25:5-10]) or adoption. Some scholars have contended that the differences can be explained by a concern with function rather than strict biological procreation; for example, it is said that Matthew wishes to suggest that Shealtiel and Zerubbabel functioned as successors to Davidic rule rather than to indicate that they were physically descended from the royal line, and that such concern with function over against literal procreation accords with the character and reading expectations of ancient genealogies (Nolland). Although at least some of these explanations are plausible, specific evidence for

them is lacking. Scholars have increasingly argued that the primary purpose of the NT genealogies is theological (e.g., Marshall; Brown; Nolland), and thus they contend that the key to understanding the divergences between the genealogies is to probe their distinct christological emphases.

See also ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB; BIRTH OF JESUS; MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS; SON OF DAVID; SON OF GOD.

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GENNESARET, SEA OF. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

GENTILES

The inclusion of non-Jews, or "Gentiles," within the covenant community was a contentious issue in the early church (e.g., Acts 10; 15). Not surprisingly, the Gentile mission and Jesus' relationship to Gentiles are significant themes in the Gospel traditions. While the evan-

gelists' assessment of the phenomena is textured and varied, each is concerned to explain the transformation of the church from a predominantly Jewish movement into a multiethnic community.

1. Terminology
2. Gentiles in the Gospel of Mark
3. Gentiles in the Gospel of Matthew
4. Gentiles in the Gospel of Luke
5. Gentiles in the Gospel of John
6. Gentiles and the Historical Jesus

1. Terminology.

The term *Gentiles* is derived from the Latin word *gens* ("nation") and frequently translates the Hebrew word *gôyim* or the Greek term *ethnē*. In the NT, *ethnos* (or one of its inflected forms) appears 162 times, approximately one-fourth of which are in the Gospels (39x). *Ethnos* often refers to non-Jewish nations or individuals (Mt 10:5; Mk 10:42; Lk 2:32), but the term may also denote any group drawn together by common culture or traditions. Indeed, in some contexts *ethnos* is used in reference to the Jewish nation (Lk 7:5; Jn 18:35) or, more broadly, all nations, including Jews and Gentiles (Acts 17:26). The distinction is significant, and several passages hinge upon the interpretation of this term (e.g., Mt 21:43; 28:19).

It is important to note that the identification of Gentiles in the NT cannot be reduced to the occurrence of a single lexical term. In addition to *ethnos*, a constellation of other terms are also used to describe those outside the Jewish framework, including *ethnikos* (Mt 5:47; 6:7; 18:17), *dēmos* (Acts 12:22), *hellēn* (Jn 7:35; 12:20), *hellēnis* (Mk 7:26), *laoi* (Lk 2:31) and *ochlos* (Mk 7:33; 8:34). Beyond this lexical terminology, the Gospel writers also employ contextual features to portray the relative foreignness of individuals or people groups. To this end, the evangelists skillfully use vocation (Mt 8:5; Mk 15:39; Lk 7:2), geopolitical space (Mt 15:22; Mk 3:8; Jn 4:5) and other narrative signals (Mk 5:11) to assist in the delineation of cultural identity.

2. Gentiles in the Gospel of Mark.

In Mark's story, the identification of Gentiles traditionally has been understood in limited terms, and many have argued that the Gentile *mission begins only as a consequence to Jesus' death (Mk 13:10; 14). More recent scholarship has questioned this conclusion and drawn attention to the importance of Gentiles and the Gentile mission in Mark's narrative (Wefald; Svartvik; Iverson).

2.1. Mark's Gentile Journeys. For Mark, the Gentile mission is derived, both pragmatically and theo-

logically, from Jesus' ministry. The expansion of the *kingdom and the inclusion of Gentiles are anticipated by Jesus' boundary-breaking ministry (Mk 2:1-12, 15-17, 21-22), the sayings and *parables concerning kingdom growth (Mk 4:21-23, 26-32), and Jesus' reception of Gentiles in the Jewish homeland (Mk 3:7-12). The formal mission to the Gentiles, however, begins when the Markan Jesus traverses the sea and crosses into the region of the Gerasenes (Mk 5:1-20). The presence of swine confirms the Gentile setting, and though Jesus receives a mixed response, the proclamation of the Gentile man prepares for Jesus' return in Mark 7:31-8:9. Subsequent journeys beyond the Jewish homeland accent the importance of Gentile inclusion (Mk 7:24-8:9; 8:22-9:29). Despite the disciples' reluctance to embrace the mission (Mk 6:45-52; 8:14-21), Jesus' movements suggest that the blessings of the kingdom are for those who are pure in heart, irrespective of ethnic identity (Mk 7:24-30; 8:1-9, 22-26; 9:14-29). Although Jesus has come to God's chosen people, he is largely rejected and misunderstood by the religious establishment (Mk 2:1-3:6; 3:20-35; 6:1-6a, 14-29; 7:1-23; 8:11-13; 10:2; 11:15-12:44). The Gentiles are the first to identify him as the one in whom messianic expectations are fulfilled (Mk 7:36-37), and it is in Gentile territory (in the vicinity of Caesarea Philippi [Mk 8:27]) and among Gentile people that Jesus first permits all persons, regardless of ethnic identity, to follow him, if they are willing to deny themselves and take up their cross (Mk 8:34-37).

The structure of Mark's narrative further reveals the evangelist's concern for the Gentile mission. Just as the Jewish mission is inaugurated by the healing of a demon-possessed man (Mk 1:21-28), so too is an exorcism the first miracle in Gentile territory (Mk 5:1-20). Likewise, as Jesus heals the daughter of a Jewish man (Mk 5:21-24, 35-43), he also heals the daughter of a Gentile suppliant (Mk 7:24-30). It hardly seems coincidental, then, that after Jesus multiplies the loaves and fishes among the five thousand (Jews [Mk 6:31-44]), he also performs a similar miracle among the Gentiles (Mk 8:1-9). Although *Israel is given preferential status (Mk 7:27), Jesus' ministry to the Gentiles parallels his ministry among the Jews. In addition, as the Gentile mission gains momentum and Jewish resistance intensifies, the story devotes greater attention to Jesus' foreign excursions while minimizing the activities on Jewish soil (until the passion). The narrative effect is a structural affirmation of Mark's theological perspective: the inclusion of the Gentiles in the kingdom agenda.

2.2. *Gentile Inclusion and the New Temple.* The

inclusion of Gentiles gains additional clarity in the events leading up to the *passion narrative. During the *temple demonstration (Mk 11:15-18) (*see* Temple Act), Jesus rebukes the religious establishment for turning the temple into a "robbers' den" rather than a place of worship and prayer "for all the nations" (Mk 11:17). The intercalation of the temple episode with the cursing of the fig tree suggests that Israel's place of *worship will be destroyed, and that a new way to God will be established based upon *faith, *prayer and *forgiveness (Mk 11:12-14, 19-25). The conflict with the Jewish leaders, as well as Jesus' concern for "all the nations," continues in the subsequent episode. Although the chief *priests, *scribes and *elders remain disgruntled over the events in the temple, Jesus responds in an enigmatic fashion that confounds the religious leaders and provides opportunity to readdress the motivating issue behind his actions. The parable in Mark 12:1-12 supplies a poignant commentary that explicates the relationship between Jews, Gentiles and the inbreaking kingdom. As a result of Israel's general rejection of Jesus (Mk 2:1-3:6; 3:20-35; 6:1-6a, 14-29; 7:1-23; 8:11-13; 10:2; 11:18; 15:1-15), the Gentiles are made participants in God's kingdom through the *death and vindication of Jesus, the cornerstone of the new temple. This inclusive perspective is further affirmed in the eschatological discourse when the Markan Jesus declares that the *gospel must be preached to "all the nations" (Mk 13:10; cf. Mk 14:9) before the Son of Man returns to gather his elect from "the ends of the earth" (Mk 13:27).

The temple imagery climaxes at the scene of the cross when immediately after Jesus expires, the temple curtain is torn asunder. In accord with Jesus' death, the temple has been cursed, and a new way to God has been opened for all nations. Jesus' final words from the cross—"My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Mk 15:34)—are given perspective in the tearing of the veil and the centurion's utterance. Although seemingly unanswered, the ensuing events, in concert with the broader narrative, supply the reason why Jesus died: the Gentiles have been granted access to God through the death of the Son. That the tearing of the temple curtain forms an *inclusio* with the tearing of the heavens at Jesus' *baptism (Mk 1:10; 15:38) is carefully orchestrated and has important theological implications. Unlike the tearing of the heavens, which result in the pronouncement by the heavenly voice (Mk 1:11), the tearing of the temple curtain culminates in an affirmation that Jesus is the *"Son of God" by a human character (Mk 15:39). The statement, made by a Ro-

man centurion, not only points to the future character of the church but also is an integral part of the Gentile mission that Mark locates in the ministry of Jesus. Through the confession the centurion becomes the quintessential example of those comprising the new community and provides implicit testimony that both Jews and Gentiles are partakers of the kingdom in accord with divine purposes.

3. Gentiles in the Gospel of Matthew.

Whereas Mark envisions a Gentile mission that begins during the earthly ministry of Jesus, Matthew describes a mission to the nations that is inaugurated only after Jesus has appealed to Israel and given his life as a ransom for many.

3.1. Jewish Preference and Gentile Deferral.

Matthew's story of Jesus is interwoven with fulfillment texts and scriptural allusions (e.g., Mt 1:23; 2:6, 15, 18; 3:3; 4:6, 15-16), and unlike Mark, Matthew begins with a *genealogy that situates Jesus within an ancestral history that traces back through the lineage of Abraham and David. Taken collectively, these features evoke the theme of covenantal promise and illustrate the evangelist's concerted effort to present Jesus from a decidedly Jewish perspective. The Matthean Jesus is Israel's long-awaited Messiah, who has come in order to fulfill the *law (Mt 5:17) and to save "his people from their sins" (Mt 1:21). Accordingly, the ministry of Jesus is geared almost exclusively to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" (cf. Mt 15:24), and the *disciples, at least during Jesus' earthly lifetime, are precluded from going into Gentile territory (Mt 10:5).

This focus on the Jewish response is even more apparent in light of Matthew's tendency to redact Mark's Gentile mission. For example, although Jesus ostensibly seeks to withdraw to the region of Tyre and Sidon (Mt 15:21-28), it is uncertain whether he reaches the intended Gentile destination, since the woman with the demon-possessed daughter is described as coming out to meet him (Mt 15:22). Mark locates the encounter in foreign territory (Mk 7:24), but Matthew's redaction deflects attention away from the location of the episode. A similar phenomenon occurs in the ensuing scene involving the healing of a deaf man (Mk 7:31-37), which Matthew narrates in a summary account (Mt 15:29-31). Likewise, though Mark narrates an attempted but unsuccessful journey to Gentile Bethsaida (Mk 6:45), Matthew describes a similar account but removes any reference to the geopolitical space, thus downplaying the potential ethnic connotations (Mt 14:22). When the disciples and Jesus in Mark eventually succeed in

reaching Bethsaida after a subsequent sea journey (Mk 8:22), Matthew completely omits the scene. Finally, on one of the few occasions where Matthew does depict the healing of a Gentile supplicant, the evangelist reworks Mark in such a fashion as to present a harsher and more negative depiction of Gentiles (Mt 8:28-34; cf. Mk 5:1-20).

The redaction of Mark's Gentile mission is even more striking when juxtaposed with the various Matthean sayings that reflect a pejorative attitude toward Gentiles. Perhaps most revealing is that the utterances are uniformly attributed to the Matthean Jesus. The scenes in which these statements occur are generally concerned with the transmittal of discipleship material, but the prescription of righteous behavior often comes at the expense of Gentile stereotypes: Gentiles are self-serving (Mt 5:47), preoccupied with temporal matters (Mt 6:32), given to meaningless expressions of prayer (Mt 6:7), and persecutors of the righteous (Mt 10:18). Even more striking is the logion in Matthew 18:15-17 regarding church discipline. A member of the community who refuses to heed the admonition of a fellow disciple is to be expelled from the church and treated as a "Gentile or tax collector" (Mt 18:17). In view of this rather unfavorable caricature of Gentiles, as well as the general sentiment in this regard, some have argued that Matthew has no interest in a Gentile mission either during or after the ministry of Jesus (Sim).

3.2. Gentile Inclusion and the Great Commission. To conclude that Matthew's view of Gentiles is entirely pessimistic ignores an array of texts that point in a different direction. Matthew may not idealize Gentiles, but neither does the evangelist depict them in uniform perspective. An appreciation of the entire narrative suggests that Matthew envisions a Gentile mission that commences in consequence to Israel's rejection and the death of Jesus.

In this regard, the opening genealogy is significant and provides a subtle clue to Matthew's overall agenda. Although the evangelist does not provide an explicit explanation, the inclusion of Abraham, the one through whom God would bless the "nations" (Gen 12:1-3), and the four Gentile women (Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, wife of Uriah) most likely foreshadows the inclusivity of the Gospel and the mission to be taken up by the followers of Jesus. Other episodes share this trajectory and paint a more favorable presentation of the Gentiles. After Jesus is born, it is the Gentiles, the magi from the east, who come bearing gifts to present before the "king of the Jews" (Mt 2:1-12) (*see* Birth of Jesus). Furthermore, Jesus receives Gentiles in Galilee (Mt 4:25), later singles out Gen-

tiles for their exemplary faith (Mt 8:1-13; 15:21-28), and is professed to be "Son of God" (Mt 27:54) by the soldiers at the cross.

These favorable Gentile depictions are frequently set in contrast with negative portrayal of Israel. For instance, Jesus commends a centurion for his "great faith"—a faith that has not been found in Israel (Mt 8:10)—and indicates that the Gentile cities of Tyre, Sidon and Sodom will receive a more favorable response in the judgment than the cities in Israel (Mt 11:20-24). Likewise, after a series of Sabbath controversies with the Jewish leaders (Mt 12:1-14), Matthew indicates through a citation of Isaiah 42:1-4 that Jesus will proclaim "justice to the Gentiles," and that in "his name the Gentiles will hope" (Mt 12:18, 21). Contrary to other Gentile stereotypes discussed above, these texts offer a more positive assessment of Gentiles and openly describe their inclusion within the sphere of God's kingdom (cf. Mt 12:38-41; 21:33-46; 22:1-14).

Although Matthew and Mark envision Gentile missions, their inauguration transpires at different points in salvation history. Mark's mission to the Gentiles is situated in the ministry of Jesus, whereas Matthew's mission, despite several precursors providing proleptic glimpses of the future, begins in earnest after the death and resurrection of Jesus. Simply put, although the Gentile mission finds its ideological basis in the words and deeds of Jesus, for Matthew, the Great Commission (Mt 28:16-20) is the beginning of the mission to the nations.

4. Gentiles in the Gospel of Luke.

Gentile portrayals in Luke's Gospel are not as frequent as those found in Mark, but neither are they as stereotypical as the depictions in Matthew. Although there has been considerable debate about the inclusion of Gentiles in Luke (e.g., Jervell; Sanders), S. G. Wilson has perhaps overstated the matter by arguing that "the most striking characteristic . . . is precisely the lack of any consistent theology of the Gentiles" (Wilson, 239). When the Gentile mission is appreciated across the whole of Luke-Acts, several themes emerge that help to understand Luke's perspective and outlook.

4.1. The Times of the Gentiles. Like Matthew, Luke situates the mission to the Gentiles in the period after the death of Jesus and before the parousia. This period of Gentile witness is to be of unspecified duration and until the "times of the Gentiles are fulfilled" (Lk 21:24). Like the other Synoptic writers, and in line with Paul (Rom 1:16; cf. Acts 13:46), Luke describes Jesus' mission and the mission of the

Twelve as being to the Jews first (*contra* Siker). The geographical focus in the Gospel underscores Luke's theological vision, for in contrast to Mark and Matthew, the narrative concludes in "Jerusalem, where, in accordance with the Scriptures (Lk 24:46), the disciples are commanded to proclaim the gospel to all the nations "beginning from Jerusalem" (Lk 24:47). Furthermore, it is in Jerusalem that Luke resumes the story of "all that Jesus began to do and teach" (Acts 1:1), and it is from this same space that the Gospel begins to spread outward (Acts 1:8). Taken collectively, Luke's concern for Jerusalem offers implicit commentary on the priority of Israel.

Luke omits a sizable block of material from Mark (Mk 6:47—8:26) that includes episodes set within Mark's Gentile mission. The stories of the Syrophoenician woman and the feeding of the four thousand are crucial to Mark's inclusive program. However, while these and other Markan omissions (Mk 10:45; 11:17; 14:9) might appear to downplay the place of Gentiles in Luke, it must also be remembered that several Matthean texts that refer to a mission exclusively among the Jews likewise are absent (Mt 10:5, 6; 15:24). Despite this conflicting tendency, one should not conclude that Gentile inclusion is inconsequential. On the contrary, Luke's story of Jesus begins in a manner that foreshadows Gentile inclusion and ends in a similar vein: Simeon declares through prophetic utterance that Jesus will be a "light for revelation to the Gentiles" (Lk 2:32), John's ministry is introduced as preparing for the one through whom "all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (Lk 3:6), the Lukan Jesus warns of Israel's rejection and looks forward to the inclusion of Gentiles by recounting the ministry of Elijah and Elisha among foreign peoples (Lk 4:16-20), and the narrative concludes with a declaration that the gospel should be preached to "all the nations" (Lk 24:47).

Additional scenes describing Gentile faith and/or inclusion add theological weight to the theme (Lk 7:1-10; 8:26-39; 10:12-16; 11:29-32; 23:47), but Luke's emphasis on God's plan indicates that the encounters and sayings are not happenstance but rather the outworking of divine purpose. Luke's repeated reference to "God's purpose" (Lk 7:30; Acts 2:23; 4:28; 5:38-39) and God's "will" (Lk 22:42; Acts 21:14; 22:14), in conjunction with the repeated use of *dei* ("it is necessary" [Lk 2:49; 4:43; 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 24:7]), suggests that Luke understands historical events, including those associated with a Gentile mission, as operating under the auspices of providential control. This perspective is accented by Luke's reference to the Spirit, which at strategic places appears in con-

nection to the Gentile mission (Lk 2:27-32; 4:16-27; 24:45-49). Thus, Luke's mission to the Gentiles not only is granted divine approval, but particularly in Acts it is the divine presence that prompts and confirms the inclusion of Gentiles and the expansion of the church (Acts 10:19, 44; 11:15; 15:28).

4.2. Recipients of Salvation. Luke draws attention to the reception of Jesus' message by those on the margins of society. The poor, sinners, tax collectors and women are of notable concern and illustrate God's compassion for the marginalized and oppressed (Lk 5:27-28; 6:20; 7:36-50; 10:38-42; 13:10-17; 18:9-14; 19:1-10). The gospel is not restricted by gender, ethnicity or class; it is available to all people, especially those deemed outsiders by traditional Jewish standards. Indeed, many have argued that Luke reinforces a status reversal whereby God's kingdom overturns the structures and values of the present age (Lk 1:46-55; 6:20-26).

Within this thematic framework the Gentiles quite naturally fit, and Luke's favorable depiction of Jewish outsiders is mirrored in his portrayal of Gentiles. For instance, in response to an encounter with a Roman centurion, Jesus declares, "Not even in Israel have I found such great faith" (Lk 7:9). Likewise, in a discussion with a legal expert, Jesus tells the story of the good Samaritan in order to illustrate the greatest commandment (Lk 10:25-37). However, Luke's portrayal of Gentiles is not entirely positive, and, as C. W. Stenschke observes, these competing depictions underscore Luke's theological perspective regarding the universal need for *salvation (Lk 9:52-53; 11:30-32; 12:29-30; 17:26-30; 21:20-24). Jesus has come "to seek and to save the lost" (Lk 19:10), and it is through him that God's *mercy and grace are made available to all people. It is therefore not due to Gentile piety that Luke incorporates foreigners into the church's missionary program, but rather because of their anthropological condition and theological need.

5. Gentiles in the Gospel of John.

In terms of Gentile encounters, John's Gospel is decidedly reserved in comparison to the Synoptics. However, this change of focus should not be construed as a shift in theological emphasis. Although in John the universality of the gospel message is not developed via a string of Gentile encounters, the theme of mission emerges from the evangelist's unique theological perspective.

5.1. Christology and Mission. John's prologue (Jn 1:1-18) is, in some sense, the hermeneutic key to understanding the Gentile mission in the Fourth Gos-

pel. In distinction from the Synoptics, John's story of Jesus begins not from the earthly plane but rather from the spiritual and cosmological realm. Jesus is the "word" of God (Jn 1:1), the preexistent one who has come as the revealer of the Father (Jn 1:18), and it is in him that the created order has its origin (Jn 1:3). All humankind, both Jews and Gentiles, is dependent upon him, and through the *incarnation (Jn 1:14) Jesus has come to reveal God's *"glory" and "grace" (Jn 1:14-18). In contrast to the Synoptics, each of which begins by situating Jesus within the covenants and lineage of Israel, John begins by describing the universal significance of Jesus for the entire created realm, including the human sphere.

This failure to distinguish between Jews and Gentiles is a feature of John's cosmic Christology. Just as all things have been created through Jesus, so too are *"life" (Jn 1:4) and *"light" (Jn 1:4-5, 7-9) found in him for all people. As the revealer of God's will, Jesus has come into the world to "enlighten every person" (Jn 1:9). The generic language is indicative of a broad and inclusive theological agenda that makes no distinction based upon ethnic identity. Rather, individual response to Jesus determines one's status before God, for "as many as received him, he gave to those who believe in his name the right to become children of God" (Jn 1:12). Across the narrative, John frequently and deliberately uses terms such as "everyone" (Jn 4:13; 6:40; 12:46), "anyone" (Jn 6:51), "all people" (Jn 13:35) and "world" (Jn 1:29; 3:16, 17; 17:18) in order to highlight the inclusivity of Jesus' mission. The language is linked to John's Christology and the underlying necessity of belief as the sole means through which one attains eternal life and fellowship with the Father and Son.

5.2. Gentile Mission and "the Jews." John's Christology is universal in scope, but the evangelist maintains the distinction between the Jewish and Gentile missions. Although the prologue alludes to Jewish rejection of the "true light" (Jn 1:9-11), the ministry of Jesus begins in Jewish territory and is sustained in the region throughout most of the narrative (e.g., Jn 1:28, 43; 2:1, 13; 3:22; 5:1; 6:1). In this respect, and in accord with the Synoptics, the Jewish mission is given temporal priority by the narrative structure despite the universal implications of the evangelist's Christology.

John's inclusivism finds concrete expression in the encounters with the *Samaritans (Jn 4:1-45) and the royal official in Cana (Jn 4:46-54). There is debate about the identity of the royal official, but the broader context and framing of the Cana-to-Cana sequence (Jn 2:1-4:54) suggests that John has crafted the

scenes in order to depict Jesus' interaction with the Gentile world. In some sense, the excursion reinforces the Jewish mission, since the encounter with the Samaritans take place as Jesus and the disciples are passing through the region on their way to Galilee from Judea (Jn 4:3). However, when viewed from a different perspective, the accounts are paradigmatic, for although "salvation is from the Jews" (Jn 4:22), Jesus transcends traditional racial barriers (Jn 4:9) in order to offer the "living water" that leads to eternal life (Jn 4:10-14). In both scenes Gentile responses are entirely positive and, more importantly, depict the "world's" receptivity to the message of Jesus (Jn 12:19-26). As the Samaritans affirm, Jesus is "the Savior of the world" (Jn 4:42; cf. Jn 19:20).

Unfortunately, Gentile inclusion often has been read in contrast to John's portrayal of "the Jews," leading to *anti-Semitism and some of the most horrific events in world history. Although John describes sharp conflict between Jesus and "the Jews" (e.g., Jn 1:19; 2:13-22; 5:16-18; 9:22-23), the fact remains that many "Jews" in the narrative do believe (e.g., Jn 11:45; 12:42). As F. J. Moloney argues, a sensitivity to the contours of the narrative indicate that "the Jews" represent "anyone of any age and any nation who has decided, once and for all, that Jesus of Nazareth is not the Messiah, but a sinner whose origins are unknown" (Moloney, 11). Rather than being a vehicle for ethnic partiality, the Johannine Jesus comes as the "bread" (Jn 6:35, 51), the "light" (Jn 8:12; 9:5), the "resurrection" (Jn 11:25) and the "way, truth, life" (Jn 14:6) to manifest God's presence and to satisfy the deepest longings of all people, both Jews and Gentiles.

5.3. The Role of the Spirit. Just as Jesus is sent into the world by the Father (Jn 3:17; 6:38-39; 12:49), so also the resurrected Christ sends the disciples into the world to do God's work (Jn 20:21). John's commissioning scene includes the bestowal of the Spirit (Jn 20:22-23), which, together with the phraseology of John 20:21, recalls the *farewell discourse in John 14-17. After the resurrection, the Spirit will "abide" with the disciples (Jn 14:17), "teach" them all things (Jn 14:26), guide them into "all truth" (Jn 16:13), and empower them to do even "greater works than these" (Jn 14:12). Given the implications of John's Christology and receptivity to the gospel already displayed by the Gentiles, it may be that the "greater works" include the missional expansion of the church among the Gentiles.

6. Gentiles and the Historical Jesus.

Interpreting the Gentile mission in the Gospels is a

challenging task, but analyzing those traditions in light of historical probabilities is even more arduous and has resulted in variegated and diverse conclusions. Due to hermeneutical presuppositions and the lack of consensus regarding which traditions form part of the historical strata, determining Jesus' relationship to the Gentiles is a complex issue that has led to three broad interpretive options.

6.1. Gentile Mission Inaugurated by Jesus. In this minority position, some scholars have argued that Jesus not only anticipated an influx of Gentiles but also was the first missionary to the Gentiles (Spitta; Schnabel). Jesus' concern for those on the margins, his ministry to social outcasts, and his willingness to challenge traditional socioreligious boundaries—themes reflected in each of the Gospels—establish a trajectory of acceptance and inclusion that finds expression in the Gentile mission. Although Jewish people remain in God's elective purview, Jesus deliberately travels into Gentile territory, heals those who were not from the Jewish homeland, and provides the paradigmatic example for the early church to follow.

While this view has some basis in the activities of Jesus, its historical perspective is overly optimistic. The most explicit missional texts appear in post-resurrection accounts (Mt 28:16-20; Lk 24:44-49) and/or in relation to the activities of the disciples after the death of Jesus (Mt 24:14; Mk 13:10). Likewise, those texts that do purport to describe Gentile encounters typically occur at the initiative of the supplicant rather than Jesus (Mk 7:24-30; Lk 7:1-10). In view of the sayings that overtly describe a mission to Israel and the exclusion of Gentiles (Mt 10:5; 15:24)—texts that are typically deemed authentic—this solution is problematic in that it fails to account for the post-Easter, theological overlay in the Gospel accounts. Indeed, if Jesus did engage in a Gentile mission and further commissioned the disciples to do the same, then the struggle to embrace Gentiles in the early church becomes difficult to explain on historical grounds.

6.2. Exclusive Mission to the Jews. Other scholars take an altogether different approach to the Gentile mission. J. P. Meier, for instance, argues that "neither the actions nor the words of the historical Jesus" gave instructions regarding the Gentile mission (Meier, 3:315). Instead, the mission of Jesus was focused exclusively on the restoration of Israel (*see* Exile and Restoration). Some, such as A. von Harnack, have taken this position to its logical conclusion, arguing that the Gentile mission was entirely the creation of the early church. However, J. Jere-

mias, in a brief but important study on the subject, argues that Jesus was not concerned with the Gentile mission because he believed that the ingathering of Gentiles would be accomplished at the eschaton by God's own initiative (e.g., Mt 8:11-12). Following this approach but with a slight variation, S. G. Wilson maintains that there "was no room for a historical Gentile mission" since Jesus expected the kingdom to come at any moment, thus rendering his eschatological perspective incompatible with the notion of a Gentile mission (Wilson, 28).

While these views address important matters related to the historical Jesus (*eschatology, Jewish backgrounds, social location of the early church, etc.), the various solutions adopt a minimalist approach that overlooks texts that have a direct bearing on the Gentile mission (e.g., Mk 13:10). Furthermore, given Jewish expectations about the future hope for Gentiles, it seems inconceivable that the historical Jesus had little, if anything, to say about Gentile inclusion.

6.3. Gentile Mission in Consequence to Israel's Restoration. Taking a mediating position that accounts for the strengths and liabilities of the previous solutions, more recent scholarship has sought to understand the Gentile mission within the scope of Second Temple *Judaism. The starting point for this conversation is the recognition that Jesus ministered primarily to Jews, a point well established in the Gospel traditions (Mt 10:5-6; 15:24; Mk 7:27; Lk 22:30) and further affirmed by the negative depiction of Gentile practices (Mt 6:7; 7:6; Lk 12:30). Although these latter texts likely reflect authentic tradition, the negative evaluations do not necessarily suggest that Jesus was unconcerned with the status of the Gentiles. On the contrary, just as one cannot dismiss the negative depiction of Gentiles (criterion of embarrassment), the sayings and parables that reflect a more favorable attitude toward Gentiles cannot be disregarded without due consideration. In some contexts, Israel's faithlessness is juxtaposed with Gentile receptivity, while in others a more harmonious relationship is envisioned. It is notable that in the vast majority of instances Gentile inclusion is portrayed in relation to the fate of Israel, which generally corresponds with the depiction of the nations in the Second Temple literature. Although the future state of the Gentiles is not uniformly portrayed, T. L. Donaldson argues that there are two common features in the literature: (1) an expectation that the Gentiles would participate in the end time blessings, (2) an assumption that the future of the Gentiles would be "a by-product of Israel's vindication and

redemption" (Donaldson, 509). The implication is that if the earthly ministry of Jesus is understood in relation to the restoration of Israel, then the more positive sayings and encounters with the Gentile world correspond with and have precedence in the Second Temple literature. Therefore, it seems preferable to conclude that the focus of Jesus' activities involved the renewal of Israel, and, though he did not inaugurate a Gentile mission, he anticipated and expected an influx of Gentiles in the coming age as part of God's eschatological agenda.

See also *ESCHATOLOGY; EXILE AND RESTORATION; HOLY SPIRIT; ISRAEL; JERUSALEM; MISSION; SAMARITANS; WORLD.*

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GEOGRAPHY. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

GETHSEMANE

According to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, Gethsemane is the location of Jesus' prayer in lonely anguish before his arrest (Mt 26:36; Mk 14:32). The word "Gethsemane" is a transliteration of the Hebrew/Aramaic *gat šēmēnē* ("oil press"), presumably used here to refer to the site of an oil press in an olive grove on the slope of the Mount of Olives (Mt 26:30; Mk 14:26). John 18:1 speaks of a garden across the Kidron Valley from the city of *Jerusalem. Luke simply places the incident on the Mount of Olives. All thus refer to the same general location. According to the Synoptic Gospels, it was here, immediately following his vigil, that Jesus was publicly betrayed by Judas and arrested.

1. Gethsemane in Matthew
2. Gethsemane in Mark
3. The Mount of Olives in Luke
4. The Gethsemane Tradition in John and in Hebrews
5. The Historicity of the Gethsemane Tradition

1. Gethsemane in Matthew.

Source-critically, Matthew's sole dependence on Mark's Gospel for this episode (Mt 26:36-46) is widely assumed; accordingly, many of the emphases of the Markan account (see 2 below) are relevant to Matthew's account.

Readers of Matthew's account of the unfolding events at Gethsemane may be struck, first, with its christological orientation. From the arrival on the Mount of Olives until Judas's appearance and the arrest (Mt 26:47), Jesus is the primary actor throughout; he takes the initiative at every point even as he struggles with where the events of this night might lead. At a more ultimate level, though, Gethsemane is the unfolding of God's plan as this had been anticipated in the earlier passion predictions (Mt 16:21; 17:12, 22; 20:18-19, 28; 26:2) (see Predictions of Jesus' Passion and Resurrection). This emphasis is signaled in references to the "cup" (Mt 26:39; implied in Mt 26:42), signifying suffering destined by God (e.g.,

Ps 75:8; Is 51:17, 22; Jer 25:15-38; Ezek 23:31-34), and to the "hour" (Mt 26:45), signifying God's appointed time for Jesus' passion. More centrally, Jesus' three-fold *prayer marks the process by which he discerns and embraces God's will.

Noting Matthew's wording of Jesus' command to his disciples in Matthew 26:36, "Sit here while I go over there and pray," some interpreters raise the possibility that Matthew is consciously alluding to the story of *Abraham and Isaac (cf. Gen 22:5) (e.g., Senior, 76-77; Huizenga). There, in a story noted for its portrait of profound faith, Abraham's servants are given similar instructions. Recognition of this allusion would emphasize all the more Jesus' faithfulness in the midst of his anguish.

Matthew otherwise develops the paraenetic value of Jesus' words and actions in this scene. He brings with him the same three disciples who were present with him at his *transfiguration (Mt 17:1-8). Accordingly, those who witness Jesus' glory are also present at this supreme moment of despair, communicating perhaps more to Matthew's audience than to the sleeping disciples that the path to glory is the cup of suffering (cf. Mt 20:22-23; 26:27, 42). Jesus' instructions to "stay awake" (Mt 26:38, 41) recall his earlier directives to the disciples, who are told to keep watch, like the owner of the house (Mt 24:42-44) and the wise maidens (Mt 25:13). Moreover, Matthew presents Jesus' prayer in terms that closely parallel his version of the Lord's Prayer, both in Jesus' directive that the disciples pray that they might not enter into trial (cf. Mt 6:13; 26:41) and in Jesus' own request, by which he proves himself to be a living example of his own teaching, that "your will be done" (cf. Mt 6:10; 26:42).

In his description of Jesus' anguish (Mt 26:37) Matthew recasts Mark 14:33 (substituting *lypeō* ["become sorrowful"] for Mark's *ekthambeō* ["become greatly disturbed"]) to achieve a more direct reference to Psalm 42:5, thus identifying Jesus as the suffering righteous one. This typological identity is developed throughout Matthew 26-27, and here it serves to underscore Matthew's portrait of Jesus' exemplary faithfulness to his Father's will.

2. Gethsemane in Mark.

Over the past century the prehistory of the Markan version of the Gethsemane story has been subjected to extravagant analyses (see Feldmeier, 65-140; Holleran, 107-45). Many scholars, struck by the duplication of almost every detail within the Markan story, have been persuaded that two primitive sources underlie Mark 14:32-42 (e.g., Barbour; Holleran; Stan-

ley). However, the thesis that the Markan story constitutes a very old, pre-Markan traditional unit has recently found new support, even if others have come to regard the scene as a Markan creation almost in its entirety. The debate has led to little by way of a critical consensus. The number of independent witnesses to the Gethsemane tradition (see 5 below) suggests a complex tradition history.

Central to Mark's account is the concrete unfolding of the divine plan anticipated in the earlier passion predictions (Mk 8:31; 9:12, 31; 10:33-34, 45). Although human agents are involved in these fateful events (e.g., Judas Iscariot, *Pontius Pilate, the Jewish leaders), God is the primary actor. This interpretation comes to the fore above all in the portrait of Jesus' prayer as the means of his discerning and submitting to God's will. It is also present in references to the "cup," signifying suffering destined by God (see 1 above), and to the "hour" (Mk 14:41), signifying God's appointed time for Jesus' passion.

Related to this motif, though also emphasizing Jesus' obedience, is the conjunction in this pericope of Mark's *Son of Man and *Son of God Christologies. "Son of Man" has been central to Mark's presentation of Jesus' anticipated suffering (Mk 8:31; 9:12, 31; 10:33-34): "the Son of Man *will be* delivered up." Now, "the Son of Man *is* delivered up into the hands of sinners" (Mk 14:41). Jesus' status as Son of God was affirmed by the evangelist in Mark 1:1, then proclaimed by God at Jesus' *baptism (Mk 1:10-11) and transfiguration (Mk 9:7). In addressing his prayer to "Abba, Father" (Mk 14:36), Jesus acknowledges his Father-Son relationship with God. Significantly, this affirmation comes to the fore in the face of suffering and death. Hence, "Son of God" must be understood in Mark against the backdrop of the "must" (*dei*) of the suffering of the Son of Man. It is as God's obedient Son that Jesus, Son of Man, embraces death as God's will (see Death of Jesus).

The motif of *discipleship failure contrasts with Jesus' obedience. Throughout Mark's Gospel the disciples have demonstrated their incapacity to grasp Jesus' identity and the implications of God's redemptive plan (e.g., Mk 8:32; 9:32; 10:32). Now, as Jesus struggles with God's will, the disciples evidence their continued lack of understanding by their inability to stay awake (and by their subsequent abandonment [Mk 14:50-52]).

Jesus' acknowledged intimacy with God ("Abba" [Mk 14:36]) highlights another pivotal motif, one that gives clearer definition to the significance of the "cup" in Mark 14:36. As R. Feldmeier observes, Gethsemane functions as the crisis point in the pas-

sion narrative, indeed in the life of the Son of God. Here, for the first time, Jesus experiences God's silence, a divine estrangement that comes to expression finally in Jesus' cry of dereliction from the cross (Mk 15:34). Gethsemane, then, does not so much demonstrate Jesus' anguish in the face of death as his fear of being abandoned by God.

Mark's account also underscores the paraenetic value of Jesus' words and actions. In his prayer Jesus exemplifies the appropriate response to eschatological crisis. Jesus' command "Watch!" recalls the content of his final discourse (cf. Mk 13:5, 9, 23, 33-37), a connection accentuated especially by these verbal parallels:

Mk 13:36: *elthōn . . . heurē . . . katheudontas*
(coming . . . he finds . . . sleeping)

Mk 14:37: *erchetai . . . heuriskei . . . katheudontas*
(he comes . . . he finds . . . sleeping)

Mk 14:40: *elthōn . . . heuren . . . katheudontas*
(coming . . . he found . . . sleeping)

The disciples, having been found sleeping at this moment, are encouraged by this story "to stay on guard" in anticipation of the final, eschatological woes (see Eschatology).

Finally, we may observe that Jesus' prayer alludes to the OT in ways that contribute to its interpretation. Mark's version of the prayer suggests conceptual borrowing from selected psalmic laments (e.g., Ps 42:9-11; 55:4-8; 61:1-3), pointing to a typological portrait of Jesus as the suffering righteous one.

3. The Mount of Olives in Luke.

Study of Luke 22:39-46 raises important text- and source-critical questions (see Textual Criticism; Synoptic Problem).

3.1. The Inclusion of Luke 22:43-44. The presence or absence of these two verses is crucial to an interpretation of the scene as a whole. The textual evidence is ambiguous, though it is clear that the omission of these verses from so many and diverse witnesses (e.g., P⁶⁹ [apparently], P⁷⁵, Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, and the first corrector of Codex Sinaiticus) could not have been accidental. Some modern interpreters (see Fitzmyer, 2:1443-44; Ehrman and Plunkett; RSV) exclude these verses, noting their uniqueness within the Synoptic tradition, the nature of the manuscript evidence (especially P⁶⁹ and P⁷⁵) and the structure of Luke's account, thus judging them as inappropriate to their context and suggesting that they were added later for the purpose of Christian instruction. Others, however, point to the presence of these verses in Co-

dices Sinaiticus (original and second corrector) and Bezae, for example, as well as knowledge of this tradition among the church fathers (e.g., Justin, Irenaeus, Hippolytus); they also observe the impressive Lukan character of these verses. In addition to the inclusion of characteristic Lukan vocabulary, they draw attention to Luke's well-documented interest in *angels (e.g., Lk 1:11, 26; 2:13, 15; Acts 5:19; 7:30; 8:26; 10:3; 12:7) and Luke's characteristic use of simile ("his sweat was like drops of blood" [Lk 22:44]; cf., e.g., Lk 3:22; 10:18; 11:44; 22:31) (see Brown, 1:181-82; Green 1988, 56-57). These data, along with the fact that the presence of these verses coheres with Luke's interpretation of this scene as a whole (see Tuckett), support the inclusion of Luke 22:43-44.

Moreover, it is not difficult to imagine a rationale for the early exclusion of these verses in the manuscript tradition. The portrait of Jesus contained therein—human, agonizing, needful, requiring angelic support—would have been problematic to some (cf. *Gos. Nic.* 20 [see Brown, 1:183-84]). Accordingly, they may have been dropped for theological reasons. There is thus good reason for taking these verses as belonging to the initial text of Luke.

3.2. The Source-Critical Question. In writing this story, was Luke dependent only on the Markan parallel (Mk 14:26, 32-42), or did he draw on additional material? The recent tendency has been to highlight Luke's creative use of his Markan source and so to downplay Luke's use of non-Markan tradition (whether oral or written). Four lines of evidence suggest that this conclusion may be overly simplistic, however. First, Luke's linguistic and syntactical deviations from Mark are not easily explicable with reference only to Luke's creative hand. Second, Luke's deletion of Mark 14:33-34 from his account is most easily explained by Luke's aversion to doublets—that is, by his decision to incorporate the record of Jesus' anguish in Luke 22:43-44 instead of, rather than in addition to, the similar Markan material. Third, in Luke 22:42 Luke reports the content of Jesus' prayer with language from the Lord's Prayer as found in Matthew 6:10: "not my will but your will be done." This language is missing from Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer (Lk 11:2-4) and has no parallel in Mark. Finally, the presence of Luke 22:43-44 (no parallel in Mark) speaks for Luke's use of non-Markan tradition. Thus, while in all probability Luke was dependent on the Markan account, he may also have had access to a second tradition (see Holleran, 170-98; Taylor, 69-72; Green 1988, 53-58).

3.3. The Significance of This Scene for Luke.

Primary to Luke's understanding of this scene is the role of Jesus as a model for his disciples. This motif surfaces initially with the use of *akolouthēō*, a term suggestive of "following as a disciple," in Luke 22:39. Structurally, the scene is bracketed by the commands "Pray that you may not enter into temptation" (Lk 22:40) and "Rise and pray that you might not enter into temptation" (Lk 22:46). As Jesus prays, they are to pray; as he rises, so should they (Lk 22:45-46). Thus, for Luke, this story has a paraenetic edge: the way to stand the test—intense, submissive prayer—is exemplified by Jesus. This theme is not unique to this passage in Luke's passion account; elsewhere we find the disciples "with" Jesus (Lk 22:24-30; 23:26-27, 49) in a way not found in Mark (cf. Mk 14:50-52, for which Luke offers no parallel).

Also of profound importance to Luke's scene is the way in which every aspect of the story is subordinated to the divine necessity of Jesus' suffering and his unreserved submission to God's will. This emphasis is accomplished by the brevity with which Luke presents the scene. The mention of only one time of prayer (compare the threefold pattern in Matthew and Mark) highlights Jesus' firm resolve to be obedient to God. Indeed, just as Jesus' instructions to the disciples frame this story, so his communion with God (agonizing prayer and reception of divine aid) stands as its centerpoint. Again, these motifs are found throughout Luke's narrative (on the necessity [*dei*] of Jesus' death, see, e.g., Lk 22:19-20, 22, 37; 24:26; on his acceptance of his fate, see, e.g., Lk 22:15-18; 23:27-31, 46).

Luke is also interested in portraying this scene as a cosmic battle. This is evident in his use of *peirasmos* in Luke 22:40, 46, a term denoting struggle with Satan in Luke (cf. Lk 4:13; 8:13), and in his reference to angelic assistance. In fact, Jesus' passion as a whole is marked by supernatural conflict (e.g., Lk 22:3, 28, 31, 53), though the present scene clearly constitutes the critical point in this struggle.

Some interpreters have understood Luke's presentation of this episode as a central element of Luke's portrayal of Jesus' passion as a martyrdom (e.g., Barbour). The case for this interpretation is strengthened by the observation that martyr tales regularly present their martyrs as exemplary figures. However, Luke's portrait of Jesus in agonizing prayer not only lacks parallels in the martyrological literature, where death is happily embraced, but also stands in clear tension with that literature (see further Sylva; van Henten). Another reading of this story proposes that Luke is especially concerned to

further his portrait of Jesus as the Isaianic *Servant of the Lord (Green 1986). According to this view, the necessity of Jesus' suffering, his having been chosen for this fate, his willing obedience and his reception of strengthening aid through a divine messenger are to be read against their background in the Isaianic Servant texts (especially Is 41:10; 42:1, 6; 49:5; 50:5-9; 52:13-53:12). That is, Luke's portrayal of Jesus in prayer on the Mount of Olives strengthens the interpretation that it was to fulfill his role as Servant of the Lord that Jesus had to suffer (cf. Lk 22:37).

4. The Gethsemane Tradition in John and in Hebrews.

The Fourth Evangelist narrates no Gethsemane episode as such, but nonetheless manifests knowledge of this tradition. In John 18:1-2 he places Jesus and his disciples in a garden on the far side of the Kidron Valley, and in John 18:11 Jesus makes reference to the "cup" given him by God, a cup that he must drink. Both details are paralleled in the Synoptic Gethsemane tradition. Furthermore, John 17:1-18 portrays Jesus praying immediately before his arrest.

More significant is the prayer of Jesus in John 12:27-29. The prayer itself, "Father, save me from this hour" (Jn 12:27), has been variously punctuated, as a hypothetical question (NET, CEB) or as a petition (KJV, NEB). Given the note of anguish in John 12:27a (cf. Ps 6:3-4; 42:6; Mk 14:34), Jesus' experience of turmoil is evident either way. Here, a number of important Johannine motifs converge: Jesus' obedience to his mission and thus to God; the "hour" as the time of Jesus' death, the climax of the work for which the Son was sent; and the transparent interpretation of Jesus' death as glorification and exaltation (cf. Jn 12:23, 32) (see Death of Jesus; Glory).

In his attempt to demonstrate Christ's qualifications for the high priesthood, the author of Hebrews utilizes material reminiscent of the Gethsemane tradition. This connection is suggested generally by the observation that the Gethsemane story is the only account in our canonical Gospels that comes close to this portrayal of Jesus praying with "strong crying and tears to the one who was able to save him" (Heb 5:7). In addition, we may observe (1) the connection between Luke 22:43-44; John 12:27-29; Hebrews 5:7: he prayed and was heard; (2) that both John 12:27 and Hebrews 5:7 speak of God saving Jesus; (3) that both Luke 22:44 and Hebrews 5:7 mention his tears. Accordingly, Hebrews 5:7 represents a very early Christian reflection on the Gethsemane story.

5. The Historicity of the Gethsemane Tradition.

Many have doubted the historicity of the story of Jesus' struggle in prayer in Gethsemane, citing as primary evidence the impossibility of obtaining eye-witness testimony from sleeping disciples. On this basis, some have gone on to suggest a derivation from martyrological literature, while others hold that the scene originated in early reflection on the OT (esp. Pss 22:20; 31:9-10, 22; 42:5-6, 11; 43:5; 69:1-2). As previously noted (see 3.3 above), at its key point this scene actually stands in contrast to the martyr tales, whose protagonists gladly go to their deaths. The role of the OT in providing language and imagery for theological interpretation of the story should not be downplayed, but no convincing argument has been put forth to support the notion that the psalms actually gave birth to this tradition (Barbour; Dunn, 18-19).

Given the number of independent testimonies to this episode (Matthew-Mark, Luke, John, Hebrews), the antiquity of the Gethsemane tradition is beyond question. Its fundamental historicity is supported by additional factors. First, the story underscores so profoundly the weakness of Jesus that it is unlikely to have been created out of nothing. Second, the scandalous failure of the disciples in this scene is unlikely to have arisen in the earliest tradition. At the same time, some have argued that the sleeping of the disciples may serve a theological interest in Jesus' prayer, for it highlights the clarity of Jesus' understanding of his task over against the disciples' persistent dullness. This line of argumentation supports even more the historicity of Jesus' prayer of anguish. Finally, we may note the appearance of "Abba" in Mark 14:36, the use of which takes us "back to the very speech and language of Jesus himself" (Dunn, 20).

See also DEATH OF JESUS; PASSION NARRATIVE; TRIAL OF JESUS.

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J. B. Green

GLORY

The Gospels follow the use of “glory” (*doxa* [verb *doxazō*, “glorify”]) in the LXX and thus presuppose its theological use of the term. In secular Greek *doxa* has the basic meaning of “opinion, conjecture, reputation” (reflecting its semantic link with *dokēma*, *dokeo*) (LSJ 444; von Rad and Kittel). But in the LXX *doxa* is applied to the honor and reputation not just of persons, but supremely of God and God’s presence. The LXX translates “glory” in the HB (noun *kābôd*, verb *kābēd*) with the *doxa/doxazō* word group.

In the OT the basic sense of glory is “weight, heaviness,” with the extended figurative sense of importance, impressiveness or gravitas. As such, the term can indicate a certain honorable status in the social hierarchy (Gen 13:2; 31:1; Deut 5:16; 2 Chron 32:33; Is 10:3; Nah 2:9). *Kābôd* is also used in a theological sense to refer to the radiant presence of God and is particularly associated with God’s presence in theophanies (Ex 16:10; 24:16-18; Lev 9:23-24; Is 4:5) and in the tabernacle or the temple (Ps 26:8; cf. Ex

29:43; 40:34; 2 Chron 7:2; Is 46:13; Ezek 8:4, 43:4-5). Isaiah and Ezekiel particularly develop the expectation of a new appearance of God’s glory in the day of Israel’s restoration. In Ezekiel God’s glory leaves the temple to make way for judgment (Ezek 10:18) but returns again in the eschatological temple (Ezek 43:4). Similarly, Isaiah points to a new revelation of God’s glory for Israel in the restoration (Is 40:5; 60:1-19), with an additional emphasis that all nations will experience God’s glory (Is 66:18-19).

1. Synoptic Gospels
2. Gospel of John

1. Synoptic Gospels.

“Glory” occurs fairly infrequently in Matthew (noun 7x, verb 4x) and Mk (noun 3x, verb 1x), but Luke employs it much more often (noun 13x, verb 9x). As in the OT, glory indicates the weightiness of power, authority and social standing. For instance, the devil shows Jesus the “glory” of the “kingdoms of the world” (Mt 4:8; Lk 4:5-6), which points to the grandeur of their power (see Temptation of Jesus). Furthermore, Jesus speaks of the “glory” of Solomon, indicating his kingly wealth and magnificent possessions (Mt 6:29; Lk 12:27). In Luke’s parable of the marriage feast (Lk 14:7-14) glory indicates behavior that brings honorable social status (Lk 14:10; cf. Mt 6:2) as well as honor before *God (implied in the context, Lk 14:12-24). The term can also mean “fame” or “reputation,” as it does in Luke 4:14-15, where Jesus’ teaching produces public praise. As *Israel responded to God’s saving acts by “giving glory/praise” to him (Pss 29:2; 86:9; 96:3; Is 42:12), so also the crowds respond to Jesus’ saving deeds by “glorifying” or praising God (Mt 9:8; 15:31; Mk 2:12; Lk 5:25-26). In the *Sermon on the Mount Jesus says that people will glorify, or praise, God the Father because of the good works of Jesus’ *disciples (Mt 5:16).

As in the OT, the more prominent use of “glory” is to describe some aspect of the divine realm or God’s glory. This is nowhere more evident than in the passages concerning the coming of the *Son of Man. How one responds to Jesus’ call to discipleship will have ramifications at the end of the age, when the Son of Man “comes in the glory of his Father” for *judgment (Mt 16:27; Mk 8:38; Lk 9:26). Luke heightens this glory Christology: “when he comes in his glory and of the Father and of the holy angels” (Lk 9:26). Jesus thus will come in his own visible, divine majesty, and not just that of the Father. In the *transfiguration narrative that follows (Mt 17:1-8; Mk 9:2-8; Lk 9:28-36) the disciples witness a temporary transformation (*metamorphoō* [Mt 17:2; Mk 9:2]) or

unveiling of Jesus' true identity as the divinely authorized Son of God. Although the term "glory" is not mentioned in the account in either Matthew or Mark, the exodus imagery present in all three Synoptic accounts (*mountain, transformation or shining of Jesus' face, clothing becoming white, tabernacles, the appearing of Moses, the voice from the cloud, the fear of the disciples) suggests that the disciples experienced a visual manifestation of the presence of God's glory in Jesus. Luke makes this explicit by saying that the disciples "saw [Jesus'] glory" (Lk 9:32).

The transfiguration (narrated in Matthew, Mark, Luke) follows immediately on a statement concerning the coming of the Son of Man in glory and thus anticipates Jesus' teaching on the coming of the Son of Man in the eschatological discourses (Mt 24; Mk 13; Lk 21). In these discourses Jesus speaks of himself as the Son of Man who will come in/on clouds "with power and glory" (Mt 24:30; Mk 13:26; Lk 21:27 ["great glory"])—that is, with the transcendent qualities of the divine realm. This evokes the Danielic son of man, whom Daniel saw "on/with the clouds of heaven" (Dan 7:13). Matthew expands this tradition when he portrays Jesus as the Son of Man, who will be enthroned in glory as the eschatological judge (Mt 19:28) and who will "sit on his glorious throne" (Mt 25:31 [cf. Mk 10:37]), a description that may suggest influence from the "son of man" traditions found in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 En. 37–71) (Davila, 133). The Synoptics, then, show that Christ's glory is an eschatological concept that will be realized at the end of the age. This is apparent, in yet another future reference to Christ's glory after his death and resurrection, in a request of Jesus made by James and John: "Grant that we may sit . . . in your glory" (Mk 10:37 [cf. Mt 20:21]). Luke 24:26 makes it clear that Christ would "enter into his glory" only after his sufferings.

As opposed to the pattern in Matthew and Mark that associates Christ with the divine glory in the age to come, Luke seems to emphasize Christ's glory not only as a future reality (Lk 9:26) but also as a present one: they "saw his glory" (Lk 9:32). Thus, for Luke, the divine glory is perceptible in Jesus' earthly life and ministry, a notion that brings Luke more in line with the portrayal of Jesus' glory in the Gospel of John (see 2 below). In Luke's *birth narrative the heavenly visitation of the angel is accompanied by the radiant glory of God: "the glory of the Lord shone around them" (Lk 2:9), reminiscent of the divine visitation of God's bright glory in Ezekiel 1:26–28. The angel is accompanied by "a multitude of the

heavenly host" (Lk 2:13) ascribing "glory to God in the highest" (Lk 2:14), a declaration of praise to God for the birth of the messianic savior (Lk 2:11) that is matched by the shepherds' later "glorifying" (*doxazō*) and "praising" (*aineō*) God (Lk 2:20). The "terrible fear" experienced by the shepherds (Lk 2:9) underlines the theophanic character of the event. Glorifying God is a typical response to Jesus' *healings in Luke (Lk 5:25–26; 7:16; 13:13; 17:15; 18:43). Some of the instances of *doxazō* ("to glorify") in Luke's Gospel could be understood as "praise," but there are other, more profound occurrences. In response to Jesus' raising of the widow's son from the dead at Nain, Luke says, the people "feared," "glorified God," and said that "God has visited his people" (Lk 7:16). This terminology suggests theophany ("fear" [Lk 1:12; 5:26]; "visited" [Lk 1:68; 19:44; cf. Ex 4:31]); that is, God has appeared in Jesus' mighty act. Luke continues his emphasis on glorifying God in the *passion narrative by uniquely writing that the centurion, after witnessing Jesus' words and death on the cross, responded by "glorifying God" (Lk 23:47), a response that ties the centurion to all of the other like responses to God's mighty salvific acts through Jesus in Luke.

2. Gospel of John.

"Glory" is used more often in John's Gospel (noun 19x, verb 23x) than in any of the Synoptic Gospels, indicating that the concept is of particular importance for Johannine Christology. John carries over the basic uses of "glory" in the OT and the Synoptics, such as glory as social praise, honor, approval and reputation (Jn 5:44; 7:18; 8:50; 12:43), and glory as the radiant presence of God (Jn 11:4, 40; 17:5). Matthew and Mark associate the Son of Man's glory with his future coming, and Luke maintains that Jesus' glory is a future and present reality in Jesus' ministry. In John's Gospel, however, Christ's glory is exclusively a present reality in that John insists that the divine glory is present in Jesus' *incarnation, ministry and *death.

John 1:14 associates the glory of the Logos with God's unique glory, which "dwelt" (*skēnoō*) in the OT tabernacle (Ex 40:34–35); this is the glory that "we beheld" in the Logos made flesh (Jn 1:14c). John 2:11 makes clear that Jesus manifests his divine glory through his "signs." Subsequently, Jesus' raising of *Lazarus is a "sign" (Jn 12:18) that happened "for the glory of God, in order that the Son may be glorified by it" (Jn 11:4 [cf. Jn 11:40]). Jesus does not seek his own glory apart from God the Father, because God himself glorifies Jesus (Jn 8:50, 54; 12:28). Likewise,

Moses (Jn 1:45; 5:46), Abraham (Jn 8:56) and Isaiah (Jn 12:41) bear witness to Jesus' glory. In John 12:41 we are told that Isaiah "saw his glory and spoke about him," recalling Isaiah 6:1, where Isaiah sees the "the Lord" (in both the MT and the LXX). It is likely that John 12:41 is following contemporary targumic traditions of Isaiah in which Isaiah sees "the glory of the Lord" (Tg. Isa. 6:1) and "the glory of the shekinah of the Lord" (Tg. Isa. 6:5) (Chilton, 76; Brown, 486-87). Therefore, since "his glory" clearly refers to Jesus in John 12:41, Isaiah witnesses to Jesus' glory that he shares with God (cf. Jn 1:14; 17:24). This notion is confirmed by Jesus himself in John 17:5: "And now, glorify me together with yourself, Father, with the glory which I had with you before the world was" (cf. Jn 17:22, 24). These are startling Johannine assertions in light of Isaiah's insistence on the absolute uniqueness of Yahweh's glory: "I am Yahweh. . . I will not give my glory to another" (Is 42:8 [cf. Is 42:11]).

The Fourth Gospel uniquely presents Jesus' death as an event that reveals both Jesus' glory (Jn 7:39; 11:4; 12:16, 23) and the Father's glory (Jn 12:28; cf. Jn 13:31-32), so that in Jesus' death the Father's glorification of the Son and the Son's glorification of the Father are inextricably connected (Jn 17:1, 4-5). In John 12 the evangelist combines imagery from "glorified" (*doxazō*) and "lifted up" (*hypsōō*) in the event of the cross (Jn 12:23, 32; cf. Jn 3:14; 8:28), recalling the Isaianic Servant, who likewise is "lifted up" and "glorified" (LXX Is 52:13). Jesus' glorification on the cross is the moment, the "now" (*nyn* [Jn 12:31; 13:31; 17:5]) of eschatological judgment for the world and its ruler (Jn 12:31). Unlike the Synoptics, in John's Gospel the Son of Man fulfills his judgment role in the present of the event of the cross (Dennis). For John, then, Jesus' "death is the ultimate theophany" (Keener, 2:885).

With his impending glorification in view, Jesus assures his disciples that God will continue to glorify himself and his Son in the prayers (Jn 14:13) and obedience (Jn 15:8) of his people and even in the martyrdom of Peter (Jn 21:18-19). The ministry of the *Holy Spirit in the believing community is tied to and contingent upon Jesus' own glorification in his death and return to the Father (Jn 7:39; 20:22). It is only after his glorification, Jesus says, that the Spirit "will glorify me, for he will take what is mine and disclose it to you" (Jn 16:14). And finally, the glory that radiates forth from Jesus' person from all eternity, in his incarnation, ministry, death and return to God, will be shared with believers "so that they may be one, just as we are one" (Jn 17:22). This suggests that the presence of Christ's glory in the midst of his people

transforms them into a unity that in turn redounds to the glory of the Father and the Son in the power of the Spirit.

See also DEATH OF JESUS; GOD; TRANSFIGURATION.

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GOD

The word *God* means "a divine being or deity," but in the Gospels of the NT it refers to the God of Israel, the God of *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, whom Jesus called "Father" and whom he taught his disciples to address in the same way. The four Gospels are narrative accounts of the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth, but they assume that this God is working and active in and through Jesus, identify Jesus and his mission with respect to God and God's purposes, and often summarize the heart of Jesus' proclamation in terms of the *kingdom of God. The Gospels thus are dependent upon the OT witness to the identity, character and purposes of God, and they continue the narratives recounting God's purposes for *Israel and for all the world. Because of their continuation of the biblical narrative, the Gospels do not so much present Jesus giving new information or instruction about God, but rather present him drawing on particular parts and themes of the Scriptures to proclaim God's *salvation, to show that salvation is now effected in and through the person, words, deeds, *death and *resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, and

how Jesus calls God's people to conform their lives to the purposes and will of God.

1. Terms and Imagery
2. The Contexts of the Gospels
3. God in the Four Gospels
4. Jesus and God

1. Terms and Imagery.

On the whole, the Gospels demonstrate a remarkable sparseness in the descriptive language used for God when compared to Jewish texts of the period, and even when compared to the OT. To be sure, the Gospels employ some important adjectives (e.g., "living") and descriptive genitival phrases (e.g., "the God of Israel") that serve to identify and characterize the God of whom they speak, but such adjectival descriptions are relatively few. But these descriptions, along with the specific terms used for God, demonstrate the singular importance of the OT in shaping the understanding of God in the Gospels.

1.1. Theos ("God"). The single most common term used for God in the Gospels is *theos*, the Greek word for "God" or "a god." In the LXX, the translation of the OT that shaped the patterns of thought of Greek-speaking Jews and early Christians alike, *theos* typically renders the Hebrew terms for God, *'ēl* and *'ēlōhīm*. *Theos* sometimes also translates *yhwh*, the four Hebrew consonants of the divine name "Yahweh." Because of the staunch monotheistic commitment of Judaism of this period, a reference to "God" was clearly to the God of Israel, Yahweh. Only one God was designated by *theos*, God.

In the Gospels *theos* refers to the God who created the world, the God of Israel, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. *Theos* never denotes another deity or idol (cf. Acts 14:11; 19:26; 1 Cor 8:5-6; Gal 4:8). In the Gospel of John the preexistent *Word, who was "with God [*theos*]," is also called *theos* (Jn 1:1), and the risen Jesus is addressed as "my God" by Thomas (Jn 20:28) (see 3.4 below).

But because in the ancient world *theos*, as well as its Semitic counterparts *'ēl* and *'ēlōhīm*, may refer to a variety of deities or gods, the term needed qualification if it was not to remain the generic term for a deity. Thus, the OT distinguishes the God of Israel from all other would-be deities through a number of descriptive phrases, such as "God of gods," "God of the heavens," "Lord God Almighty," "Most High God," "Almighty God Most High" and "Lord of hosts." With such appellations, many of which are found also in the Gospels in appropriation of OT language, God is distinguished by his power and au-

thority over any other allegedly divine figure and over all creation.

This one God has been revealed to and known by a particular people, as seen in the important and frequent designation "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" or "God of our ancestors" and "your God" in reference to Israel. The Gospels continue this pattern, speaking of "the God of Israel" (Mt 15:31; Lk 1:68) or the "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (Mt 22:32; Mk 12:26; Lk 20:37) and employing possessive pronouns that identify God with reference to Jesus' contemporaries or disciples: "your God" (Mt 4:7, 10; 22:37; Mk 12:30; Lk 4:8, 12; 10:27; Jn 20:17 [of the disciples]), "our God" (Mk 12:29; Lk 1:78; Jn 8:54) and "their God" (Lk 1:16 [explicitly of Israel]). These descriptive characterizations bind God closely to the identity, history and worship of a specific people.

1.2. Kyrios ("Lord"). In the Gospels God is also referred to as *kyrios* ("Lord"). This is the Greek term in the LXX that translates both the Hebrew word *'ādōnāy* ("Lord") and also, much more frequently, *yhwh*, the proper name of God. The name *yhwh* itself is not transliterated. While in the Hebrew OT, *yhwh* occurs far more frequently than any other designation, such as *'ēlōhīm* ("God") or *'ādōnāy* ("Lord"), in the LXX *kyrios* predominates. Thus, to the reader of the LXX, the Bible of Greek-speaking Jews and Christians, God essentially was known as "the Lord" and, as noted above, somewhat less frequently, simply as "God."

Except for the Gospel of John, which reserves the title "Lord" for Jesus (but see Jn 12:38), all of the Gospels adopt the scriptural designation "Lord" for God. In fact, many of the uses of "Lord" for God are found in quotations of the OT or in phrases familiar from the OT ("word of the LORD" or "angel of the LORD"). On the whole, however, the Gospels apply the term *kyrios* more frequently to Jesus than they do to God, although at times the referent remains ambiguous (e.g., Mt 9:38; 24:42; Mk 5:19, 13:20; Lk 1:17, 7:6; 10:2). That the Gospels speak of Jesus with an OT designation for God and, specifically, with the term that connotes God's rule or sovereignty demonstrates that they reflect the widespread early Christian conviction that Jesus has been designated as God's agent in the rule of the world, and that God's kingly rule has been inaugurated (Bauckham; Hurtado 1998; Rowe 2006). God has conferred upon Jesus, the Lord, the authority and status to rule (see esp. the quotation of Ps 110:1 in Mt 22:44; Mk 12:36; Lk 20:42; Acts 2:34).

1.3. Patēr ("Father"). Perhaps the most memorable and distinctive characterization of God in the Gospels is the designation of God as "Father," the

designation that comes to function in Christian parlance as the regular way of referring to God. The term *patēr* used for God is spread unevenly across the Gospels (Matthew 44x, Mark 4x, Luke 15x, John 109x). Remarkably, these references to God as Father are found in the Gospels virtually exclusively in the speech of Jesus (the only exceptions are Jn 1:14, 18; 8:41; 14:8). Typically, "Father" is coupled with a personal pronoun, so that Jesus speaks either of "my Father" (Matthew 14x, Luke 5x, John 20x) or "your Father" (Matthew 12x, Luke 2x, John 2x). Only once is Jesus depicted as using the first-person plural possessive, "our," when he teaches the *disciples how they should address God in *prayer (but only in Mt 6:9; cf. Lk 11:2). In John 20:17 Jesus speaks of "my Father and your Father, my God and your God," not simply of "our Father" or "our God." This Johannine pattern reflects the implicit distinction in all the Gospels between the way that Jesus, the *Son of God, and the disciples relate to God as Father. The absolute "the Father" is found relatively seldom in the Synoptics (Matthew 2x, Mark 1x, Luke 3x) but frequently in John (73 x).

The Gospels thus present the use of "Father" for God as a characteristic aspect of Jesus' speech and habit of addressing God. According to Mark, the Aramaic term that Jesus used to address God as Father is *abba* (Mk 14:36), a term that has been subject to much discussion (Jeremias; Thompson 2000). None of the other Gospels use this term, although Paul notes that Christians, by the Spirit, may call upon God as *abba* (Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6). Since Paul includes the Aramaic term in a letter written in Greek, it is likely that the term had particular significance, such as it would carry if it had been known to be Jesus' typical mode of address to God. In spite of claims that have been advanced that *abba* is baby-talk or a child's word for God ("daddy"), the evidence rather suggests that it is simply an ordinary Aramaic designation for "Father" that would have been used by both adults and children (Barr; Thompson 2000). But it remains significant that Jesus used "Father" (rather than "Lord" or "God") as his mode of address to God. Jesus' address to God as Father may denote the filial relationship between the king of Israel and God (2 Sam 7:12-14; Ps 2:), which accounts in part for the designation of Jesus as the messianic Son of God (for the close connection of "Messiah" [see Christ] and "Son of God," see Mt 16:16; Mk 1:1, 14:61; Jn 20:31). But Jesus' appeal to God as Father further speaks of his trust and confidence in God's provision, mercy, care and salvation, such as was predicated of God's fatherly ways toward

Israel in the OT (Ps 103:13-14; Jer 3:4, 19; 31:9-11; Hos 11:1). The Gospel of John in particular characterizes Jesus' unique sonship in relationship to God the Father, articulating explicitly what is implicit in the Synoptic Gospels and their accounts of Jesus' own relationship to God.

1.4. Epithets and Imagery. The Gospels reflect a number of biblical epithets for God that articulate the convictions that the God of Israel is indeed the one sovereign God of all the earth. God is the Most High (Mk 5:7; Lk 1:32, 35, 76; 6:35; 8:28), the Mighty One (Lk 1:49), the Power (Mt 26:64; Mk 14:62; Lk 22:69) and the Lord of heaven and earth (Mt 11:25; Lk 10:21). The use of such circumlocutions for God, showing profound reverence for God expressed in the reluctance to even speak the name of God, reflects Jewish sensibilities. Additionally, God can be depicted as or likened, implicitly or explicitly, to a king (Mt 22:2), judge (Lk 18:2; Jn 5:22, 27) and land-owner or employer (Mt 20:1-15; 21:28-30, 33-41; Mk 12:1-11; Lk 20:9-16). The emphasis on God's authority fits with the conviction that there is only one God.

Unlike some OT narratives, in the NT God does not appear in the narrative as an actor, although it is clear that God stands not merely in the background of these narratives but rather is active in and through all that happens in them, particularly in and through the actions and words of Jesus. God's power and authority are demonstrated through saving (Lk 1:47, 49) and delivering people from the powers that bind and oppress, appropriate to God's identity as the heavenly Father, who bestows forgiveness and mercy and knows and cares for the needs of his children. Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God presents God as a king whose sovereign purposes are now becoming manifest through Jesus, while also presenting Jesus as the proclaimer of, and designated vice-regent in, that kingdom. God's Spirit anoints Jesus (see the baptismal accounts and Lk 4:18) (see Holy Spirit); the voice of God from heaven authorizes Jesus in the *baptism and *transfiguration (and see Jn 6:27); Jesus' healings and exorcisms demonstrate the power of God to make whole and to sanctify human life (Mt 12:28; Lk 11:20); God sent Jesus (Jn 5:23, 37; 6:44; 8:16, 18; 12:49; 14:24); and Jesus speaks and does the will and works of God (Jn 3:16-17; 12:50). In other words, because God is known through and by means of the mission of Jesus, the Gospels present and characterize God by characterizing Jesus and his work.

The character and actions of God shape the demand made upon his people and the future hope of the people of God. For example, since God made the

Sabbath for human beings, human need “overrides” or takes priority over certain aspects of Sabbath observance (Mt 9:13; Mk 2:23-28; 3:1-6; Lk 13:10-17; Jn 7:20-24). God, who makes it rain on both the just and the unjust, calls his people to love their enemies (Mt 5:44-48; Lk 6:27-35). Since God is *merciful and *forgiving, human beings ought likewise to be merciful and forgiving (Mt 5:7; 9:13; 12:7; 18:23-35; 23:23; Lk 6:36; 18:13). In this way, the children of God mirror the character and actions of their heavenly Father. God created humankind as male and female from the beginning, and hence those who are married ought not to *divorce (Mt 19:3-9). Since God is the God of the living, the one who gives and sustains life, one can expect a *resurrection of the dead (Mk 12:26; Lk 20:37; Jn 5:26-27; 6:57). God’s action and character provide norms for the behavior of God’s people and determine the course of events in this world and the next.

2. The Contexts of the Gospels.

Several sociohistorical contexts are relevant for studying the Gospels, including (1) first-century Judaism, with its commitments to the one God of Israel and the Scriptures of Israel; (2) the larger Mediterranean world, in which the Gospels were circulated and read, with the varying religious commitments in that world; (3) the growing early Christian church, consisting of Jewish and increasing numbers of Gentile followers of Jesus.

2.1. The Scriptural Context. No other context is as important for understanding God in the Gospels as is the OT, where convictions about God are couched within the implicit narrative of God’s calling of and covenant with the people of Israel, and the demand for obedience and faithfulness inherent in that calling and that covenant. As already noted, the Gospels do not provide extensive explicit characterization of God. But reading the Gospels in light of the Scriptures, as developed and interpreted by Jewish tradition, does bring into sharper relief the presentation of God in the Gospels and also demonstrates that the Gospels are rooted in Jewish soil.

To speak of God in biblical terms always requires that one articulate God’s identity as the one true God, the God of Israel; God’s character as eternal, living, all-sovereign, righteous judge, merciful and compassionate; God’s action in creating the world and human beings to govern it as his representatives, and in saving and delivering his people from a wide variety of oppressive conditions; and God’s call to the people of Israel to be a holy people set apart for *worship and obedience to him, and to live together

in justice, harmony and *peace with each other, so that they might be a light to the nations. The biblical accounts of God’s identity, character, activity and call are presupposed in the Gospels, although emphasized differently in each of them. Before turning to the Gospels, we will briefly examine key elements of the portrayal of God in Scripture, focusing on those aspects that were particularly important in the Jewish milieu of the Gospels.

2.1.1. One Holy God. OT authors frequently emphasize the uniqueness of God (e.g., Deut 4:35, 39; 32:39; 1 Sam 2:2; 2 Sam 7:22; Is 44:6; 45:5, 6, 14, 18, 21, 22; 46:9). Consequently, Israel was to have no other gods besides Yahweh (Ex 20:5; 34:14; Deut 5:7) and was to worship only Yahweh (Deut 6:4-5). Even as the uniqueness of Yahweh demands exclusive worship, so the holiness of God calls for God’s people to be holy (Lev 11:45; 19:2; 20:22-26; Num 15:40) through faithfully keeping his commandments, including those commands that “set them apart” from the nations. But already in the prophetic literature especially of the OT, God’s people are called upon to demonstrate their distinctive calling in the way they live together in justice and integrity. Only then does God honor the worship and sacrifices that are offered (Ps 51:16-19; Is 58:5-7; Hos 6:6; Amos 5:21-25).

The literature of Judaism demonstrates the same insistence upon the unique identity of the one God of Israel (Wis 12:13; Jdt 8:20; 9:14; Bel 41; Sir 36:5; Bar 3:36; 4Q504 1-2 V, 9; 1Q35 I, 6; 2 *En.* 33:8; 36:1; 47:3; Philo, *Leg.* 3.4, 82). Because God is one, worship and obedience must be rendered to the one God alone (see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.117-118). The oneness of God required that there be only one *temple, whose holiness must be preserved in order to honor the holy God (11Q19; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.181; 20:206-207; *J.W.* 4.147-154; 5.19-20).

As the conduct expected of God’s people corresponds to the identity and character of God in the OT Scriptures, so too in the Gospels the conduct to which Jesus exhorts people flows from God’s identity. God’s uniqueness calls for exclusive devotion to him (Mk 10:18; 12:28-34; Jn 4:23-24; 5:44; 17:3). The greatest commandment is to *love God with all one’s heart, soul and mind (Mt 22:37 par.), for no one can serve two masters (Mt 6:24; Lk 16:13). God’s kingdom and God’s righteousness are to be sought above all else (Mt 6:33; Lk 12:31). Jesus teaches the disciples to pray that God’s name be sanctified or made holy (Mt 6:9; Lk 11:2). The characterization of the temple as “God’s house” (Mt 21:13; Mk 11:17; Lk 2:49, 19:46; Jn 2:16) demands the relinquishment of cultic practices at other shrines and temples and honor of any

other deities. But Jesus also repeatedly emphasizes that what is to set God's people apart is not their cultic practices, or not those alone, but rather conduct that reflects the love, justice, righteousness and integrity that God calls for (Mt 23:23-26; Mk 7:21-23). Jesus thus picks up the biblical and prophetic emphasis on the distinctive moral character of holiness required of God's people.

2.1.2. The Living Creator. Quite regularly the OT insists that the God of Israel is the eternal, living God, who made the *world (Gen 1; Ps 36:9; Is 40:28; 44:24; 45:7; Jer 2:13; Ezek 37:1-16). The designation of God as the "living God" often serves to contrast God, the one who made the earth, with "dead idols," made by human hands from material created by God (Jer 10:8-10; cf. Deut 5:26; Josh 3:10; 1 Sam 17:26, 36; 2 Kings 19:4, 16; Ps 42:2; 84:2; Is 40:18-20; 41:21-24; 44:9-20, 24; 45:16-22; 46:5-7; Jer 23:36). This God is the everlasting God, the first and the last.

The emphases on God as the unique creator, the living and eternal one, are taken over and developed in the literature of Second Temple Judaism to distinguish God from all other gods or would-be gods (see 2 Macc 1:24; Bel 5, 6, 24, 25; Sir 18:1; 4Q504 1-2 V, 9; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.131; *Ant.* 8.280; *Ag. Ap.* 2.190-192). Jewish authors acquainted with the Greek philosophical traditions spoke of God in biblical terms as creator and maker, but they employed the philosophical traditions also to stress that the God of Israel was indeed the source of all life (Philo, *Spec.* 2.30; *Somn.* 1.76; *Mut.* 29; *Decal.* 61) and the "cause of all things" (Philo, *Somn.* 1.67). This God, who is neither part of the created order nor coextensive with it, is responsible for its very existence, including the existence of all living things. Such emphases were particularly necessary in the polytheistic or pluralistic contexts in which the Jewish people found themselves in the first centuries before and after the turn of the era.

The absence in the Gospels of an apologetic for God as the living creator indicates that this aspect of God's identity was uncontested in Jesus' immediate context. Instead, God's identity as the living one and creator of all that is not only was assumed, but also became the basis for exhortations to trust in the God who made and provides for the world, whose purposes are demonstrated in and through creation, who will give life to the dead in the resurrection, and who gives life in the present through Jesus (Mt 5:45; 6:26-30; Mk 10:6; 12:26; 13:19; Lk 12:24-28; 20:37; Jn 1:1-3; 6:57).

2.1.3. Sovereign Ruler. Another distinctive characteristic of God, emphasized in the OT and inseparably related to the identity of God as creator, is the all-encompassing sovereignty of God that governs

the movements of the heavens and earth, of the angelic hosts, and of empires, rulers and peoples (see Bauckham; Hurtado 1998; Thompson 2001). God's creation of the world further implies God's continued governance of it (see Is 44:6; 40:18, 23; 43:10, 11; 44:8, 45:4, 6, 14, 18, 21, 22; 46:9; 48:12). Indeed, God's "sovereignty is an everlasting sovereignty, and his kingdom endures from generation to generation" (Dan 4:34-35 [cf. Jer 27:5]).

Closely related to God's sovereignty and God's faithfulness is the understanding that God is righteous. God's sovereignty will be manifest in God's judgment of all the earth and its inhabitants, resulting in God's *justice and righteousness holding sway (Pss 93; 96; 99). Ultimately, the twin emphases on God as creator and sovereign come together in the eschatological hope for a new heaven and new earth, so that God's sovereignty brings his purposes for creation to fruition (Is 65:17; 66:22). Because God is righteous, one can expect *judgment on evil or wickedness (or, more precisely, on the wicked) even if present circumstances made it difficult to see that God's just purposes were being carried out (Job; Lam 3:1-19). Once again, the character and the action of God provide the basis for the conduct of God's people. Because God is faithful, righteous and just, God's people are to be faithful to each other, demonstrating justice, integrity and righteousness in all their dealings with each other (of the numerous biblical references that demand human righteousness and integrity, see Gen 18:19; 1 Sam 26:23; 2 Sam 22:21; 1 Kings 3:6; 8:32; 10:9; Prov 8:20; 10:2; 11:4-6, 18-19; 12:28; 13:6).

Jewish tradition shares and sometimes elaborates the biblical emphases on God's sovereignty, particularly in light of the continued subjugation of God's people to pagan powers. Because of their convictions in God's justice, Jewish authors struggled to understand the destruction of *Jerusalem and its temple in A.D. 70, ultimately attributing both Rome's supremacy and Jerusalem's destruction to God's providence (*pronoia*) and sovereign purposes (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.390; 6.250, 267-268; cf. *Ant.* 4.47). Authors of apocalyptic treatises such as 2 *Baruch* and 4 *Ezra*, who attributed the fall of Jerusalem to God's punishment of the *sin of Israel, also envisioned the ultimate fall of *Rome as punishment for its iniquity (4 *Ezra* 11-12; 2 *Bar.* 39-40). God's righteousness would ultimately prevail.

In the Gospels God's sovereignty comes to primary expression in Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God, envisioning both God's gracious rule in the present and the ultimate concrete realization of

the purposes of God for his people and for the world. Jesus' instruction to his disciples to pray, "Your kingdom come, your will be done" (Mt 6:10), envisions both the present and future embodiment of God's will among his people (Mt 6:10; 26:42; Mk 14:36). The Gospels also point to God's sovereign freedom in bringing his purposes about in ways that may remain inscrutable to human beings or outside normal human standards of judgment (see Mt 11:25-27; 20:1-16; Lk 10:21; also the quotation of Is 6:9-10 in Mt 13:13-15; Mk 4:10-12; Lk 8:10; Jn 12:40).

2.1.4. Merciful, Compassionate, Faithful. Above all, God was understood to be "merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness" (Ex 34:6 [cf. Num 14:18; Neh 9:17; Ps 86:15, 103:8, 145:8; Joel 2:13; Jon 4:2; Nah 1:3]). One particular form that God's compassion takes is the forgiveness of sins (Ps 103:12). As numerous additional references in Scripture show, God was faithful to his people, covenant and promises (Gen 24:27; 32:10; Deut 32:4; Ps 25:10; 30:9; 36:5; 40:10-11; 54:5 [and often elsewhere throughout Psalms]; Jer 31:3; Lam 3:23; Mic 7:20; Zech 8:8). God's provision and care for his people could be summarized in the designation of God as a Father who provides for (Deut 32:4-6; Jer 3:18-19; 31:9) and as a mother who comforts her children (Is 49:15; 66:13).

Not surprisingly, the scriptural characteristics of God noted here continued to play a large role in depictions of God in Jewish literature and thought. Of particular interest is the development of the "doctrine" of the two attributes, or measures (*middot*), of God, which becomes more fully developed in rabbinic thought. So, for example, in *Mekilta* 3:74-77 God is said to have dealt with Moses according to "the attribute of mercy," but with his fathers according to "the attribute of justice." In fact, the two "names" of God—"Yahweh" and "Elohim"—were understood to refer respectively to God as merciful and God as just (*Mek.* 4:96-101; elsewhere, rabbinic writings speak of the "attribute of punishment" and the "attribute of goodness"). Both traits, mercy and justice, are reflected throughout the Gospels.

In the Gospels God's provision and goodness become the basis for the exhortation to trust in this one who provides, who sends rain and sunshine (Mt 5:45), who clothes the birds of the air and the grass of the field (Mt 6:26-30; Lk 12:24-28), and knows when a sparrow falls (Mt 10:29-31; Lk 12:6-7). In the Gospels the various "parables of harvest, or of the separation of the good from the bad, are parables about final judgment (Mt 13:24-30, 47-50; 25:31-46). God's surprising verdict, however, often was expressed as

mercy, as demonstrated in the generosity shown to those who scarcely labored in the vineyard (Mt 20:1-15), or in the gracious treatment of a thoughtless younger son (Lk 15:11-32), or in the justification of a tax collector who pleaded for mercy from God (Lk 18:13). Indeed, the Gospels often illustrate implicitly what James will later make explicit: "Mercy triumphs over judgment" (Jas 2:13). In the Gospel of John God's love for the world underlines the entire ministry of Jesus (Jn 3:16-17). If mercy and justice were thought to be at odds or in conflict with each other, then the biblical witness, confirmed and sharpened in the Gospels, is that God's mercy and love are the final word spoken to the world.

2.2. The Context of the Greco-Roman World. The OT and Jewish affirmations about God shape the content of the Gospels because Jesus was a first-century Jew, and the Gospels provide, above all, interpretive accounts of his ministry and teaching. Hence, the substance of the Gospels' portrait of God manifests, explicitly and implicitly, the fundamental convictions about God found in the Scriptures of Israel. But many of the first readers of the Gospels likely dwelt beyond the boundaries of the geographical areas in which Jesus lived and taught, and beyond the boundaries even of Diaspora Judaism. These readers brought substantially different beliefs and practices to their reading of the Gospels. For early Gentile believers, becoming a disciple of Jesus required a conversion to exclusive worship of the God of Israel, leaving behind the variety of practices, cultic and otherwise, that were such a large part of the ethnic and political identity of citizens and inhabitants of the early Roman Empire (see *Gods, Greek and Roman*).

It is not easy to depict the views of the deities and the divine in the ancient world in short compass. The pagan world was marked by religious pluralism. Ancient religion was not exclusive. It allowed a diversity of cultic worship and practices at various temples and shrines, directed to various deities. Religion was both private and public, involving festivals, games and processions, as well as sacrifice, prayer and the offering of votives (dedications set up for favors rendered, especially for healing) at the numerous shrines and temples to ancient deities. The gods could be besought for healing (Asclepius) or knowledge of the future (the oracle of Apollo at Delphi). Cultic practices were often localized precisely because they were tied to a specific shrine in a particular locale, but these cults could be transported to other locales with the worshipers. Mystery cults promised initiates a vision of the divine in secret rites and joined them to

the service of a cult deity forever (e.g., Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*). At different times and places in the first century, and especially in eastern parts of the empire, imperial cult flourished (Price).

But the world of the ancient Roman empire also evinces philosophical views that are considerably less anthropomorphic than the descriptions of the gods found in Homer and the Greek myths. Stoicism, for example, emphatically denied that the Homeric depiction of the gods reflected divinity as it really was. The gods or God are good, benevolent, unchangeable and immortal, and not the capricious and sometimes malevolent superhuman beings whom we encounter in popular Greek religion. Stoicism furthermore cultivated a kind of monotheism or unity of the divine realm, but one that might, nevertheless, appear to a modern reader as simultaneously pantheistic and polytheistic (given the fact that the Stoics speak alternately of “God” and “the gods”). When read in such contexts, the Gospels serve not only to present Jesus to their readers, but to socialize their readers into a world view that entails a sole deity whose purposes govern the world and bear on all humankind and who is alone to be worshiped. The Gospels are thus not only narratives of the public ministry, life and death of Jesus of Nazareth, but call for exclusive allegiance to this God made known in the Scriptures of Israel.

3. God in the Four Gospels.

The Gospels have a great deal in common with each other in their explicit and implicit statements about and portrayals of God. That state of affairs is not particularly surprising, given the constancy in the portrayal of God’s identity, character, activity and attributes in the Scriptures, upon which all of the Gospels and the traditions reflected in them rely so heavily. Furthermore, the literature of Second Temple Judaism had tended to draw on and emphasize certain aspects of the biblical characterization of God, including God as unique, living and eternal, creator and sovereign, righteous and just, merciful and forgiving, who would bring his purposes for the salvation of Israel and the world to fruition. In what follows we will examine each of the Gospels individually, noting the distinctive features of the terminology used for God in each Gospel, along with the characterization of God’s identity, attributes, actions and demands as these come to expression within the narrative of each Gospel. To a large extent, the differences among the Gospels in their depictions of God are lodged in the emphases and differences in the varying narratives of the life and ministry of Jesus.

3.1. Matthew. The Gospel of Matthew presents God as the God of Israel, whose mission to gather together his people Israel overflows into the eventual inclusion of the Gentiles. From beginning to end, the ministry of Jesus demonstrates that God is with his people (Mt 1:23) and with the world (Mt 28:19), caring for them as a father cares for his children, offering mercy and forgiveness, and expecting that the behavior of the children of God will reflect God’s very character.

Matthew uses *theos* for God forty-six times, a number somewhat lower than the other Gospels because Matthew almost always uses the circumlocution “kingdom of heaven” instead of “kingdom of God.” This God is the Lord (Mt 4:7, 10), ruler (Mt 5:34), God of Israel (Mt 15:31) and of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Mt 22:32), living (Mt 16:16), and powerful (Mt 22:29; 26:64). Matthew also often uses “Father” for God, showing a definite preference for possessive formulations, and depicts Jesus using “my Father” and “your Father” with reference to his disciples about fifteen times each. Alone among the Gospels, Matthew also regularly uses “Father in heaven” (14x), as well as “heavenly Father” (6x [cf. Lk 11:13]). Matthew’s frequent personal references to “your Father” or “your heavenly Father” underscore the identity of God as a father and his character as one who knows and provides for the needs of his children.

The first appearance of the word “God” in the Gospel of Matthew is found in the interpretation of the name “Emmanuel” as “God is with us” (Mt 1:23; cf. Is 7:14; 8:8). But God has already been active, even if behind the scenes, in the events assumed by this Gospel: God’s angel communicates the will of God to Joseph (Mt 1:20; cf. Mt 2:13, 19), and God’s Spirit works to bring about the *birth of Jesus (Mt 1:18, 21). Matthew’s Gospel opens with the promise that the birth of Jesus signals that “God is with us” (Mt 1:23), recalling God’s promise to Israel, and it closes with the promise that the risen Jesus, who has received all authority from God, will be with his people who go into all the world, “even to the close of the age” (Mt 28:20). God is identified as one who is present with the people of Israel, but also with and in the world, and this movement from Israel to the world happens as a result of and through the ministry of Jesus.

Thus, the promise of the risen Jesus to be present with his people “to the close of the age” forms an inclusio with the promise that Jesus’ identity as “Emmanuel” signals that “God is with us.” Overarching the entire Gospel, then, is the promise of the presence of God and of the risen Lord, who is present “wherever two or three are gathered” in his name

(Mt 18:20). But the final words of Matthew's Gospel also contain a commission: go into "all the world" and make disciples of "all nations," a command that Jesus can give because he has received "all authority" in heaven and on earth, presumably and implicitly from God (Mt 28:19; cf. Mt 11:27). In the NT generally, and in Matthew specifically, "all things" (*panta*) typically summarizes the scope of God's own power and authority (e.g., Mt 19:26, 28; Jn 1:3; 3:35; Acts 17:25; Rom 11:36; 1 Cor 15:27-28; Eph 1:10). The risen Jesus has been given not just a share of God's authority, but "all authority." God wills to be identified with the person and ministry of Jesus, thus binding the recognition of God, and even his identity, inseparably to recognition of Jesus.

Concomitantly with commissioning his disciples to go into all the world, the risen Lord commands that they baptize "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." This climactic commission pulls the threads of Matthew's Gospel together. Jesus, the one whose birth signals that "God is with us," had been conceived by the Spirit (Mt 1:18-23); when he was baptized, the Spirit of God descended upon him, and God declared him to be his beloved Son (Mt 3:16-17); sent by the Spirit into the wilderness, the Son of God is tested with respect to his fidelity to God (Mt 4:1-11); when the disciples are hated because of Jesus, the "Spirit of your Father" will speak through them to bear witness (Mt 10:19-22); God's Spirit is on Jesus so that he may "proclaim justice to the Gentiles" (Mt 12:18); and he casts out demons by the "Spirit of God" (Mt 12:28). God's Spirit so marks Jesus from beginning to end so as to bind the working of Father, Son and Spirit into one work: it is in the name of the Father, Son and Spirit that the disciples then go into the world to proclaim and bear witness to that work.

Turning to the beginning of Matthew, we see that Jesus, who is son of Abraham and son of David, is also presented as the Son of God (Mt 3:17) when the Spirit of God, active in his conception, descends upon him at his baptism. Even as Israel is loved by God, so this Son is designated as "the beloved." But the beloved Son is subsequently led by God's Spirit into the wilderness to be *tempted to turn from wholehearted trust in God (Mt 4:1-10). Jesus trusts in a God whom the Scriptures promise to be one who sustains and instructs his people (Mt 4:4), who is to be trusted (Mt 4:7), and who is worthy of exclusive worship (Mt 4:10). The God of Israel, known through the Scriptures that are spoken by God (cf. Mt 15:3-5; 22:31), who calls for Israel's exclusive worship, is the God whom Jesus trusts fully.

Throughout Matthew's Gospel Jesus will call his disciples to the same radical trust, obedience to God's will and ways, and single-hearted devotion and worship. The pure in heart, those with single-minded devotion to God, will see God (Mt 5:8). This righteous and holy God requires that people walk in the way of righteousness (Mt 5:6; 6:33; 21:32), as Jesus himself does (Mt 3:15), a righteousness that "exceeds" that of the *scribes and *Pharisees (Mt 5:20).

But the God who asks for everything is a loving Father who provides for his children. Early on in Matthew we learn that God is about the business of raising up *children (Mt 3:9) who live according to the will of the heavenly Father, and so are brothers and sisters of Jesus, the son of God (Mt 5:8; 12:48-50). In presenting God as Father and Jesus' disciples as God's children, Matthew presents the ministry of Jesus as the fulfillment of the hopes voiced in Scripture for God to lead his children out of *exile in Babylon, gathering them together, ransoming them from "hands too strong for him" (Jer 31:11) (Mt 1:11-12, 17; Jer 3:4, 18-19; 31:9-11). As a heavenly Father, God cares for his children, even as he does the grasses of the field and the birds of the air (Mt 6:25-32). For God is all-seeing (Mt 6:4, 6, 18; 10:29-30) and all-powerful (Mt 19:26), answering prayer (Mt 6:1-8), bringing the dead to life (Mt 22:29).

Matthew's Gospel repeatedly reflects the OT themes of the mercy and forgiveness of God (Mt 1:21; 26:28). Those who are merciful to others will receive mercy from God (Mt 5:7); those who forgive others will receive forgiveness (Mt 6:12, 14-15; 18:21-35). As the prophets of the OT proclaimed, God desires mercy more than sacrifice (Mt 9:13; 12:7, quoting Hos 6:6). In fact, God is surprisingly generous, dealing with people by means of mercy rather than judgment, and showering them with unmerited blessing. His people ought not then to begrudge his generosity, but instead to be similarly generous (Mt 20:15). This generous God makes the sun shine and the rain fall on the just and the unjust; in imitation of a generous and merciful God, God's people are to love not only their friends but also their enemies (Mt 5:43-45). In this way, they will be "perfect" as their heavenly Father is (Mt 5:48). They are to seek the kingdom of heaven above all else (Mt 6:33); to give to God all that belongs to God (Mt 22:21); to love God with all their heart, soul and mind (Mt 22:37). For no one can serve two masters (Mt 6:24), and God's people are to serve God alone. Matthew thus underscores the OT witness to the one God, showing how that one God is active through Israel and Israel's Messiah, Jesus, for the salvation of the whole world,

and calling a people together who will love and worship that one God.

3.2. Mark. The Gospel of Mark highlights the mysterious character of God's ways, leading as they do to the crucifixion of the Son and Messiah of God on a Roman cross. Against human judgment, the way of the cross is the way of God. God's ways remain inscrutable, and his people struggle to comprehend how the Son of God, anointed by the Spirit, should meet his end on a cross. Nevertheless, it is precisely here that God demonstrates that he has torn open the heavens, come down in power, and acts to bring that power to bear in the lives of people for their healing and their redemption.

Mark's language for God is in many ways remarkably sparse. Forms of the Greek word *theos* appear forty-six times; *kyrios*, when used of God, seven times; and *patēr*, four times. Mark's few descriptive epithets and circumlocutions, identifying God as the powerful, unique, living God, who is specifically the God of Israel, are heavily dependent on the OT—for example, Most High God (Mk 5:7), the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Mk 12:26), God of the living (Mk 12:27), the Blessed One (Mk 14:61), Power (14:62). Again, drawing on the biblical witness, God is a God who forgives sins (Mk 2:7), created the world (Mk 10:6; 13:19) and unites husband and wife to be one flesh (Mk 10:6, 9). All things are possible for this powerful God (Mk 10:27; 12:24; 14:36), who alone is good (Mk 10:18), who is glorified (Mk 2:12), and is worthy of one's total allegiance (Mk 10:18, 12:17, 12:28-29).

Mark's Gospel contains quite a few statements, however, that have *theos* in the genitive (*theou*), modifying or characterizing another noun, including "Son," "gospel" (Mk 1:14), "kingdom" (frequently), "Holy One" (Mk 1:14), "house" (Mk 2:26), "will" (Mk 3:35), "commandment" (Mk 7:8-9), "word" (Mk 7:13) and "way" (Mk 12:14). The last four of these—will, commandment, word, way—fit with Mark's presentation of a God who alone has authority to command the ultimate allegiance of human beings, but whose ways are often mysterious, hidden from human beings, and hard to discern and follow.

From the beginning of Mark's Gospel, the person and ministry of Jesus are related to God. Jesus is presented as and declared to be the Son of God (Mk 1:1, 11), who proclaims the gospel of God (Mk 1:14), announcing that the kingdom of God has drawn near (Mk 1:15). In the citation of Israel's Scriptures, this Gospel makes it clear early on, even if implicitly, that "God" is the God of Israel (Mk 1:2, quoting Mal 3:1; Mk 1:3, quoting Is 40:3), a point underscored later

with the quotation of the Shema of Deuteronomy 6:4 (Mk 12:29-30), calling Israel to honor and love the one God. Mark is the only book in the NT to cite this passage. The God whose kingdom and gospel Jesus proclaims is the one God of the OT witness.

God's power in Jesus is manifested immediately in the exorcism of spirits that Mark calls "unclean" (*akathartos*) (Mk 1:23, 26, 27; 3:11, 30; 5:2, 8, 13; 6:7; 7:25; 9:25 [some English translations render *akathartos* as "evil"]). In rebuking and casting out these unclean spirits, Jesus shows that the Holy Spirit of God drives out powerful forces hostile to God and God's people, extending the boundaries of God's holiness ever further into the world. God's holiness is now demonstrated not primarily in the observance of cultic regulations so as to protect the holiness of God's temple and people, but rather in the cleansing power of the Son of God that flows from him to others. Even as John baptized or cleansed with water, so Jesus baptizes, or purifies, with the Holy (sanctifying) Spirit of God.

But although God's power in Jesus drives out the unclean spirits as a sign of the coming kingdom, the full manifestation of that kingdom remains future. In the present the working of the kingdom remains mysteriously hidden, and it can be compared to a seed growing in secret or a tiny mustard seed. One day these seeds will yield a harvest, but in the present no one knows how they grow, and they are always in danger of death and destruction (Mk 4:1-11). In other words, even though God works powerfully through Jesus for the healing and purification of his people, there remains a hidden mystery to the ways of God in the world that calls for faith and trust.

Jesus entrusts himself to this powerful God, whose inscrutable and mysterious ways are not always comprehensible to human beings. Nowhere is this point illustrated more fully than in the fact that the path of God's Son and Messiah leads to the cross. Peter's resistance to Jesus' crucifixion demonstrates "human" thinking, which assumes that God's ways are marked by power and triumph. But "the things of God" (Mk 8:33) are plotted along a trajectory that leads to Jesus' crucifixion and to the call to his disciples to similarly deny themselves, take up their cross, and follow him (Mk 8:34). No wonder the ways of God are inscrutable.

Nor are they easy. In *Gethsemane, as Jesus prays prior to his arrest, he implores God to remove the cup of suffering and death that are his lot. Here, unique among the Gospels, Jesus entreats God as "Abba, Father." As noted earlier, Mark uses "Father" for God four times (Mk 8:38; 11:25; 13:32; 14:36), but

this is the only passage in all the Gospels that contains the Aramaic term *abba*, translated for the reader as *patēr*, the common Greek word for “father.” The well-known prayer runs, “Abba, Father, for you all things are possible; remove this cup from me; yet, not what I want, but what you want.” The prayer underscores the supreme will and power of God. God has the power to deliver Jesus from death, but does not do so. God’s mysterious way includes Jesus’ drinking the cup of death.

In Mark’s Gospel Jesus dies with the words of Psalm 22:1 on his lips: “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” This so-called cry of dereliction cannot be read as God’s abandonment of Jesus, because here God’s ways and purposes are here being carried out. The whole of this Gospel has led up to this climactic moment, when “the Son of Man goes as it is written of him” (Mk 14:21). But even so, that cannot lessen the suffering of those, including Jesus himself, who find themselves walking impossibly difficult paths, even if mysteriously within God’s providence. Mark depicts Jesus crying out for deliverance in the agony of death, even as the psalmist cried out when in despair, and as the people of Israel cried out when Jerusalem was sacked and destroyed, and as the persecuted saints would continue to cry out in desperation to God. But the God who has sent his powerful Spirit upon his Son, to announce and embody the saving work of the kingdom of God, does not abandon Jesus to death. At the end of Mark’s Gospel Jesus is not in the tomb; rather, he calls his disciples to continue to follow him as the work of God’s kingdom continues.

3.3. Luke. The Gospel of Luke is, first of all, a narrative account of the ministry of Jesus, but it is also part of a two-volume work that shows how God’s mission to bring salvation to all persons was carried through during Jesus’ ministry and then after his death and resurrection. In Luke’s Gospel God’s gracious purposes are to bring salvation, peace, healing and wholeness to all those “inside” and “outside” the perceived boundaries of God’s people. There are powerful forces and figures opposed to God’s saving work, including demonic spirits, human governments and authorities, and even the religious leaders of the day. But God works both through and in spite of this opposition with his chosen messengers in order that his good purposes for Israel and all the world will be accomplished.

Although Luke-Acts typically is considered as a two-volume work, here we will focus primarily Luke’s Gospel, with some occasional glances at the way in which the narrative begun in Luke is carried

out in Acts. Luke’s vocabulary for God is rich and varied. Typical of the Gospels and the NT, the most frequent designation for God is *theos* (Luke 122x, Acts 168x). God is further identified as the Most High (Lk 1:32, 35, 76; 6:35, 8:28; Acts 7:48, 16:17), Savior who delivers from one’s enemies (Lk 1:47), Mighty One (Lk 1:49), Lord (Lk 4:18), Lord God (Lk 1:32), Lord of heaven and earth (Lk 10:21), Israel’s God (Lk 1:16; 1:68) and thus “your God” (Lk 4:8, 12; 10:27). Luke also frequently uses *kyrios* (“Lord”) to speak of God (32x), but even more frequently “Lord” or “the Lord” (38x) to refer to Jesus (see Rowe 2006). With such terminology, Luke highlights the power and authority of God, and these characteristics mesh with the narrative portrayal of God as the one who directs the course of history in order to accomplish his gracious purposes. Several of the designations for God are applied or extended to Jesus: he is Savior (Lk 2:11) and even Lord of all (Lk 2:11; Acts 10:36) inasmuch as he is the one through whom God’s saving purposes are accomplished.

This God is the Father of Jesus and also of his disciples. Jesus refers to God as “my Father” (Lk 2:49; 10:22; 22:29; 24:49), “your Father” (Lk 6:36; 12:30) and “the Father” (Lk 9:26; 10:22; Acts 1:4, 7), a designation that Peter subsequently adopts in his Pentecost discourse (Acts 2:33; note also “the heavenly Father” in Lk 11:13). In direct address to God, Jesus uses the simple “Father” (Lk 10:21; 11:2; 22:42; 23:34, 46). No one else addresses God as “Father,” although Jesus does teach his disciples to address God in prayer in that way. In Luke’s Gospel Jesus speaks of God as “my Father” in contexts that underscore his own role of mediating or offering to the disciples what the Father has given to him (Lk 10:21–22; 11:13; 12:32; 22:29; 24:49; cf. Acts 1:4). Furthermore, God cares for, watches over, and is generous to those who are God’s “little flock” and the objects of the Father’s good pleasure (Lk 11:5–13; 12:32).

From its outset, Luke’s Gospel sets forth God’s gracious purposes (Lk 1:30, 68), favor (Lk 1:30, 1:68) and mercy (Lk 1:68, 72, 75, 77) to bring salvation for Israel and all people. In order to accomplish these purposes, certain things must happen (*dei*, “it is necessary” [Lk 4:43; 9:22; 12:12; 13:16, 33; 15:32; 17:25; 21:9; 22:7, 37; 24:7, 26, 44; also Acts 1:16, 21; 3:21]). God’s plan (*boulē*) must be accomplished (Lk 7:30; also Acts 2:23; 4:28; see also the forms of the cognate verb *boulomai* in Lk 10:22, 22:42, 23:51); God’s will (*thelēma*) will be done (Lk 12:47; 22:42). A variety of words with the prefix *pro* (“before”), found especially in Acts, signal that the things that happened in connection with the ministry of Jesus had been foretold (*prolegō*

[Acts 1:16], *prokatangellō* [Acts 3:18; 7:52]), foreknown (*prognōsis* [Acts 2:23]), foreseen (*prooraō* [Acts 2:31], *proorizō* [Acts 4:28]) (Green; Squires).

Providence (*pronoia* [see Acts 24:2]), fate (*heimarmenē*) and fortune (*tychē*) were topics frequently treated in philosophical literature of Luke's day, often in discussions coordinated with human freedom. But for Luke, "necessity" has little to do with the inexorable unfolding of events according to a predetermined fate or fortune, and everything to do with the gracious will of God, who superintends history and accomplishes his purposes for the salvation of all flesh (Lk 1:77; 2:32, 3:8; Acts 15:14-17). God's purposes had been previously announced in the Scriptures and now are in the process of being realized in and through the ministry of Jesus (e.g., Lk 4:17-19) and events subsequent to his life (Acts 2:17-21). These purposes have not yet been fulfilled at the end of Luke's Gospel, with the resurrection of Jesus, or even with the end of Acts, with Paul's preaching the Gospel in Rome (Acts 28:31); they anticipate the continued spread of the "word of God" to all the world.

God oversees and guides the course of history and Jesus' ministry. Indeed, God makes his purposes known in various ways: he sends various messengers, including *angels from his presence (Lk 1:19, 26) and especially prophets (Lk 1:70; 6:23, 26; 10:24; 11:47, 49, 50; 13:28, 34; 16:1, 29, 31; 24:25, 27, 44). In fact, Luke frequently speaks of Scripture as "the law and the prophets" (Lk 16:16; Acts 13:15) or "Moses and the prophets" (Lk 16:29, 31; 24:27; 24:44 includes "and the psalms"), tying God's purposes not just to the Scriptures but also to these ancient worthies and the story of Israel. Particularly distinctive in Luke-Acts is the phrase "word of God" (Lk 3:2; 5:1, 8:11, 21; 11:28; cf. Lk 1:2, 38; 2:29; 8:13, 15; 22:61; 24:19), here used not for Scripture but rather for God's communication, and making his will known through Jesus and subsequently through the apostles he commissioned.

Because God makes his will known through his word, people are to "hear" and "hold fast" to the word of God, to "do" it, and to repent (Lk 8:21; 11:28, 31-32). *Repentance figures prominently in Luke's Gospel (Lk 2:38; 3:8; 5:32; 10:13; 11:32; 13:3, 5; 15:7, 10; 16:30; 17:3-4; 24:47) because God's will serves as the touchstone of human conduct. Still, God is generous with forgiveness (Lk 1:77; 5:20-24; 6:37; 7:47-49; 11:4; 17:3-4; 23:34; 24:47; also Acts 2:38; 5:31; 10:43; 13:38; 26:18) and rejoices over those sinners who repent (Lk 15:7, 10) and expects his people to do the same. Indeed, Jesus calls people to mirror God's mercy and generosity (Lk 6:35-36; 11:4), serving those who can-

not repay (Lk 14:12-24), for the kingdom of God belongs to and includes such. The accomplishment of God's purposes elicit praise and *worship, *joy and gladness (Lk 1:64; 2:14, 20, 28, 38); God is to be glorified (Lk 5:25-26; 7:16); he has looked favorably on his people (Lk 7:16), and indeed all are astounded at the greatness of God (Lk 9:43). Jesus exhorts people to love God (Lk 10:27) and upbraids those who do not (Lk 11:42). Here is a portrait of a generous, merciful, forgiving God, who calls people to repent of their sin and turn to the ways of God and manifest a similar generous mercy. To do otherwise is to fall out of step with God's purposes.

But while Luke stresses the point that God's purposes, as foreshadowed in the Scriptures and announced by the prophets, surely will be accomplished, he also makes it plain that God's ways are not unopposed, a point that is joined with the work of the Spirit of God. Mary's song of praise, the Magnificat (Lk 1:46-55), celebrates God's act of salvation, through Jesus, conceived by Spirit (Lk 1:35), an act that will manifest itself not only in the exaltation of the lowly but also in the overthrow of the proud and mighty. Some are filled, but some are sent away empty (Lk 1:53). God's Holy Spirit works not only in the conception of Jesus, but also to inspire the prophetic utterance of Simeon (Lk 2:25-27), who announces to Mary that her son is "destined [*keimai*] for the rising and falling of many" and to "be opposed" (Lk 2:34). The Spirit designates Jesus as God's beloved Son (Lk 3:22), who is then led into temptation to abandon the ways of God; the Spirit empowers Jesus' proclamation (Lk 4:1-14, 18), but the word of God is rejected or ignored (Lk 8:13). The Spirit of God in and on Jesus is opposed by other spirits (Lk 4:33; 8:29; 9:39), and eventually the Spirit-anointed Son will suffer and be killed (Lk 9:22; 24:7). None of this is outside God's plan as written in the Scriptures (Lk 24:25, 27). God Most High, the Lord of heaven and earth, does not accomplish his purposes by force. God wills peace for the earth (Lk 1:79; 2:11, 29; 7:50; 8:48; 10:5-6; 19:38, 42; 24:36), but God's ways to peace are not unopposed (Lk 12:51).

3.4. John. The God of the Gospel of John is the God who made the world and who gives life to it and all that is in it. This is the God of Abraham, of Jacob (Israel), of Moses. Hence, this God is not unknown. And yet this Gospel continually presses the question of how God is known and, specifically, how the life, deeds, words, and death and resurrection of Jesus testify to this God. Since John's Gospel claims that God is now known through Jesus, and that without the revelation of God in Jesus there is no true knowl-

edge of God, the account of Jesus' life serves as a lens through which God must be seen in order to be comprehended fully. Above all, God is revealed to be the God who, out of his love for the world, gives life to all the world by means of the life-giving work of the Word (*see* Logos), incarnate as Jesus from Nazareth.

The predominant characterization of God in the Gospel of John is that of Father; more specifically, God is the Father of Jesus, the Son. John uses "Father" about 120 times, more often than all the other Gospels combined. By comparison, "God" (*theos*) appears in John 108 times. But the pattern of the references is even more revealing of the significance of "Father" in John. God is specifically depicted as the Father of the only (*monogenēs*, "unique") Son, Jesus (Jn 1:14, 18). Jesus is furthermore called *huios* ("son") rather than *teknon* ("child"), the term used more generally for the "children of God." Subsequent references to God as Father occur in this Gospel almost exclusively in the words of Jesus, who refers to God as "my Father," or as "the Father," and most distinctively as "the Father who sent me." A few references to God as Father are found in editorial comments, where again Jesus' unique sonship is in view. For example, in John 5:18 the author states that Jesus was charged with calling "God his own Father, making himself equal with God" (*see also* Jn 8:27). John also exemplifies the pattern, found in the other Gospels as well, in which it is only Jesus who addresses God as "Father." There are but one or two exceptions to this pattern. In John 8 "the Jews" argue that they have God as Father (Jn 8:41), but this is a claim that Jesus disputes (Jn 8:42). Jesus' address to God as Father remains distinctive and evokes opposition in the Gospel from those who deny Jesus' claim to have such a distinctive relationship to God.

This God is "the living Father" (Jn 6:57), a recasting of the common biblical phrase "the living God" (Deut 5:26; Josh 3:10; 1 Sam 17:26, 36; 2 Kings 19:4; Ps 84:2; Is 37:4, 17; Jer 10:10; Dan 6:20, 26; Hos 1:10 [in the NT *see* Mt 16:16; 26:63; Acts 14:15; 2 Cor 3:3; 6:16; 1 Thess 1:9; Heb 3:12; 9:14; 10:31; 12:22; Rev 7:2]). This God is characterized or described as true (Jn 3:33), spirit (Jn 4:24) and "only" (Jn 5:44). Otherwise, there is a striking lack of epithets, adjectives and other sorts of descriptions about God (e.g., as God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Most High, Almighty, heavenly). But John's description of God as "the living Father" and "Father" brings together two aspects of this Gospel's characterization of God that are crucial for understanding the narrative of Jesus: not only is the one God the Father of the Son, but also this God is the God of life, the living one, the creator

by whose act all things came into being through the Word (Jn 1:1-13). This presentation of God underscores this Gospel's depiction of Jesus as the one through whom life is given to all the world. The God who gave the world its life in the beginning continues to give it life through the Son.

Although not appearing as a character in the narrative, the Father nevertheless remains active. With few exceptions, the Father acts through and with respect to the Son. Thus, we read that the Father seeks true worshipers (Jn 4:23); works (Jn 5:17, 19-20); loves the Son (Jn 5:20; 10:17; 15:9; 17:23, 26); shows the Son what he is doing (Jn 5:20); raises the dead and gives life (Jn 5:21); gives authority to the Son to have life (Jn 5:26) and executes judgment (Jn 5:27); gives his works to the Son to accomplish (Jn 5:36); sent the Son (Jn 5:37, 38; 6:29, 39, 57; 8:16, 18, 26; 11:42); testifies to Jesus (Jn 5:37; 8:18); set his seal on the Son of Man (Jn 6:27); gives true bread from heaven (Jn 6:32); gives "all" to the Son (Jn 6:37; 13:3; 17:2, 7); "draws" people to Jesus and teaches them (Jn 6:44-45, 65); judges (Jn 8:16); instructs Jesus (Jn 8:28); is with Jesus (Jn 8:29); seeks Jesus' glory (Jn 8:50, 54); knows the Son (Jn 10:15); consecrated the Son (Jn 10:36); hears the Son (Jn 11:41); honors those who serve Jesus (Jn 12:26); glorifies his own name (Jn 12:28); will come and "make his home" with believers (Jn 14:23); will send the Holy Spirit (Jn 14:26); prunes the vine (Jn 15:2); loves the disciples (Jn 16:27; 17:23); glorifies Jesus (Jn 17:1, 24); "keeps" what has been given to the Son (Jn 17:11, 15); sanctifies believers in the truth (Jn 17:17). God is continually acting and active.

And because the action and initiative of God are directed to and through the Son, God is made known through the person and work of Jesus, in his words and signs that bring sustenance, healing and life (Jn 1:18). Although Jesus is the "incarnation of the Word of God, God rarely speaks in John's Gospel. Once a "voice from heaven" (i.e., God) promises that God has and will glorify his name. Typical of John, bystanders do not understand the voice, let alone hear it as the voice of God himself (Jn 12:28-29). Although God speaks and acts, such revelatory activity on the part of God does not necessarily ensure that the revelation will be perceived, in part because God's manifestation is veiled in flesh and in part because human beings need the instruction of the Spirit in order to understand "all truth," including the truth about the incarnation and about God.

John's Gospel places a high premium on seeing, but it also emphatically denies that God has ever been seen by mortals (Jn 1:18; 5:37; 6:46). The only

one who has ever seen God is the Son; therefore, the Son can make him known (Jn 1:18; 6:46). When Philip demands, "Show us the Father" (Jn 14:8), Jesus' reply, "Whoever has seen me [the Son] has seen the Father," does not simply equate the Son with the Father, but rather presents the Son as the genuine embodiment of God's revelatory word and as the one who can truly manifest God in the world. The vision of God desired by Philip and others cannot be separated from perception of Jesus as the one who makes God known.

One of the striking features of John's Gospel is the characterization of the preincarnate Word (Jn 1:1) and the risen Jesus (Jn 20:18) as *theos* ("god"). Additionally, the designation *kyrios* ("Lord"), the LXX's rendering of *yhwh*, applies in John exclusively to Jesus (except Jn 12:38, in an OT quotation). The significance of these designations must still be determined in light of John's references to "the one who alone is God" (Jn 5:44) or "the one true God" (Jn 17:3). The predicate *theos* does not simply equate the Word or the risen Jesus with the God of Israel or identify Jesus as that God. Nor does calling Jesus "Lord" deny the ultimate sovereignty of God. To use Johannine terms, the Son (the Word) is not the Father (God). God is known in and through Jesus, but not simply as Jesus; God's power and prerogatives, especially to give life, are conferred upon and exercised by Jesus. The identification of the Word as God and the acclamation of the risen Jesus as "my Lord and my God" do require the reshaping of one's convictions about God so that this Word is included within that divine identity (Bauckham; Hurtado 1998). That is to say, in Johannine thought one cannot know, honor or believe in God without also knowing, honoring and believing in Jesus, since he is the incarnate Word (*logos*) of God, who makes God known and who mediates God's life to the world.

4. Jesus and God.

One of the perennial questions regarding the identity of God has to do with the relationship of Jesus to God, particularly when that is considered in light of the church's ecumenical creeds and their christological and trinitarian formulations. The Gospels were written and read in ecclesiastical contexts where Jesus was confessed as the risen Lord (Rom 10:9; 1 Cor 12:3; 2 Cor 4:5; see also Acts 2:36; 10:36; Rom 14:11; Phil 2:11; and note the regular NT references to "the Lord Jesus," "Jesus our Lord," the "Lord Jesus Christ" and numerous other variations). That is to say, the context of the Gospels includes not only the OT, Jewish development of it, and the Greco-

Roman world, but also early Christian confessions about Jesus and the practices of rendering him devotion and homage of the kind that the Scriptures demand be rendered to the Lord God alone. This context has shaped the Gospels and shapes the readers of them. Thus, the Gospels bear witness to Jesus' status as Lord in their virtually fixed identification of him as "Lord" or "the Lord."

Since throughout the Gospels "God" refers almost exclusively to the one God of Israel, however the relationship of Jesus to God is construed, that construal must always take account of the insistence on the unity and singularity of God in the OT and Jewish thought. In recent discussion of the patterns of thought and devotion that characterized earliest Christianity, scholars have spoken of the "dyadic pattern" of devotion (Hurtado 1998) and of the inclusion of Jesus in the divine identity of the God of Israel (Bauckham). The earliest believers in Jesus were not ditheists, believing in two gods; they are more deeply shaped by scriptural and Jewish convictions than by the pagan polytheism of their contexts. Jesus is presented not as a God alongside the God of Israel, but rather as properly included in the divine identity of the God of Israel. The Gospel of John makes this clearest when it presents Jesus as the Word of God incarnate.

Because Jesus is conceived, identified, empowered, and known by the power of God's Spirit, the (christological) questions of Jesus' identity are inseparable from the (trinitarian) questions of the relationship of God the Father, Jesus the Son and the Holy Spirit of God. Various unsystematized tripartite affirmations and accounts in the Gospels, including but not limited to Jesus' virginal conception, his baptism and his miracle-working and exorcistic activity, press the question of how God, his Son Jesus and the Spirit are to be understood together. This material in the Gospels charts a trajectory toward later theological formulations without describing Jesus or the relationship of Father, Son and Spirit in terms that are simply identical with those of later formulations. Nevertheless, the formulations in the Gospels and the characterizations of Jesus in the Gospels are among the NT data that put pressure on the early church to think closely about the identity of Jesus, leading ultimately to its ecumenical creedal confessions.

See also GODS, GREEK AND ROMAN; HOLY SPIRIT; INCARNATION; SON OF GOD; WORSHIP.

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GODS, GREEK AND ROMAN

There has been a recent resurgence of interest in the function of Jesus in the religion of early Christians, dealing with crucial issues that have been largely ignored since W. Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* (1913 [ET 1970]) and the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. This German Protestant movement (c. 1880-1930) sought to understand the religion of both the OT and the NT within the context of other religions (see Klauck 2003, 2-7). Talk of late has been that a "new history-of-religions school" has been established (see Fossum 1991)—that is, an international "group of contemporaries with a shared interest in historical

investigation of early devotion to Jesus in the context of the Roman-era religious environment, and a shared conviction that the Jewish religious matrix of the Christian movement is more crucial than was recognized in the older *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*" (Hurtado 2003, 12).

In reality, this new so-called school represents a forceful reaction against the influential views of Bousset, who famously argued that the Christ cult, or the worship of Jesus as divine, first emerged in early "Hellenistic Gentile" circles. In this pagan, polytheistic environment, particularly the Hellenistic communities in Antioch, Damascus and Tarsus, worship of various deities as *kyrioi* was already well known, as indeed it was throughout Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria. Such a setting could have provided the crucial atmosphere, model and influence for the early Christian practice (Bousset, 119-52). In contrast, L. W. Hurtado, one of the main proponents of the new approach, seeks to demonstrate that worship of Jesus as one with God emerged and flourished in the earliest church and in the context of dedicated Jewish Christian monotheism, not in a syncretistic Gentile Christianity that had broken with it (Hurtado 2003; 2005). For Hurtado, the earliest Jewish Christians were already thinking of and worshiping Christ in binitarian terms (a belief in a Godhead of two persons), a development that was a unique "mutation" of Jewish monotheism. A more nuanced version of this argument has emerged lately by J. J. Collins and A. Y. Collins, who argue that "ideas about Jesus as preexistent and divine originated in a Jewish context, in the conviction that he was the messiah, although they were subsequently transformed as Christianity spread in the Gentile world" (Collins and Collins, xiv).

In our present context, many of the Greco-Roman parallels that the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* attempted to apply to the Jesus tradition are no longer considered valid, and the emphasis on the Jewish roots of the NT in general and of Jesus in particular has rightly gained ascendancy in more recent time, especially since the discovery of the *Dead Sea Scrolls. It would seem, then, that the time is ripe for a reconsideration of the wider Greco-Roman context of the Jesus tradition. A first reason is that it is widely acknowledged that Judaism itself was to one degree or another Hellenized by the first century A.D., even in its Palestinian forms (see Hengel 1974, a classic study). Second, it may be impossible to disentangle the Jewish origins of the idea of Jesus' divinity from their later development and transformation in the world of Gentile Christianity (for a

similar argument relating to the historical Jesus and later Christian reflections on Jesus, see Allison). Moreover, as J. Z. Smith has demonstrated, scholars who exclusively emphasize the OT and Jewish background of the NT often harbor tacit assumptions about the pure roots of Christian belief and are unaware of the latent conflicts of ages past that affect and guide their biases.

1. Methodological Considerations
2. Jesus and Dionysus

1. Methodological Considerations.

As we turn now to comparisons between the presentation of Jesus in the Gospels and the deities of the Greco-Roman world, particularly between Jesus and Dionysus, several methodological considerations should be borne in mind.

First, we are not necessarily looking for the “origins” of the image of Jesus in the Gospels. In fact, with respect to history-of-religions parallels (i.e., those outside of the OT and early Judaism), it probably is best to avoid arguments for dependence of one religion on another. A. Evans provides a good example of this kind of genealogical argument, which was characteristic of the original *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* but now should be eschewed: “The concept of Dionysus as developed in ancient Greek religion and particularly in Euripides’ *Bakkhai* was destined to play a major role in the formulation of the myths that turned the historical Jesus of Nazareth into a god” (A. Evans, 145). Rather, J. Z. Smith proposes that biblical religions be compared to other religions analogically, wherein the aim is not to find direct relationships. The comparative process serves to highlight similarities and differences. The connections rest in the mind of the interpreter and help the interpreter understand how things might be reimaged or redescribed. The comparison takes place around a particular set of options specified by the interpreter. This approach does not preclude the borrowing of aspects from one religion by another. However, rather than simply explain origins, Smith proposes that the juxtaposition of various facets of two religions leads to greater insight and awareness of each. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that these comparisons are not merely in the minds of the interpreter. At the very least, the Jesus tradition will have been heard in the context not only of the Judaism of the time but also of the Greco-Roman world in which the authors and their readers lived and breathed and had their being (see further below).

Second, in making comparisons, the interpreter

needs to respect the ancient and modern horizons. Hindsight and global perspective are a constant hindrance to the proper understanding of ancient materials; they are a form of “contamination” of our sources that we need to work hard to avoid. For instance, ancient understanding of the Greco-Roman wine-god Dionysus, who is a special focus of the present article, must be shielded from the prevailing modern (mis)conceptions of the god (see Henrichs 1984; 1993).

There is also the possibility of contamination from (later) Christian doctrines (such contamination often is alleged in studies on Dionysus because of his many similarities to Christian ideas [see, e.g., Edmonds]). For instance, in the preface to his important book *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, S. R. F. Price relates, “Growing up in an Anglican cathedral house I naturally acquired an interest in the significance of establishment religion. So, when I finished my first degree in classics and began my research, I chose to study the official cult of the Roman emperor, a subject normally dismissed as mere politics with no religious meaning” (Price 1984b, xi). With the ontological relationship between the members of the triune Godhead as his default starting point, it is perhaps not surprising, then, that Price’s study would be criticized for dealing with the subject of the “divinity” of the Roman emperor in terms of the ontological relationship between the Caesar and the traditional gods (see Witulski, 32–36; S. J. Friesen writes, “The cults of the emperors were not a question of divine ontology. Rather, they were a sign that the emperors functioned like gods in the organization of social life. . . . If we ask whether imperial cults envisioned a divine or human emperor, we have already framed the question inappropriately. Questions of ontological status were not unknown in the Roman world, but they were relatively unimportant in imperial cultic contexts. The crucial issue was the role of imperial authority in creating the kind of society which pleased the gods” [Friesen, 152]).

Another example of contamination from Christian doctrine comes from the supposed parallels between Dionysus and Jesus in reference to so-called sacraments. As D. Obbink explains, according to a well-known theory, not only orgiastic sacrifice, but also ritual wine drinking in honor of Dionysus, was sacramental in character. Under this theory, Dionysiac sacrifice is viewed as communion, with humans sharing in the vital force of the consumed animal, or in the case of libation and wine drinking, in the “blood” of the grape. In parallel with the bread that

Jesus broke and identified with his body (Mk 14:22 par.), Dionysiac sacrifice included sparagmos (the rending of a live sacrificial victim) and omophagy (the ritual eating of raw flesh), which E. R. Dodd considered the culmination of the ritual and a kind of Christian communion: the worshipers devoured their own god. Obbink argues, however, that there is little evidence that theophagy was ever associated with the Dionysiac omophagy (on the whole issue, see further Henrichs 1993, 28–29).

If classicists and historians of religion have difficulty in setting aside Christian presuppositions in dealing with their purely non-Christian subject matter, how much more NT scholars will struggle to avoid anachronistically importing unwarranted assumptions into their texts, especially as they then seek to compare those texts with Greco-Roman parallels (see, e.g., Klauck 1986 on comparisons of the Lord's Supper tradition [1 Cor 10–11; Mk 14:22–25 par.] with Hellenistic materials). It can all become quite a vicious circle if one is not extremely careful to respect the separate contexts and the more limited horizons of the texts involved on both fronts.

Third, if, as argued above, the Gospels will have been heard in the context of the broader Greco-Roman world in which their authors and audiences lived, then the possibility of “double-coding” exists in our texts. “Double-coding” (a concept introduced into architectural theory in the 1980s by C. Jencks, referring to the combination of modern techniques with traditional building in order for architecture to communicate with the public and a concerned minority, usually other architects) allows the ancient author to communicate simultaneously with a mass, Greco-Roman audience through popular codes (esp. mythology) and an elite minority audience (e.g., Jewish Christians) through the incorporation of OT and Jewish traditions (similar double-coding is found already in Ptolemaic Egypt [see Stephens]).

In a society where mythology was the cultural currency, Greco-Roman mythology provided an all-encompassing frame of reference for everyday Roman experience. Roman emperors in particular regularly used mythological allusions in order to profile themselves to the broader public, and the Roman people were accustomed to seeing their rulers everywhere presented as figures of well-known myths (see, e.g., Champlin 2003, 84–111 on “the power of myth” used by Nero and other rulers in imperial Roman society). And whenever myths were used in this way, they were not expected to provide an exact fit with real life; a superficial appropriateness was deemed quite sufficient.

Against this backdrop of mythology as cultural currency, there is good reason to suspect that the Gospels portrayed Jesus in ways that would have appealed to their audiences’ propensity to see mythological allusions, even though the primary conduit of meaning in the text undoubtedly was OT and Jewish tradition. For example, in the opening titular sentence of the Gospel of Mark, there are several possible examples of this kind of double-coding. Already the word “gospel” (*euangelion*) in Mark 1:1 admits of two simultaneous backgrounds. On the one hand, the term primarily refers to the “good news” of the OT and Jewish hope of restoration that Jesus came to embody and preach about the “kingdom of God and the return from exile (cf. Is 52:1–12) (see Exile and Restoration); this was rather specialized knowledge that perhaps only the better-informed Jewish reader would have appreciated. At the same time, however, *euangelion* (albeit in the plural) is well-known as a technical term of the imperial cult, as seen by its use in the Priene calendar inscription, where it heralds the “good news” of the birth of Augustus Caesar as a universal benefactor and “savior” and as a “god” (see C. A. Evans). Hence, insofar as the Priene inscription refers to the reigning Caesar Augustus as *theos* within the context of the imperial cult (see Witulski, 31–32), attributing the “gospel” to Jesus Christ is tantamount to calling him *theos*, on par with the emperor. As G. N. Stanton rightly observes, “The imperial cult was not *the* source of early Christian use of the [*euangel-*] word group, but it was *the background* against which distinctively Christian usage was forged and first heard” (Stanton, 2). It was arguably the secondary reverberations of the term that helped to propel the gospel to a wider audience.

The term “son of God” (*huios theou*), assuming that it is original to the text, further underscores the case for double-coding in Mark 1:1. On the one hand, the term should be read here, as throughout the Gospel of Mark, primarily in light of OT and Jewish tradition, where it applies to the messiah of Israel (see Collins and Collins; Collins 2000). Again, this understanding requires the “elite” knowledge of the Jewish insider. At the same time, however, especially in the immediate context of *euangelion*, the term “son of God” would have been read by a Greco-Roman audience in light of its application to the Roman emperor (note, e.g., *I. Olympia* 53 [Elis, before A.D. 4]: “Since Emperor Caesar, son of God [*theou huios*], god Sebastos [*theos Sebastos*], has by his benefactions to all men outdone even the Olympian gods [*tous Olympious theous*] . . .”).

2. Jesus and Dionysus.

The rest of the present article focuses on comparing the portrait of Jesus in the Gospels with one particular Greco-Roman god, Dionysus. The approach here is similar to that taken by D. E. Aune, who discusses alleged comparisons between Christ and Heracles (Hercules), the epic hero who achieved apotheosis after death. Whereas Aune comes to a negative conclusion about the comparisons with Heracles ("There is no convincing evidence that Heracles imagery played any significant role in the formulation of legendary episodes about Jesus found in the canonical Gospels" [Aune, 19]), I find the comparisons between Dionysus and Jesus more compelling (on the frequent link between Dionysus and Heracles in Greco-Roman tradition, including that in Roman-era Galilee, see, Freyne 2004).

Aune starts with noting that by the middle of the second century A.D. Justin Martyr recognized the existence of formal parallels between the career of Jesus and a variety of Greek gods and heroes, including Heracles. The parallels include virginal conception, death, resurrection and ascension. Elsewhere Justin, apparently threatened by such parallels, defends the uniqueness of Christ by arguing that the similarities between Heracles and Christ were the result of imitation: "And when they tell that Herakles was strong and travelled over all the world, and was begotten by Zeus of Alcmena, and ascended to heaven when he died, do I not understand that the Scripture speaks of Christ, 'strong like a giant to run his race,' has been in like manner imitated?" (Justin, *Dial.* 69.3). Later, Celsus lists major figures in mythology whom the Greeks thought were originally mortals and eventually became immortals or gods (the Dioscuri, Heracles, Asclepius, Dionysus) but whose divinity was rejected by Christians (Origen, *Cels.* 3.22); Origen, using the traditional strategies of Christian apologists, attempts to refute the divinity of each (Origen, *Cels.* 3.42). Aune argues that this evidence indicates that during the second and third centuries A.D. Christians and pagans alike saw Heracles and Christ as religious rivals.

2.1. Early Christian Tradition on Jesus and Dionysus. In the same way, both early Christians and pagans recognized parallels between Jesus and Dionysus, in a religious rivalry that dates from at least the second century A.D. and continues until late antiquity (see Origen, *Cels.* 2.34; see also Kessler-Dimin; A. Henrichs writes, "After the rise of Christianity, Dionysus had emerged as the leading pagan antagonist of Christ. Dionysus and Christ had much in common. Both had conquered death, both ob-

scured the distinction between blood and wine, and both promised their followers salvation after death" [Henrichs 1984, 212-13]).

Dionysus was one of the most prominent and pervasive gods of the Greco-Roman world. As A. Henrichs notes, "No other Greek god had such an enormous following, or left an equally overwhelming record. Ten thousands of lines of Greek and Latin poetry . . . , hundreds of passages in works of prose, and uncounted inscriptions and art objects from all periods and corners of the ancient world deal with Dionysus and Dionysiac themes" (Henrichs 1979, 6) (for helpful overviews, see Cole; Henrichs 1982; Seaford; *LIMC*, s.v. "Dionysos"). One reason for his extreme popularity was his divine-human quality, which made him the most approachable and sympathetic of all Greco-Roman gods. Henrichs draws particular attention to "the unmediated tension between human and divine that abounds in the Dionysiac record: 'the contradictory identity of the god who is mortal'" (Henrichs 1993, 18). Indeed, the myth of Dionysus Zagreus "carries the anthropomorphic conception of the Greek gods to its very limits. Dionysus as a god is reduced to extremely human dimensions, which include suffering and even death; but in the end his immortality is confirmed. . . . The striking conceptual correlation of murder victim and immortal god that defines Dionysus as *an immortal mortal*, a god who has experienced human mortality but whose ultimate immortality confirms his divine status" (Henrichs 1993, 26-27 [italics added]).

No wonder, then, that by the second century A.D. at the latest we see signs of Christians regarding Dionysus and his cult as a definite force to be reckoned with. Christian apologists begin to articulate how Christ and his cult surpass Dionysus and his cult as the true mysteries. For example, Justin Martyr felt compelled to account for the similarities between the figure of Jesus and Greek deities, in particular Dionysus, through the introduction of the doctrine of "diabolical mimicry," which had occurred centuries before the birth of Jesus: the demons said "that Dionysus had been the son of Zeus, and handed down that he was the discoverer of the vine, and they ascribe wine among his mysteries, and taught that, having been torn in pieces, he ascended into heaven. And since through the prophecy of Moses it had not been expressly signified whether he who was to come would be the Son of God, and whether, mounted on a foal, he would remain on earth or ascend into heaven, and because the name 'foal' could signify either the foal of an ass or a horse, they, not

knowing whether the predicted one would bring the foal of an ass or a horse as the sign of his coming, nor whether he was the Son of God or of a man, as we said before, said that Bellerophon, a man born of men, had himself gone up to heaven on the horse Pegasus" (Justin, 1 *Apol.* 54). Similarly, Clement of Alexandria derides a long list of mysteries (Clement, *Protr.* 2.12.1–13.5), including those of Dionysus; however, in promoting Christianity (Clement, *Protr.* 12.120.1–2), he is capable of trying to supersede them only by using the vocabulary of the mystery religions, particularly the Dionysiac mysteries as represented in Euripides' *Bacchae* (see Hanson, 927–28).

2.2. Jewish Tradition on Dionysus and the God of the Jews. We find a similar approach to Dionysus already in early Jewish tradition. From 2 Maccabees in the second century B.C. to the Fifth Sibyl in the second century A.D., we can see evidence of the God of the Jews triumphing over Dionysus and his cult by outdoing or overcoming Dionysus on his own terms—that is, by "out-Dionysusing" Dionysus. This triumphalism is all the more significant insofar as in the broader Greco-Roman world the God of the Jews was actually identified with Dionysus (see J. M. Scott 2008, 48–54). For instance, Plutarch and Tacitus independently provide evidence for a widespread identification of the God of the Jews with Dionysus in the Greco-Roman world (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 4.6.1–2; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5.4–5), which was based on comparisons between the acts of worship in the two cults. Perhaps aware of such comparisons, Hellenistic Jews both in the Diaspora and in the Palestinian homeland sought to show the superiority of their God over Dionysus (see J. M. Scott 2008, 50n55).

For example, after the war of independence from the Seleucids, 2 Maccabees states that the Jews celebrated the purification of the *temple by carrying *thyrsos* in a procession marking a new Sukkoth-like festival (2 Macc 10:7). By using the term *thyrsos*, an ubiquitous Dionysiac emblem normally composed of ivy, in the context of a procession during a festival, the text clearly alludes to the foregoing context. There, the beginning of the persecution under Antiochus IV Epiphanes is described, when the Jews were compelled to wear wreaths of ivy and to walk in the procession during a festival in honor of Dionysus (2 Macc 6:7). Thus, 2 Maccabees frames the crisis period by means of strong references to Dionysus and his cult. The new Jewish festival is obviously meant as a kind of anti-Dionysiac victory celebration to show that the God of the Jews had "out-Dionysused" Dionysus and his devotees. The God of

the Jews is greater than Dionysus, and Judaism is the true Dionysiac mysteries.

Another example of this triumphalism is found in 3 Maccabees, whose date is, unfortunately, disputed and could even be as late as the reign of Emperor Gaius Caligula. In any case, the story itself is set in the time of Ptolemy IV Philopator, a renowned devotee of Dionysus who promoted the cult of Dionysus with great gusto. When Philopator returned from Jerusalem and looked for a way to avenge his treatment there, he began a systematic persecution of the Jews of Alexandria, including forced initiation into the Dionysiac mysteries: "All Jews shall be subjected to a census registration and to the status of slaves. Those who object to this are to be taken by force and put to death; those who are registered are also to be branded on their bodies by fire and with the ivy-leaf symbol of Dionysus, and they shall also be reduced to their former limited status." In order that he might not appear to be an enemy of all, he inscribed below: "But if any of them prefer to join those who have been initiated into the mysteries, they shall have equal citizenship with the Alexandrians" (3 Macc 2:28–30). As the story unfolds, Philopator's many attempts to persecute the Jews of Alexandria and then kill Egyptian Jewry as a whole are thwarted by divine intervention. 3 Maccabees alludes to Euripides' *Bacchae* in order to spotlight Ptolemy IV Philopator as a Pentheus-like *theomachos*, or "fighter against God," and to emphasize that the God of the Jews has outdone the persecutor by turning against the king the very emblems and instruments of Dionysus by which he had sought to destroy the Jews. In the end, Philopator makes a complete about-face, acknowledges the God of the Jews, and provides a festival for the Jews, who thus are saved, using Dionysiac emblems to celebrate their triumph.

Finally, we may mention briefly Philo of Alexandria's *De vita contemplativa* as yet another example of the trend that we are observing (see J. M. Scott 2008), although this time it has nothing to do with Seleucid or Ptolemaic persecutors trying to impose the worship of Dionysus on the Jews. Instead, Philo portrays the Therapeutae as exemplary Jewish initiates into the true Dionysiac mysteries who aspire to the beatific vision of God. As Philo puts it, "Carried away by a heaven-sent passion of love, they remain rapt and possessed like bacchanals or corybants until they see the object of their yearning" (Philo, *Contempl.* 12). The Alexandrian explicitly contrasts the Therapeutae, with their sober, orderly lives of quiet contemplation, to the drunken debauchery that fre-

quently attends the ritualized drinking at symposia and the material luxuriousness often associated with the celebration of the Dionysiac mysteries. Positively, however, Philo describes the Therapeutae as being “initiated into the mysteries of the sanctified life” (Philo, *Contempl.* 25) through their daily study in their separate chambers, and when they come together as a group, they celebrate a feast together, replete with choir music. As Philo describes it, “Then when each choir has separately done its own part in the feast, having drunk as in the Bacchic rites of the strong drink of God’s love they mix and together become a single choir, a copy of the choir set up of old beside the Red Sea in honor of the wonders that happened there” (Philo, *Cont.* 85). In order to ensure that his Diaspora Judaism remains competitive and attractive in the marketplace of other religious options, Philo adopts the language and ideas of the Dionysiac mysteries in describing a group that, for him, is exemplary of his own ideals, but he does so without fundamentally compromising his own belief and practice. To the contrary, he thereby expresses the superiority of the Jewish cult over the Dionysiac.

These three examples from earlier Jewish tradition, combined with the aforementioned examples from later Christian tradition, reveal a trend: the God of the Jews and his cult are similar to, but much better than, Dionysus and his cult. Indeed, in several test matches, the God of the Jews and his cult triumph over the competition.

2.3. Jesus and Dionysus in Mark’s Gospel. In view of all that has been discussed to this point, it is appropriate here to explore whether, in addition to the obvious and fundamental OT and Jewish matrix of Mark’s presentation, the Markan portrayal of Jesus also contains Dionysiac allusions intended to appeal to a wider Greco-Roman audience. In keeping with the general cultural expectation that the audience was accustomed to detecting them, we expect to find allusions that have a natural, subtle quality but not necessarily an exact, one-to-one correspondence with reality. Although there is no direct statement that Jesus is the new Dionysus, it is the composite picture of Jesus in Mark’s Gospel that makes it possible that Jesus is implicitly being compared to Dionysus. The more we know about Dionysus, the easier it is to see these accumulating associations in the Gospel. In the following, two examples of what I am suggesting are offered, with the caveat that a complete study of Mark’s Gospel would be required in order to appreciate the full scope of the possible allusions.

First, given the double-coding that we observed in Mark 1:1, Mark’s portrait of Jesus from the very outset implicitly juxtaposes Jesus with the Roman emperor as a god and as a son of a god. In that case, it may be significant that the Roman emperors, like the Hellenistic monarchs before them (see Henrichs 1999, 246-48), often identified themselves with Dionysus. For instance, Philo criticizes Emperor Gaius’s attempted self-identification with Dionysus—that is, “his most godless assumption of godship” (Philo, *Legat.* 77)—whereby he began likening himself to the so-called demigods, Dionysus and Heracles and the Dioscuri (Philo, *Legat.* 78). According to Athenaeus, Gaius, like Anthony and many Hellenistic monarchs before him, was named “new Dionysus,” and he actually put on the full Dionysiac outfit and went out in public and sat in judgment dressed in that way (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 4.148b-d; on Gaius’s Dionysiac pretensions, see Cassius Dio, *Hist.* 59.26.5-9; on Plutarch’s critique of Nero for identifying himself with Dionysus, among other gods [Plutarch, *Adul. amic.* 56e], see K. Scott 1929, 121-22).

Second, Mark’s portrayal of Jesus bears a strong resemblance to the role of Dionysus as the divine Stranger. The idea that the Greco-Roman gods sometimes traveled about in human form and encountered unsuspecting people is, of course, a commonplace in antiquity (cf. Acts 14:8-18 [see Flückiger-Guggenheim]). However, the story of Dionysus is quite distinctive, insofar as it deals with a god who is a mortal by birth and whose consistent characteristic is suffering. Normally, the offspring of gods and human women were regarded as demigods or heroes in Greek tradition (see Burkert, 203-8). There was a “radical separation of the realm of the gods from the realm of the dead, of the Olympian from the Chthonic. Whoever died is not a god; whoever is honoured as dwelling in his grave in the earth must have been a mortal. . . . The gods are elevated as an exclusive group into an ideal Olympus; whatever is left behind is subsumed under the category of demigods” (Burkert, 205). But there is one very important exception to this general rule: Dionysus, who was born of Zeus by a mortal woman, Semele. In Hesiod’s *Theogony*, Dionysus becomes the last of the Olympian children of Zeus after the latter’s ascent to supreme power and the only Olympian with a mortal mother. Dionysus is thus an illegitimate offspring of Zeus.

By virtue of the unusual circumstances of his double birth (both from Semele and secondarily from Zeus), Dionysus has a marginal status. As J. S. Clay points out, “Dionysos, as the last of the

Olympians and, at the same time, the first product of such a union, may be considered marginal from the outset" (Clay, 84-85). An intense indeterminacy dogs Dionysus. "Almost all stories about Dionysos follow the same pattern: the new god arrives as the Stranger (even, or especially, in his native Thebes); he is unrecognized, his divinity denied; he is abused, hunted, confined. Those who finally recognize his power and accept his divinity are rewarded, while his opponents are struck with madness and destroyed, usually in a ghastly fashion. Whether his opponents are Lyncus, Pentheus, Ikarios, the Tyrrhenian sailors, or the daughters of Proitus, the story with its nightmarish regularity is always the same" (Clay, 85). Clay describes "the leit-motif of Dionysiac mythology" as "the myriad difficulties the new and strange god encounters in asserting his divinity" (Clay, 91).

The relevance of this comparative material for Mark's Gospel is clear: Jesus, the Son of God, also appears on the scene as a divine Stranger (cf. Mk 1:1-11); he goes about asserting his divine authority, looking for recognition and acceptance of his divine identity; however, his audiences, even his most intimate disciples and the inhabitants in his own hometown of Nazareth, fail to understand who he is, and he hides them for their obduracy and lack of perception; finally, he is persecuted, hunted, arrested and killed, but not before he had promised to return in triumph and judgment. The basic pattern is the same in each case. Interestingly enough, similar observations were made independently by the classicist J. Taylor in his recent book *Classics and the Bible: Hospitality and Recognition* (Taylor, 61-68).

We know that later Christians and pagans read the Gospel portrayals of Jesus in light of Dionysus. The question remains whether any of the Gospels intended to present Jesus in this way (see Freyne 2000; Hengel 1987; 1995). The structural similarities between the storyline of Mark's Gospel and the aforementioned pattern and leitmotif of Dionysiac mythology suggest a strong possibility of intentional double-coding on the part of the first Gospel. In that case, we may even ask whether Mark's portrayal of Jesus contains a hint of the triumphalism that we observed above in Jewish and Christian tradition.

See also CHRISTOLOGY; HELLENISM; ROME.

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GOLGOTHA. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

GOSPEL: GENRE

The issue of Gospel genre concerns not only the literary nature of the canonical Gospels (not to mention the other texts often called "gospels" in both ancient and modern times) and their relationship to the literary milieu of the first-century A.D. ancient Mediterranean as evidenced in Greco-Roman and in Jewish writings, but also, and even more importantly for this dictionary, how the literary genre of the Gospels affects their portrayal of their central character, Jesus of Nazareth. Therefore, this article will begin with a historical survey of critical debate about the genre of the Gospels and the current scholarly consensus and then go on to consider the implications of this for the Gospels' portraits of Jesus and their respective *Christologies, before concluding with some recent developments and wider issues.

1. Historical Survey
2. Toward a New Consensus: The Gospels as Ancient Biography
3. Four Biographies of Jesus
4. Continuing Debate

1. Historical Survey.

1.1. Traditional Approaches to Reading the Gospels. During ancient and medieval periods the Bible

was often interpreted on several levels: the literal meaning provided facts, while an allegorical interpretation related the text to the story of redemption; moral approaches gave ethical instructions, and an anagogical reading applied it to the spiritual pilgrimage. The Reformers rejected all levels except for the literal, and on this basis the Gospels were interpreted as history, telling the story of Jesus, sometimes being seen as biographies. They not only formed the basis for Christian preaching, but also functioned as a source for romantic "lives" such as E. Rénan's *Life of Jesus* (1863). However, during the nineteenth century modern literary biographies began to explain a person's character by considering the person's upbringing, formative years, schooling, psychological development and so on; furthermore, the subject would be set within the context of the main events of the subject's time. With their relatively shorter length and narrower focus, the Gospels increasingly began to look unlike such biographies, especially as historical and critical analysis developed through the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Therefore, the scholarly focus moved away from the portraits of Jesus in the Gospels to the quest for the historical Jesus (see Quest of the Historical Jesus).

1.2. Form-critical Approaches to the Uniqueness of Gospel Genre. Unsurprisingly, therefore, scholars such as K. Schmidt (1923) and R. Bultmann (1921) refused to recognize the Gospels as biographies about Jesus: these texts have no interest in his human personality, appearance or character, nor do they tell us anything about the rest of his life, other than his brief public ministry of preaching, teaching and healing; furthermore, they conclude with an extensive concentration on the events around his death and its aftermath. Instead, form critics saw the Gospels as popular folk literature, collections of short literary units (pericopae) handed down through the *oral tunnel, strung together by the Gospel writers like beads on a string. Far from being coherent biographies of Jesus, the Gospels were unique forms of literature "of their own genre," *sui generis* (Bultmann 1972, 371-74). For Bultmann and Schmidt, this unique genre had theological implications about God's revelation of his word in Jesus the Christ, rather than being biographical accounts of the human life of Jesus of Nazareth. In addition, such *"form-critical" approaches to the Gospels meant that they were not read as whole or coherent narratives. Instead, the concentration on each individual pericope moved the focus to the passage's *Sitz im Leben* ("setting in life") within the preaching of the early church. Mean-

while, the author was regarded as a mere stenographer, recording the stories from oral tradition, rather than as a historian or writer with any literary intentions. The quest for the historical Jesus concentrated instead on peeling back the layers in the pericopae to reveal any authentic sayings of Jesus, on the one hand, and the history of the early Christian churches, on the other hand.

1.3. Redaction-critical Approaches and Gospel Communities. Historical research into early Christian communities required careful study of how Matthew and Luke edited Mark's account (assuming Markan priority), which revealed each writer's theology, purposes and methods as they acted as an "editor" (*Redaktor*, in German) (see Redaction Criticism). The classic redaction studies were undertaken by G. Bornkamm (1963 [1948]), on Matthew's revision of Mark for use within the new religious community of the church, and H. Conzelmann (1954), on Luke's understanding of the events of Jesus taking place "in the middle of time" between Israel and the church. Such redaction-critical approaches not only restored the intention of each evangelist, but also led to theories about the communities that produced the Gospels. The Gospels were seen as "community" documents, where the history of the community is overlaid upon the story of Jesus, giving a "two-tier" approach to reading them. Therefore, interpretation began to focus on the development of groups such as the Matthean community (Stendahl) or the Johannine community (Brown; Martyn). Thus, both form- and redaction-critical approaches ended up concentrating more on the early Christian communities and churches than on the figure of Jesus himself.

1.4. Literary-critical Approaches and Biographical Narrative. However, the redaction critics' approach to the writers as individual theologians with particular purposes made possible again questions about authorial intention and literary aspirations. The development of new literary approaches viewed them as conscious writers or artists, and attention began to be given to techniques of composition and narrative skills such as plot, irony and characterization, through the work of D. Rhoads and D. Michie, J. Kingsbury and R. Tannehill. Such literary analyses inevitably also raised the issue of the genre of the gospels and their place within first century literature. G. Stanton (1974) first examined the possibility of biographical material about Jesus of Nazareth within the Gospels once more, and later work by C. Talbert (1977) and D. Aune argued against the scholarly consensus about the Gospels' literary

uniqueness, which had dominated the twentieth century; instead, the Gospels were once again compared to ancient biographies, and from this came a renewed interest in their accounts of Jesus.

2. Toward a New Consensus: The Gospels as Ancient Biography.

R. Burridge's 1992 monograph on the genre of the Gospels compared them with ancient "lives," arguing that such recent literary, narrative approaches required more undergirding in both genre theory and classical literature if they were to succeed in changing the assumed paradigm inherited from Bultmann and the form critics toward a renewed biographical emphasis on Jesus.

2.1. Literary Theory of Genre. In both ancient and modern literary theory a proper understanding of genre is crucial for the interpretation of any text or any other form of communication. Communication theory concerns three main elements: transmitter, communication and receiver; or, encoder, message and decoder. In written works this becomes author or producer(s), text and audience or reader(s). Immediately the importance of discerning the kind of communication becomes clear. If the sender uses flags to transmit Morse code (through long or short flaps), but the receiver only understands semaphore (where flag position is important), there will be inevitable problems in communication. Both parties must use the same code or language, and so valid interpretation depends on a correct identification of the kind of communication, or genre. We do not listen to a fairy tale in the same way as to a news broadcast; each has its own conventions, expectations and rules. This is even more important in ancient texts such as the Gospels, where we neither know who the author was nor have any external evidence about the first audience or readership. All that remains is the actual communication, the text itself, and any clues that it contains about its literary origin or intended destination.

Thus, genre is a key convention guiding both the composition and the interpretation of writings. Genre forms a "contract" or agreement, often unspoken or unwritten, or even unconscious, between an author and a reader by which the author composes according to a set of expectations, and the reader interprets the work following the same conventions, which provide an initial idea of what to expect. Genre is identified through a wide range of "generic features" that may be signaled in advance through a notice or preface; however, they are also embedded within the text's formal and structural

composition ("external features") and its content, style, mood and character ("internal features"). When taken together, such generic features communicate the "family resemblance" of a group of works and thus enable us to identify the genre of a given text and interpret it accordingly, even if we do not know the original author or audience. Works exhibiting a similar range of generic features belong in the same family and may share some features with neighboring genres, while other works may reveal completely different conventions and situations. Therefore, the interpretation of a text, particularly when the original author, audience or situation is unknown, as with the Gospels, can be greatly assisted by comparing it with other works exhibiting the same generic family resemblance.

2.2. The Generic Features of Ancient Biography. Therefore, Burridge (1992; 2004) identified a range of generic features that distinguished ancient biography from neighboring genres, such as historiography or encomiastic rhetoric. To determine whether the Gospels are a form of ancient biography, we must examine the generic features shared by ancient "lives" (*bioi*): *biographia* itself does not appear until the ninth-century writer, Photius, while the modern word *biography* implies the other aspects of psychological, political or sociological analysis derived from this genre's development in the nineteenth century. Instead, we must consider a wide range of ancient texts that were generally known as *bioi* or *vitae* in the ancient world, written prior to or just after the Gospels' composition. Drawing on Greek, Roman and Jewish origins, such works form a discrete but flexible genre that developed over the several centuries either side of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth.

From the formal or structural perspective, these works are composed in continuous prose narrative, usually between ten thousand and twenty thousand words, which is about the length of a typical scroll of thirty to thirty-five feet in length. Such a relatively short compass, compared with modern biographies, means that Greco-Roman *bioi* do not cover a person's whole life in chronological sequence, and they have no psychological analysis of the subject's character. Instead, they may begin with a brief mention of the hero's ancestry, family or city, birth or an occasional anecdote about childhood; but usually the narrative moves rapidly on to the public debut later in life. Lives of generals, politicians or statesmen tend to be more chronologically ordered, depicting their great deeds and virtues, while accounts of philosophers or writers are more anecdotal, arranged

topically around collections of material to display their ideas and teachings. While the author may claim to provide information about the subject, often the underlying aims include apologetic, polemic or didactic. Most ancient biographies treat the subject's death in great detail, since it often reveals the true character, gives the definitive teaching, or includes the greatest deed of the subject. Finally, detailed analysis of the subjects of the verbs in ancient biographies reveals another feature. While most narratives have a wide variety of subjects, it is characteristic of ancient biography that attention stays focused on one particular person with one-fourth to one-third of the verbs dominated by the subject, while another 15 to 30 percent occurs in sayings, speeches or quotations from the person (see Burridge 2004, 308-21). This provides the focus for the whole work through the author's interpretation of the person being portrayed.

2.3. The Biographical Genre of the Gospels. Like such works, the Gospels are continuous prose narratives of the length of a single scroll, comprising stories, anecdotes, sayings and speeches within a relatively short space to depict their understanding of the character of Jesus of Nazareth. Therefore, their focus on Jesus' public ministry from his baptism to death, and on his words and deeds, his teaching and his ministry, is not very different from the content of other ancient biographies. The concentration of 15 to 20 percent devoted to the last week of Jesus' life, his *death and the *resurrection, which looked peculiar to Bultmann and the form critics, reflects the similar amount of space given to the subject's death and subsequent events in biographical works by Plutarch, Tacitus, Nepos and Philostratus. Furthermore, verbal analysis demonstrates that Jesus is the subject of one-fourth of the verbs in Mark's Gospel, with a further one-fifth spoken by him in his teaching and parables. About half of the verbs in the other Gospels either have Jesus as the subject or are on his lips. Thus, as other ancient biographies focus on their subject's teachings and activities, Jesus' deeds and words are vitally important for the evangelists' portraits. Therefore, these marked similarities of form and content demonstrate that the Gospels have both the external and internal generic features of ancient biographies and must be interpreted biographically in a similar manner, as particular depictions by the evangelists of the life and ministry, death and aftermath of Jesus of Nazareth.

3. Four Biographies of Jesus.

The biographical genre of the Gospels has a herme-

neutical effect in understanding of their subject in christological terms. We noted above that form critics concluded that the Gospels were not really about Jesus; instead, these scholars proposed a wide variety of subjects, such as the *kingdom of heaven, the early *kerygma*, Christian faith, discipleship and so forth, while redaction critics saw the subject matter closely connected with the particular concerns of the specific community within which and for which a Gospel was written. However, these approaches ignored the Gospels' genre. Reading the Gospels as ancient biography leads us to expect the depiction of one person, the subject, understood by another person, the author. Instead of a form-critical understanding of the Gospels as passion narratives preceded by disjointed pericopae strung together, biographical readings show how each evangelist describes the passion as the culmination of the overall portrayal of Jesus within his Gospel. Furthermore, there is a generic argument for assuming Markan priority, as Matthew and Luke conform Mark's pattern more closely to other ancient lives. Irenaeus applies the traditional images of the four faces of the cherubim (Ezek 1) and the four living creatures around the throne (Rev 4) to the four Gospels' accounts of "the disposition of the Son of God" (*Haer.* 3.11.8-9). Following this, Burridge (1994; 2005) used these four images—lion, human, ox, eagle—as pictorial ways of understanding the four different christological portraits of the Gospels.

3.1. Mark's Roaring, Rushing Lion. While many ancient biographies include something about the subject's origin, genealogy, family or city and the early years, they move rapidly to the person's public debut in adult life. Mark goes straight to Jesus' baptism by John the Baptist and thus depicts Jesus as fully grown almost from nowhere (Mk 1:9), who then rushes around everywhere *euthys* ("immediately"); this favorite word of Mark occurs ten times in Mark 1 alone, and some forty times in the whole Gospel, which is about as often as in the whole of the rest of the NT, adding pace and vividness to Mark's portrait. Jesus is misunderstood by everyone, including his family and friends, the authorities (Mk 3:19-35) and, remarkably, his own followers; traditionally, the disciples' failure to understand Jesus in Mark is interpreted as polemic against differing early church groups and leaders with "traditions in conflict" (see Weeden). On the other hand, the biographical hermeneutic understands everything in terms of the portrayal of the central character; thus, Mark shows that Jesus is hard to understand and tough to follow, and therefore readers should not be

surprised to find the Christian life difficult sometimes. The interlude of Mark 8–10 shows Jesus as the enigmatic wonder-worker who binds people to secrecy; the eschatological prophet who will die in Jerusalem; the Messiah who will suffer; both *Son of God and *Son of Man. Rather than explaining any conflict between such titles as deriving from different historical traditions or problems in early Christian communities in the form- or redaction-critical manner described above, a biographical narrative approach holds them all together, as the text does, in a complementary tension. This complex portrayal of the main character is further developed as Jesus comes to find Jerusalem and the temple as barren as the fig tree and prophecies that they will face the same destruction (Mk 11–13). He suffers and dies alone in dark desolation, with only a single utterance from the cross: “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” (Mk 15:34); yet, for the first time in Mark this causes a human being to recognize Jesus as “Son of God,” but this person is an outsider, the centurion. The passion narrative thus brings to a climax all Mark’s christological themes throughout the Gospel, while even the ending is full of enigma, fear and awe (Mk 16:1–8).

3.2. *Matthew’s Human Face: The Teacher of Israel.* While Mark’s Jesus is dark and enigmatic, Matthew has a different, clearer atmosphere, akin to his symbol of the human face. Aligning his account more closely to other ancient biographies, Matthew includes brief sections about Jesus’ Jewish background, *genealogy and *birth (Mt 1–2). When he starts his ministry, Jesus is another *Moses, who teaches from *mountains (Mt 5:1) and fulfills the *law and the *prophets, giving his teaching in five great blocks, reminding the reader of the Pentateuch (Mt 5–7; 10; 13; 18; 24–25). Unfortunately, this brings him into conflict with the leaders of Israel. Uniquely in Matthew, Jesus begins by telling his disciples to go only to “the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (Mt 10:6); however, as they reject Jesus and his message while others, such as the Canaanite woman, accept it, a new community is “called” into being, the *ekklesia*, leaving only woes for the leaders of Israel (Mt 15:21–28; 16:18; 18:17; 23). While Matthew includes most of Mark’s passion narrative, he has a more awesome atmosphere: the cry of abandonment is answered by an earthquake and resurrections; no wonder, then, that unlike Mark’s lone centurion, here everyone realizes that this was truly the Son of God (Mt 27:51–54; cf. Mk 15:39). Finally, the resurrection continues this supernatural atmosphere with further earthquakes and a new Israel on

a mountain to receive Jesus’ commission to go to the Gentiles; the one who was described as “Emmanuel” at his birth promises to be with us forever at his final departure (Mt 1:23; 28:1–20). Again, the climax brings all Matthew’s biographical themes full circle in his portrayal of Jesus.

3.3. *Luke’s Universal Beast of Burden.* Unlike Matthew’s Jewish perspective, Luke begins with a Greek periodic preface to make clear Jesus’ universal significance, and he takes the genealogy back beyond Abraham to Adam, son of God (Lk 1:1–4; 3:38). While Matthew’s infancy stories concern wise men and the royal court, Luke includes the birth of the forerunner, *John the Baptist, and is more interested in women, such as Elizabeth and *Mary, and in lowly shepherds; he also includes a story of the child prefiguring the adult, typical of many ancient biographies, as the twelve-year-old Jesus is about “my Father’s business” in the temple (Lk 2:41–51). He sets Jesus within the historical perspective of both Israel’s history and contemporary Roman rule (Lk 1:5–80; 2:1; 3:1) and employs a threefold geographical structure, with the journey from *Galilee to *Jerusalem (Lk 9:51–19:28) dividing the earlier ministry in Galilee from the final confrontation in Jerusalem. The disciples are depicted more positively and include women (Lk 8:1–2), as well as the mission of the seventy(-two) (Lk 10:1–16), and the crowds are more enthusiastic (Lk 12:1; 23:5). The Pharisees invite Jesus to dinner parties (Lk 7:36; 11:37; 14:1), while the real opposition comes from the powerful religious leaders in Jerusalem. As befits Luke’s usual symbol of the ox, the universal beast of burden around the ancient world, throughout the narrative Jesus is concerned for the poor, the lost and unacceptable, outcasts, *women, *Samaritans and *Gentiles; he is also the person of *prayer (Lk 11:1–4). Thus, the passion narrative shows him concerned for the women of Jerusalem (Lk 23:27–31), praying for forgiveness for the soldiers and the penitent thief (Lk 23:34, 43), and entrusting himself to his Father (Lk 23:46). After the resurrection, history and geography run the other way, from Israel’s past to the world’s future, moving away from Jerusalem (Lk 24:44–47). Luke’s Gospel ends as it began, “in Jerusalem with great joy, in the temple blessing God” (Lk 24:51–52; cf. Lk 1:5–23). Such a clear and balanced biographical narrative reflects a single author, not a community’s interests, and provides a united christological hermeneutic for Luke’s account of Jesus.

3.4. *John’s High-flying, All-seeing Eagle.* In the OT eagles “nest on high” as symbols of God’s providential care and also his judgment (see Ex 19:4; Deut

28:49; Job 39:27-29), all of which are true of John's portrait of Jesus. To understand where Jesus has come from, he goes back beyond the Synoptics' beginnings with Jesus' baptism, or his birth and precursor, to before time, in the beginning, with God (Jn 1:1-18). Jesus is constantly at center stage, and he is characterized, as in most ancient writing, by indirect means as the author interweaves "signs" and discourse, revealing the effect of prolonged meditation and theological reflection upon the person of Jesus: he is the Son, equal with the Father (Jn 10:30), yet totally dependent on him (Jn 5:19). Again, rather than seeing this as a result of differing sources in the manner of Bultmann, the biographical concentration on the final text allows for a creative tension in the overall picture of the subject. Opposition from Jewish leaders develops through the first half (Jn 2-12); as the tension comes to a climax, Jesus gathers his disciples to his breast, washes their feet and explains what will happen (Jn 13-17). The hour of *glory is also the passion: throughout, Jesus is serenely in control, directing events (Jn 19:11), organizing his mother and his closest disciple (Jn 19:26-27), fulfilling Scripture (Jn 19:28) until finally "it is accomplished" (Jn 19:30). After the resurrection he appears to comfort Mary Magdalene (Jn 20:14), challenge Thomas (Jn 20:26) and restore Peter (Jn 21:15-19). Once again, we have a clear portrait of the subject, as Jesus is in control throughout, from his origins with God through his ministry to the culmination of his death and resurrection.

3.5. Plurality Within the Canon. Given this understanding of the Gospels, these four individual accounts, each concerned with the resolution of its particular themes, have been deliberately composed, not as a by-product of oral tradition or the result of committees or communities, but by four single writers, each of whom wants to portray a particular view of Jesus in the manner of ancient biography. This also helps to explain how the fourfold canon came to be used so quickly in the early fathers. G. Stanton (1997) and M. Hengel have provoked renewed interest in the "fourfold Gospel" and its theological implications. It is suggested that the early church's preservation of four Gospels together may have stimulated the development of the codex in preference to single scrolls. Furthermore, the plurality of the Gospels' witness was both a problem for the church fathers and a gift to opponents such as Celsus, Porphyry and Julian (and in continuing debate with, for instance, Muslims today). This could easily have been solved by choosing one Gospel as "the authorized biography" (as Marcion did with Luke) or

combining the four Gospels into a mixed narrative (as in Tatian's *Diatessaron*). The fact that the early church chose to keep four separate accounts, despite the problem of plurality and possible conflict, demonstrates the recognition that these works were coherent accounts of Jesus written by four authors for the whole church. A biographical reading of the four Gospels within the limits of the canon provides both "a stimulus and a control" for developing our own accounts and portraits of Jesus today (see Morgan).

4. Continuing Debate.

Since the end of the twentieth century the biographical understanding of the Gospel genre has become the accepted scholarly consensus (for a fuller account of how the consensus changed, see Burridge 2004, 252-88). It has been queried by A. Collins, who similarly rejects the unique, form-critical approach but prefers to see Mark more like a historical monograph. Comparisons by L. Wills and by M. Vines of the Gospels with early novels, especially of Jewish origin, have not gained great acceptance. Instead, the biographical genre of the Gospels has been subsequently confirmed in detailed work by scholars such as D. Frickenschmidt. Even L. Hurtado (2003) now argues that the Gospels are "Jesus books" with formal similarities to Greco-Roman *bioi*, resulting in a clear christological focus. The acceptance of this new consensus can also be seen through debates at various international conferences of the Society of Biblical Literature and the Society for New Testament Studies, culminating in a twentieth-anniversary conference in Barcelona (2012) and another about the pope's interpretation of Jesus of Nazareth (2013). Therefore, Gospel scholars and commentators usually now take the biographical genre of the Gospels as their starting point, while the main debate has moved on to further implications of this approach. The last two decades have seen the widespread acceptance of the biographical genre of the Gospels, but also the fruitful development of several continuing avenues for scholarly debate and research that follow from interpreting the Gospels christologically, as biographical portraits of Jesus Christ.

4.1. Audiences and Eyewitnesses. R. Bauckham has taken the debate about the genre of the Gospels in several interesting directions in recent years. First, in a collection of essays by various scholars developing the idea (Bauckham 1998), he argued that the Gospel's biographical genre reinforced the conclusion that they were written "for all Christians" rather than for specific early Christian communities.

The continuing debate aroused by this is demonstrated by another collection edited by E. Klink. Meanwhile, Bauckham himself has provoked further controversy over the contribution of eyewitnesses to the formation of the Gospels' accounts of Jesus (Bauckham 2006).

4.2. *The Gospels and the Absence of Jewish or Rabbinic Biography.* It is notable that this comparison of the genre of the gospels has been primarily with Greco-Roman biography. Individual gospel pericopae are often studied alongside rabbinic stories and anecdotes (e.g., compare the question about the greatest commandment in Mark 12:28-34 with the *B. Šabb.* 31a, where Shammai and Hillel are asked to teach the law to a Gentile enquirer standing on one leg). If the form-critical view is correct that the gospels are a collection of such stories strung together like beads on a string, similar works could be constructed about Hillel, Shammai or other rabbis. Yet Jesus seems to have been the only first-century A.D. Jewish teacher about whom such *bioi* were written. Both J. Neusner (1984; 1988) and P. Alexander have explored various reasons why the rabbinic traditions contain no works of a similar genre to the Gospels. The rabbinic material contains enough biographical elements (through sage stories, narratives, precedents and death scenes) to enable an editor to compile a "life of Hillel" or others that would have been recognizable as ancient biography. Literary or generic reasons alone are therefore not sufficient to explain this curious absence of rabbinic biography. Burridge has argued that to write a biography is to use a genre that places a person at center stage, where only the Torah should be (Burridge 2000, 155-56). Therefore, the biographical genre of the Gospels is making an explicit theological claim about the centrality of Jesus: the christological statement that God is revealed in the life, death and resurrection of this person.

4.3. *A Biographical Approach to Biblical Ethics.* This biographical narrative approach to the Gospels makes it clear that the Gospels are not just collections of Jesus' sayings (like the *Gospel of Thomas*), nor are they letters containing teaching material, as with Paul's writings. However, many approaches to the ethics of Jesus treat the canonical Gospels like sayings or letters, concentrating only on his teaching and words. It was noted earlier that the picture of subjects in ancient biography is built up through both their words and their deeds (see 2.2-3 above). Thus, Burridge argues that in order to find the heart of Jesus' *ethic, we need to consider both his ethical teaching and his actual practice (Burridge 2007). Je-

sus' ethical teaching is not a separate set of maxims, but rather is part of his proclamation of the kingdom of God, intended to elicit a response from his hearers to live as disciples within the community of others who also respond and follow. In his appeal for the eschatological restoration of the people of God, Jesus' words reveal a rigorous ethic of renunciation and self-denial in the main moral issues. However, such teachings are set within a biographical narrative about his central stress on love and forgiveness, which opened the community to the very people who had moral difficulties in these areas. Hence, he was regularly accused of being "a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners" (Mt 11:19; Lk 7:34). Ancient biographies held together both words and deeds in portraying their central subject often for exemplary purposes (see Plutarch, *Ages.* 10.2; *Pericles* 1; *Aem.* 1). Equally in the Gospels, the readers are exhorted to follow Jesus' example in accepting and welcoming others (Mk 1:17; Lk 6:36); compare Paul's theme of imitation: "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ" (1 Cor 11:1 [cf. Phil 3:17; 1 Thess 1:6]). As befits a biographical narrative, therefore, we must not just outline the main points of Jesus' teaching; we must also follow his example toward others.

See also CANON; FORM CRITICISM; GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL; GOSPELS: HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION; NARRATIVE CRITICISM; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS; REDACTION CRITICISM; SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

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R. A. Burridge

GOSPEL: GOOD NEWS

In the Synoptic Gospels the "gospel" (*euangelion*) refers primarily to the announcement of "good news" associated with the arrival of God's "kingdom," particularly in association with Jesus' mission and identity as the Messiah (*see* Christ). Within this broad usage, the specific referent of such good news can change from passage to passage, and the emphasis can change from Gospel to Gospel. The word does not appear in the Gospel of John.

1. Greco-Roman Background
2. Old Testament Background
3. Mark
4. Matthew
5. Luke
6. Jesus

1. Greco-Roman Background.

The first-century B.C. Priene Inscription from Asia Minor provides a relevant starting point for the use of the word *gospel* in the Greco-Roman world at the time of Christ. In this inscription the emperor Augustus is hailed as a "savior" for ending wars and bringing peace to the empire (OGIS 458) (*see* Rome). For all the great things that his rule brought, his birth is proclaimed not only as the birth of a god but also as the beginning of "good news" (*euangelia* [pl.]) for the world. The peace that he brought was "good news" (*euangelia*) even beyond the hopes of

those who were anticipating great things from him.

The word *euangelion* was also used regularly in the context of a messenger bringing a report of victory. A battle is won, and a messenger is sent to report the news to his people or king. The *euangelion* in this context is thus the announcement of good news in relation to the battle. These brief examples provide a good sense of the basic use of the word in the Greco-Roman world. A *euangelion* was good news of some significance, usually in the context of announcement or ensuing celebration.

2. Old Testament Background.

The noun *euangelion* occurs only three times in the LXX, all in 2 Samuel in the plural (as in the Priene Inscription). In the first instance David speaks with sarcasm and irony of the “good news” brought to him of King Saul’s death (2 Sam 4:10). The other two instances are similar, relating to “good news” brought from a messenger about victory in battle, in this case over David’s son Absalom (2 Sam 18:22, 25). As in broader Greek literature, *euangelia* (pl. of *euangelion*) refers to good news of the sort a messenger might bring to a king in relation to a matter of great significance, such as the outcome of a battle. The noun *euangelia* seems to function synonymously in 2 Samuel 18:20, 22, 27, as well as in 2 Kings 7:9.

The related verb *euangelizō/euangelizomai* (“to announce good news”) is more common, appearing some twenty times in the LXX. All these references relate similarly to the announcement of good news, often brought at the hands of a messenger. Many relate to the announcement of victory in battle (e.g., 1 Sam 31:9; Ps 68:11 [LXX 67:12]). The “good news” proclaimed in Nahum 1:15 (LXX 2:1) is the destruction of Nineveh by the Babylonians. Although Judah was not involved in the battle, they celebrated the arrival of good news from over the mountains that the people who had destroyed the northern kingdom were now themselves defeated.

The verb is also used in relation to other kinds of good news. Jeremiah 20:15 uses it in reference to the announcement of the birth of a son; 1 Kings 1:42 uses it of the announcement that a new king had ascended the throne. These instances confirm that a *euangelion* is good news of an outstanding sort, often announced by some sort of messenger, and often on a grand scale.

By far the most important instances of *euangelizomai* in regard to the NT, however, are those that appear in the later chapters of Isaiah. These generally relate to the return of Jews from Babylon in the late sixth century B.C. and the restoration of Israel (see

Exile and Restoration). They are passages that both the Gospels and the rest of the NT cite, and that, indeed, likely reach back into the historical ministries both of Jesus and *John the Baptist.

Isaiah 40:9 referred originally to the announcement of the good news of Israel’s return from captivity in Babylon. This is good news not of victory but of deliverance from captivity and oppression, a sense that *euangelizomai* has in several places (e.g., Ps 96:2 [LXX 95:2]). Isaiah 60:6 predicts the rise and return of Israel to a glory that will bring the nations to admire it. Isaiah 61:1 speaks of good news for the poor and disempowered of Israel as the ancient ruins of its cities are rebuilt (Is 61:4).

The most important occurrence is undoubtedly Isaiah 52:7, with its image of a messenger coming across the mountains with good news (as in Nah 1:15). The good news is that Yahweh reigns, a reign reflected in the announcement of *peace and happiness for Israel because it is no longer enslaved in Babylon. The beginning of God’s reign, as it were, is like the beginning of the reign of a good king who promises an ensuing peace and happiness. It implies not only the return and restoration of Israel but also its coming glory and prosperity.

3. Mark.

The word *euangelion* appears seven times in Mark, not including its occurrence in the longer ending (Mk 16:15, which most agree was added later). Most significantly, it appears twice in the programmatic announcement in Mark 1:14–15. The fundamental message of Jesus is thus remembered as one announcing the good news of the kingdom’s arrival. At least an echo of Isaiah 52:7 is unmistakable, particularly given that Mark 1:3 has already quoted Isaiah 40:3 in the context of the introduction of Jesus as Messiah (Mk 1:1) and the preaching of John the Baptist (Mk 1:4–8). Jesus’ mission in Mark thus focuses on announcing the good news of the arrival and reestablishment of the reign of God on the earth.

The Gospel of Mark places this language in an *apocalyptic context. “The time has been fulfilled,” and the commencement of the reign of God is now near (Mk 1:15). In anticipation, John leads a movement of *repentance and washing of *sins to “prepare the way” of the Messiah (Mk 1:4–8). This kingdom of God—the primary content of the good news—will arrive in power even before some of Jesus’ followers have died (Mk 9:1). First, however, the announcement of the kingdom’s arrival must reach all the nations (Mk 13:10), and the eschatological crisis will ensue.

The *euangelion* in this context is thus the announcement of the good news of the (re)inauguration of God's reign on the earth, with John and Jesus as its heralds. However, Jesus functions within Mark's understanding of the good news not only as herald of the good news, but also as part of that good news. Both Mark 8:35 and Mark 10:29 closely associate suffering for the gospel and suffering for Jesus with each other. The action of the woman who *anoints Jesus two days before Passover will be told in conjunction with the proclamation of the gospel throughout the world (Mk 14:9). This fact implies that the story of Jesus and his death is an intimate part of the good news.

Accordingly, we should understand Mark 1:1 to include the messianic identity of Jesus as a central component of the good news. "The beginning of the gospel" in Mark 1:1 likely refers not to the genre of Mark (since the word was not used in this way at that time), but rather to the good news about Jesus Christ as king. The good news about Jesus the Messiah thus begins in Mark with the story of John the Baptist—some would even suggest in Isaiah (Guelich, 10). While it is unclear whether the royal title *"Son of God" was part of Mark 1:1 originally, the phrase well captures the sense that the good news included the announcement of Jesus' reign as messianic king, in fact the dominant connotation of "gospel" in Romans 1:2.

4. Matthew.

The Gospel of Matthew does not use the word *euangelion* as frequently as Mark, but it uses the word in more than one strategic location. Matthew 4:23 is a summary of Jesus' activities in Galilee, at the beginning of what some take to be Matthew's central section (Mt 4:17–16:20). We are thus meant to see Jesus' announcement of the good news of the kingdom of heaven as a central feature of his mission, alongside teaching and *healing. With almost identical wording, Matthew 9:35 again summarizes Jesus' activities at the beginning of a section focused on Jesus' *mission in *Galilee and the commission of his disciples to do the same (Mt 9:35–11:1). It is therefore clear that Matthew means for its audience to see the good news of the kingdom as a central element of Jesus' proclamation.

Matthew, in contrast to Mark, speaks of the "gospel of the kingdom of heaven" rather than the "gospel of God" or the "gospel of Jesus Christ." The meaning, however, is generally the same. Matthew 7:22 makes it clear that entrance into the "kingdom of heaven" for Matthew is yet to take place, even though near

(e.g., Mt 4:17). The kingdom to come is for God's will to be done on earth as in heaven (e.g., Mt 6:10). The gospel of the kingdom in Matthew must thus refer to the announcement of God's coming reign on earth, to be entered decisively at the time of Christ's return (e.g., Mt 26:29), although in another sense it is already here and growing (e.g., Mt 13:31–33). As in Mark, proclamation of this good news of God's coming reign on earth will spread through the entire world before the end comes (Mt 24:14).

The good news in Matthew thus focuses on the coming reign of God on earth, as in Mark. Jesus speaks of his return to earth to drink the fruit of the vine again with his disciples in his "Father's kingdom" (Mt 26:29). Matthew also retains Mark's implied connection between Jesus' death and the good news. The anointing of Jesus before his death is part of "this gospel" that will be proclaimed around the *world (Mt 26:13; cf. Mk 14:9). Matthew's addition of the word "this" to gospel accentuates the fact that Jesus' death is part of the gospel.

While Mark does not use the verb form *euangelizomai*, it appears once in Matthew (Mt 11:5). Here, in response to John the Baptist's inquiry about whether he is the Messiah, Jesus tells John's followers to report that good news is being proclaimed to the poor—a clear allusion to Isaiah 61:1. We thus find evidence in Matthew that part of the good news is the restoration of the disempowered and forgotten of *Israel, a theme that is of course prominent in Luke.

5. Luke.

The word *euangelion* itself does not appear in the Gospel of Luke (it does occur twice in Acts), but Luke uses the verb *euangelizomai* ten times (15x in Acts). In one instance the word likely refers to the proclamation of John the Baptist's birth to the barren Elizabeth and her husband Zechariah (Lk 1:19). Luke thus can use the word in its general sense. In every other instance, however, "proclaiming the gospel" refers to the varied apocalyptic events unfolding with the arrival and mission of Jesus the messiah and the ensuing kingdom of God.

In Luke 2:10 the angels announce the good news of Jesus' birth, the birth of a Savior, Christ the Lord. The context is highly reminiscent of the Priene Inscription's reference to the birth of the emperor Augustus as the birth of a god and as good news for the world. It seems likely that Luke has presented this scene in such a way as to evoke these sorts of echoes within Greco-Roman culture. The birth of Jesus is on the order of the birth of an emperor. Indeed, it is far more significant than the birth of an emperor.

Helpfully, the book of Acts gives us a fuller picture of what Luke understands the content of the gospel to be, in the light of early Christian proclamation. Acts 8:12, for example, implies an intrinsic connection between the good news of Christ's kingship and the good news of the kingdom of God. Indeed, we should infer that when Acts repeatedly speaks of the proclamation of the gospel (e.g., Acts 5:42; 8:4; 8:25; 10:36; 13:32; 16:10), it refers in shorthand form to the general content of Acts' sermons. These sermons regularly climax in the fact that God raised Jesus from the dead (e.g., Acts 2:32; 3:15; 13:30; 17:31) and enthroned him as cosmic Lord and king (e.g., Acts 2:34-35; 13:33).

The gospel in Luke-Acts thus refers not to any one element of this proclamation, but rather to the good news of all these apocalyptic events, with Jesus at their center. Accordingly, the content of the gospel can include the final resurrection yet to come (Acts 17:18), as well as what was perhaps a more limited scope to what Jesus meant when he referred to the "good news." Luke 20:1, for example, probably refers less to Jesus preaching about himself as to the good news of the kingdom's arrival in general. Similarly, Luke (like Matthew) includes summary statements that give the proclamation of the gospel as one of Jesus' key activities (Lk 8:1; 9:6).

Luke 4:18 is of particular significance to Luke's understanding of what was included in the good news. It is true that Matthew 11:5 (alluding to Is 61:1) mentions good news for the poor as part of Jesus' core mission (see Rich and Poor). Luke, however, inaugurates Jesus' entire mission with an explicit citation of Isaiah 61 (see Jubilee). The opening scene of Jesus' ministry in Luke 4:18-19 shows Jesus reading the Isaiah scroll in his home synagogue in Nazareth. Thus, not only is this pervasive Lukan theme of Jesus' ministry to the poor and discarded of Galilee part of the gospel for Luke, but also Luke places it as the centerpiece of the gospel during Jesus' earthly mission.

6. Jesus.

As we survey the use of *euangelion* and *euangelizomai* in the Synoptic Gospels, it seems probable that this language derived originally from the historical Jesus and John the Baptist themselves. None of the Synoptics particularly emphasizes the resonances that their own quotations of Isaiah might have had in the context of an occupied Israel, but it is easy enough to suspect the narrative in which these passages might have originally featured. Israel is alienated from God. In a sense, it exists in a kind of *exile. Into this context comes John the Baptist, urging Israel to repent

and cleanse itself in preparation for its return from "captivity" and the enthronement of its king.

John was thus preparing the "way" of the Lord. He was creating a straight path for return from exile. It comes as no surprise to find that followers of John the Baptist in Acts, including many who went on to become followers of Jesus, were called followers of the Way (e.g., Acts 18:25-26; 19:9, 23). Accordingly, language of gospel and the kingdom of God might easily have arisen from reflection on Isaiah 52:7. Jesus was announcing that the time had come for Israel to be restored and for God's rule on earth to commence. In his earthly mission he especially focused on the good news that this kingdom was for the poor and discarded of Galilean society, the "lost sheep of Israel" (the language of Mt 15:24).

See also EXILE AND RESTORATION; GOSPEL: GENRE; ISRAEL; JUBILEE; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; SALVATION.

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GOSPEL OF JUDAS. See GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL.

GOSPEL OF PETER. See GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL.

GOSPEL OF THE EBIONITES. See GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL.

GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS. See GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL.

GOSPEL OF THE NAZAREANS. See GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL.

GOSPEL OF THOMAS. See GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL.

GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL

Gospels are early Christian writings that have as their focus the transmission and interpretation of traditions about the life, death and resurrection of Jesus (see Gospels: Genre). Those not included in the Bible are called “apocryphal Gospels.” Most of these were written after the NT Gospels, but it is clear that some predated the canonical accounts (see Lk 1:1-4). Many have not survived the fate of history; no copies of them exist today. In some cases, knowledge of a particular apocryphal Gospel is available only through the testimony of early Christian writers who had access to it or second-hand information about it. In other instances, copies of all or part of these texts have been discovered. The main interest of this article is the earliest apocryphal Gospels and those that have the closest connections to the NT Gospels.

1. *Gospel of Thomas*
2. *Gospel of Judas*
3. *Gospel of Peter*
4. Papyrus Fragments of Unidentified or Unknown Gospels
5. Jewish Christian Gospels
6. Birth and Infancy Gospels
7. *Secret Gospel of Mark*
8. Dialogues of the Risen Jesus

1. *Gospel of Thomas*.

The *Gospel of Thomas* is a collection of 114 sayings (*logia*) of Jesus. It has been the object of more study than any other apocryphal Gospel. A complete copy was found in 1945 in Nag Hammadi, Egypt. This fourth-century A.D. Coptic manuscript was unearthed by three brothers who had been foraging near their home and discovered it along with other books in a large clay pot. The codices eventually made their way into the possession of J. M. Robinson, who led a team of scholars that identified one of the texts as the *Gospel of Thomas*. The first English translation was published in 1979, over thirty years after the initial discovery.

In addition to the complete Coptic version, there are three Greek fragments (P.Oxy. 1; P.Oxy. 654; P. Oxy. 655), the earliest of which has been dated to A.D. 200. These were discovered at the end of the nineteenth century, although it was not until after the Nag Hammadi find that they were identified as portions of the *Gospel of Thomas*. There are some significant differences between the Coptic edition

and the Greek fragments. For example, the order of the sayings differs. Saying 77 of the Coptic text appears between sayings 30 and 31 in P.Oxy. 1. There are also differences in wording. The Coptic version of a saying is sometimes longer than the Greek; in other places, the Greek is more expansive.

The majority view is that this Gospel was originally written in Greek and then later translated into other languages, though others have contended that it was first composed in Syriac or Aramaic. There is general agreement that it derives from Syria, possibly from the area near Edessa. The apostle Thomas was highly regarded in this region during the early centuries of Christianity, a trait also reflected in the *Acts of Thomas* and the *Book of Thomas*.

The dating the *Gospel of Thomas* is debated. The existence of manuscript P.Oxy. 1 indicates that the *Gospel of Thomas* must have originated before the end of the second century A.D., and some have suggested that it predates the canonical Gospels and was written in the middle of the first century A.D. Hippolytus of Rome, writing around A.D. 200–230, provides the earliest reference to it (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.2.20). The presence of gnostic language and concepts points toward a date sometime in the second century A.D. for the version represented in the Nag Hammadi manuscript. How much earlier the original edition may have been composed is uncertain.

The prologue of the *Gospel of Thomas* purports to provide an account of “the secret sayings that the living Jesus spoke and that Didymus Judas Thomas wrote down.” There is very little narrative elsewhere, aside from a brief contextual description accompanying some of the sayings (e.g., *Gos. Thom.* 6, 12, 22, 37, 60, 79, 100). In most such instances the disciples of Jesus pose a question to him that evokes a response. There are no healings, miracles or exorcisms, nor is there a birth story or passion narrative.

Roughly half of the 114 sayings resemble material in the NT Gospels. Representative examples of these parallels can be found in *Gospel of Thomas* 14 (cf. Mt 15:11), 38 (cf. Jn 7:32–36), 66 (cf. Mk 12:10–11) and 72 (cf. Lk 12:13–14). There is also an intriguing similarity between *Gospel of Thomas* 17 and 1 Corinthians 2:9, which might simply be based on a common OT background. A few sayings appear in other noncanonical gospels as well (e.g., *Gos. Thom.* 2 in the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, and *Gos. Thom.* 22 in the *Gospel of the Egyptians*). There is no consensus, though, about the relationship between the *Gospel of Thomas* and the NT texts. Arguments for the independence of this Gospel sometimes focus on features attributed to oral tradition. The sayings occasionally appear to

be grouped by catchwords. For example, “brother” appears in sayings 25 and 26, and “the dead” are mentioned in sayings 51 and 52. Another potential indicator of its independence lies in the fact that the order of the sayings rarely, if ever, matches that of any NT Gospel. It has also been claimed that the *Gospel of Thomas* often preserves a more primitive form of a saying. Those who have argued for dependence on the canonical Gospels typically have done so on the basis of finding Matthean or Lukan redactional material in the *Gospel of Thomas*.

In terms of literary genre, the *Gospel of Thomas* is closest to the hypothetical Synoptic sayings source known as *Q. Both consist primarily of sayings and reflect thought derived from a wisdom tradition. Some have found in the *Gospel of Thomas* a Jewish wisdom theology, but most have argued for some type of gnostic background. It is uncertain precisely how developed this gnosticism was, and scholars have been generally disinclined to associate the *Gospel of Thomas* with any one sect. Those suggesting gnostic affinities find evidence in the call to recognize one’s divine origin (*Gos. Thom.* 50) and in the goal of being the “solitary one” who abandons all that ties people to the physical world (*Gos. Thom.* 16, 23, 28, 56).

It is possible that the *Gospel of Thomas* preserves some authentic sayings of Jesus not found in the NT. The parable of the great fish (*Gos. Thom.* 8) conveys a message identical to that of the parables of the hidden treasure and the pearl of great worth (Mt 13:44-46). Forms of the saying in *Gospel of Thomas* 82 (“The one who is near me is near the fire; the one who is far from me is far from the kingdom”) are mentioned by several early Christian writers, and this is a potential indicator of authenticity.

The most likely judgment is that the *Gospel of Thomas* is a second-century A.D. composition, though in some places it preserves traditions from much earlier. It reflects gnostic interests, although it is not necessarily representative of a fully developed gnosticism. In some places the author appears to have been influenced by the canonical Gospels, but most of the sayings derive from elsewhere. It is therefore an important source for the study of the development of Gospel traditions.

2. *Gospel of Judas*.

The long-lost *Gospel of Judas* is the most recent apocryphal Gospel to have been rediscovered. Found in 1978, the codex containing it had an eventful journey over the next few decades, being stolen and damaged, sitting in a bank vault for many years,

and passing from one antiquities dealer to another, before coming into the possession of experts who could reconstruct its contents and translate its text. It was not until 2006, nearly three decades after its discovery, that the *Gospel of Judas* was published and made available to the public.

Codex Tchacos, the Coptic manuscript containing this Gospel, was copied in the fourth century A.D., but the original composition came long before this and was originally in Greek. The earliest reference to it comes from Irenaeus (c. A.D. 180), who classifies it as “fictitious history” (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.31.1). Although research on this text is in the early stages, it probably was written in the middle part of the second century A.D. and undoubtedly was the product of gnostic Christianity.

The opening lines describe some of the contents to follow: “The secret revelatory discourse in which Jesus spoke with Judas Iscariot, for eight days, three days before he celebrated Passover.” The prologue then summarizes the earthly ministry of Jesus, noting the miracles that he performed and the great signs of salvation that he offered. It also indicates that Jesus appeared to, and disappeared from, his disciples at will. The main body of this Gospel can be divided into two sections. The first is a dialogue between Jesus and all of his disciples; the second is a conversation between Jesus and Judas, though Jesus does most of the speaking.

When he is with all the disciples, Jesus expresses amusement concerning their practices. He laughs at their taking of the Eucharist and their inability to grasp what is infinitely beyond them, criticizes their confession of him as the *Son of God, and interprets a dream that they have recounted. In each of these instances Jesus is ridiculing non-gnostic beliefs and praxis. The author of the *Gospel of Judas* clearly stands outside of orthodox Christianity and is engaging in polemic against it by casting Jesus as its opponent. The disciples, as representatives of apostolic Christianity, are on the receiving end of Jesus’ ridicule.

In the second half Judas tells Jesus about a dream in which the other disciples were chasing him and throwing stones at him before he came upon a house surrounded by important people. It is Jesus’ explanation of the dream that serves as the focal point of this Gospel. The secret revelation offered by Jesus centers on a gnostic account of creation and the fall, an understanding notably different from the one in Genesis. He teaches that those who belong to the generation of Seth, the perfect heavenly man, will find knowledge (*gnōsis*) and be liberated from the con-

straints of this physical world. At the end of the story Judas betrays Jesus, handing him over to the high priests and scribes and receiving money in return.

A major point of contention among scholars is whether Judas is portrayed as a hero or a villain. Those who published the initial translation argued for the former, while many have subsequently rejected that claim and insist that Judas is every bit the villain here that he is in the NT. Some of this controversy has concerned questions of the proper translation of the Coptic text. For instance, the first edition identified Judas as a “spirit,” while A. D. DeConick and others have argued that this term should be translated as “demon.” Cases such as this have tipped the balance in favor of viewing Judas as a thoroughly villainous character in this text.

The *Gospel of Judas* provides a fascinating glimpse into the second-century A.D. world of a gnostic Christian sect, a group that was critical of apostolic Christianity. Unlike the canonical Gospels, where in each instance Jesus is a Jewish messianic figure, the *Gospel of Judas* depicts him as a revealer of gnostic truths. It provides no new historical information about Jesus or Judas or the other disciples, and it reflects knowledge of at least one NT Gospel (cf. *Gos. Jud.* 58:12-16; Mt 21:46).

3. *Gospel of Peter*.

Late in the nineteenth century a section of the *Gospel of Peter* was found in a grave near Akhmim, Egypt. This Greek codex (P.Cair. 10759) from the seventh or eighth century A.D. preserves a portion of the narrative from the closing scene of Jesus’ trial, through the crucifixion, burial and resurrection, to the beginning of an appearance story, at which point the text ends in mid-sentence. A few other manuscript fragments have been proposed as copies of the *Gospel of Peter* (e.g., P.Oxy. 2949), but this is uncertain because the wording differs significantly from the Akhmim text. The earliest unambiguous reference to this Gospel comes from Serapion, bishop of Antioch, near the end of the second century A.D. In a short tract entitled “Concerning the So-Called Gospel of Peter,” Serapion indicates that most of this Gospel was in accordance with the true doctrine of the church, though certain false teachings had been added to it. Because he knew members of docetic groups who were using it, the bishop was concerned about docetic ideas in the Gospel itself. Recent scholarship, however, has not found explicit docetic characteristics in the extant portion of the *Gospel of Peter*, though at one or two points such a reading is possible.

Origen, Eusebius, Didymus and Theodoret also

were acquainted with this Gospel. Origen states that those who considered Jesus’ brothers to be sons of Joseph by a previous wife found support in it. This might indicate that it contained a birth narrative. Eusebius and Didymus cite the *Gospel of Peter* as an example of a pseudepigraphal work, a text falsely attributed to an apostle. Theodoret claims that it was used by Jewish Christians.

The question of the *Gospel of Peter*’s relationship to the canonical Gospels has been a point of contention. J. D. Crossan and H. Koester are among those who consider it to be independent of the NT texts, although the particulars of their conclusions differ from one another. Crossan has suggested that a portion of the *Gospel of Peter* is in fact the earliest of all the written Gospels, and that it served as a source for the canonical evangelists. Koester rejects this idea but still considers the *Gospel of Peter* to be independent.

Others have concluded that this work is dependent on the canonical Gospels. One difficulty with this view is that there are very few verbal parallels. Instead, the similarities are present at the level of plot, characters and some of the details. The *Gospel of Peter* shares features with all four NT Gospels. For instance, as in Matthew, there is a guard at the tomb (*Gos. Pet.* 8:29—11:49; Mt 27:62-66; 28:4, 11-15). The story of the women’s discovery of the empty tomb is closest to Mark’s account (*Gos. Pet.* 12:50—13:57; Mk 16:1-8). Both the *Gospel of Peter* and Luke include Herod in the proceedings of Jesus’ final day (*Gos. Pet.* 1:1—2:5; Lk 23:6-15). And the *Gospel of Peter* resembles John by referring to the breaking of legs at the crucifixion (*Gos. Pet.* 4:14; Jn 19:31-33), Jesus’ tomb being in a garden (*Gos. Pet.* 6:24; Jn 19:41), and a postresurrection appearance to the disciples during a fishing expedition (*Gos. Pet.* 14:58-60; John 21:1-14).

Each of these similarities is countered by significant variations from the canonical works. Roman soldiers crucify Jesus in the NT accounts, while Jews do this in the *Gospel of Peter*. No canonical Gospel describes the resurrection—that is, the actual emergence of Jesus from the tomb. In contrast, the *Gospel of Peter* includes a vivid description of this event. It also differs by employing a first-person narrative perspective, in particular that of the apostle Peter (see *Gos. Pet.* 7:26; 14:59-60).

The best way to account for these similarities and differences is to suggest that the *Gospel of Peter* represents a free rewriting of the canonical works. Its author has reworked the earlier Gospels by clarifying, expanding and revising them in order to make the narrative meaningful within the new situation of him and his readers. It was written near the middle

of the second century A.D., at a time when Christians had become a sect distinct from Jews and after the canonical Gospels had circulated widely. This explains the strong anti-Jewish polemics and the attempt to provide a stronger apologetic for the *resurrection.

4. Papyrus Fragments of Unidentified or Unknown Gospels.

Several manuscript fragments have been discovered that contain stories or sayings from unknown Gospels. In several of these instances the content resembles the canonical accounts. The following are the most important fragments.

4.1. P.Egerton 2. The four fragments from this codex have been dated to the early third century A.D., making it one of the earliest extant Christian manuscripts. This also indicates that the Gospel that it preserves likely originated in the late first or early second century A.D. Portions of four or five different pericopes appear in these fragments. The first tells of Jesus in a dispute with experts in the law, and Jesus' statements parallel those of John 5:39, 45; 9:29. On the other side of this fragment is a scene in which the "leaders" attempt to arrest Jesus and hand him over to the crowd. This might be the conclusion of the first controversy story, or there may have been an intervening episode. Following this, Jesus heals a leper in a manner resembling Mark 1:40-44. The next scene describes Jesus apparently performing a *miracle on the banks of the Jordan River, a pericope without a known parallel. In the final episode Jesus is asked whether to pay the imperial taxes, but his reply is not the same as in the canonical parallels (cf. Mt 22:15-22; Mk 12:13-17; Lk 20:20-26). Instead, he quotes Isaiah 29:13 in the same way that he does in Matthew 15:7-9; Mark 7:6-7. The relationship between this Gospel and the canonical works is uncertain. It may be entirely dependent on them or perhaps on the same written or oral sources used by the NT writers.

4.2. P.Oxy. 840. This small piece of parchment includes forty-five lines of Greek text from an unknown Gospel. The manuscript has been dated to the fourth century A.D., though the Gospel that it preserves probably was composed in the second century A.D. In this text Jesus has finished teaching his disciples when he leads them into the temple and is met by a chief priest identified as a Pharisee named "Levi." The historical veracity of this has been questioned, since chief priests typically were not Pharisees. Another anachronism is alleged in the fact that the text implies that all people, not just priests, must

immerse themselves in a bath before entering the temple. The remainder of the story involves an exchange between Jesus and Levi concerning purity issues. Jesus is never identified by his name; rather, he is called "the Savior" on three occasions. P.Oxy. 840 includes possible connections to Matthew 23:1-39; Mark 7:1-23; Luke 11:37-52; John 7:1-52; 13:1-30. It shares three common themes with these passages: ceremonial washings, a contrast between inner and outer purity, and conflict with Jewish leaders.

4.3. The Fayyum Gospel (P.Vindob.G 2325). This is a fragment of a third-century A.D. manuscript containing an account in which Jesus tells a group, presumably his disciples, that all will be ashamed of him. Peter insists that he will not do so, to which Jesus replies that Peter will indeed deny him three times before the rooster crows. Clearly this parallels Matthew 26:30-34; Mark 14:26-30, although there are variations in wording among the three versions. Most notably, the Greek words used for "rooster" and "crow" differ from those in the two canonical works. Some have suggested that this passage is from the *Gospel of Peter* or an excerpt from a Gospel harmony, but the evidence is inconclusive.

4.4. P.Berol. 11710. These portions of two papyrus leaves from the sixth century A.D. were found with a small piece of cord attached, indicating that they probably were part of an amulet worn by a Christian. The text is in Greek, except for the last two lines, which are in Coptic. It contains a brief exchange between Jesus and Nathanael. The disciple calls Jesus "the Son of God" and "the lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world," and Jesus instructs him to "walk in the sun." There are parallels in John 1:29, 49.

4.5. P.Cair. 10735. In this sixth-century A.D. papyrus fragment an angel of the Lord appears to Joseph and instructs him to flee to Egypt with Mary. Following this, the heavenly messenger speaks to Mary. While this probably derives from an apocryphal Gospel, some have suggested that it is an excerpt from a commentary or a book of homilies. In either case, the content has canonical parallels (cf. Mt 2:13; Lk 1:36).

4.6. P.Mert. 51. The wording of this small third-century A.D. fragment is difficult to reconstruct. Sin and baptism are mentioned. It is possible that the pericope resembles Luke 7:29-30.

4.7. P.Oxy. 1224. Two fragments from this third- or fourth-century A.D. manuscript preserve all or part of four sayings of Jesus and describe the anger of the Jewish leaders upon seeing Jesus among sinners. One of the sayings is without a canonical parallel,

and the other three are similar to NT sayings (cf. Mt 5:44; Mk 2:16-17; Lk 9:50). It is not possible to determine this text's relationship to the Synoptic Gospels.

5. Jewish Christian Gospels.

Several early Christian writers refer to Gospels that were used by Jewish Christian groups. However, no copies of any such texts are extant. On several occasions the patristic authors quote something from these Gospels. It is possible that one or more originally were written in Hebrew or Aramaic and may preserve authentic sayings or deeds of Jesus. It is unclear exactly how many Jewish Christian Gospels existed, but scholarship today often identifies three.

5.1. Gospel of the Hebrews. The most important discussions of the *Gospel of the Hebrews* come from Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem and Jerome. The passages quoted include sayings of Jesus and references to his baptism and resurrection. Apparently, this Gospel depicts Jewish leaders present at the tomb when Jesus is raised. He then appears to his brother James, and the subsequent narrative portrays James as a pious figure. This fits a Jewish Christian context well, since James was held in esteem among the earliest Palestinian Jewish Christians (cf. Acts 12:17; 15:13-21; 21:17-26; Gal 1:18-2:10). This appearance story probably is an imaginative creation based on the tradition preserved in 1 Corinthians 15:7. A saying from the *Gospel of Hebrews* that Clement of Alexandria quotes twice is very similar to the one in *Gospel of Thomas* 2 (Clement, *Strom.* 2.9.45; 5.14.96). This may have been the earliest of the Jewish Christian Gospels, perhaps from the beginning of second century A.D. There are not strong verbal parallels with the NT Gospels, making it uncertain whether canonical sources were employed.

5.2. Gospel of the Ebionites. Epiphanius is the lone witness to the *Gospel of the Ebionites*, though his testimony is at times not easily understood. He preserves seven excerpts from it. A few describe the lineage of *John the Baptist, his ministry and his diet. Epiphanius also states that the genealogies of Matthew have been omitted. An expanded version of Jesus' *baptism is included, as is his calling of the twelve disciples. Three sayings are quoted, and on one occasion Epiphanius notes that the canonical version has been altered. The first of these sayings appears to combine elements of Matthew 5:17-18; John 3:36. Another is almost identical to Matthew 12:48-49. According to Epiphanius, those who used this Gospel claimed that Christ was not born of the Father but rather was created as one of the archangels. This second-century A.D. composition seems to

make use of Synoptic tradition and, to a lesser extent, Johannine material.

5.3. Gospel of the Nazareans. Although some have identified a third Jewish Christian Gospel known as the *Gospel of the Nazareans*, others have contended that material assigned to this text is better understood as belonging to the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. If there was a work known as the *Gospel of the Nazareans*, it possibly was an Aramaic translation of Matthew or, more likely, a targumistic interpretation of it. References to Jesus' baptism, the collapse of the temple lintel, and sayings of Jesus may have been included in it. Jerome indicates that a sect of Nazareans in Syria used a Jewish Christian Gospel during his day, and if the Gospel arose within this sect, it probably originated in the second century A.D.

6. Birth and Infancy Gospels.

Stories about the *birth of Jesus and his childhood years became popular during the early centuries of the Christian movement. Natural human curiosity led people to write imaginative accounts focused on these themes. Two writings are representative of this practice.

6.1. Protevangelium of James. *Mary is the main character in this second-century A.D. text that narrates events before and immediately after the birth of Jesus. The focus is on her purity and virtue. In the opening scene the story of Mary's birth is told, followed by a description of her living in the Jerusalem temple from the age of three until her twelfth birthday. The priests then gather the widowers together and determine that Joseph is to take Mary as his wife, and a short time later they receive news that Mary is pregnant. There is a repeated emphasis on her perpetual virginity; the brothers of Jesus are Joseph's sons from a previous marriage. On their way to Bethlehem Mary gives birth to Jesus in a cave. Interestingly, Origen states that in his day there was a cave near Bethlehem that had become famous among Christians and non-Christians alike as the birthplace of Jesus (Origen, *Cels.* 1.51). The *Protevangelium of James* ends with the author identifying himself as "James," who probably is to be understood as the brother of Jesus.

6.2. Infancy Gospel of Thomas. The boy Jesus is portrayed as a child prodigy in this Gospel. Many of the deeds that he performs mirror those done by the adult Jesus in the NT Gospels. It describes his actions up to the age of twelve, which probably indicates an imaginative attempt to elaborate on the tradition found in Luke 2:39-42. The young Jesus makes clay sparrows and brings them to life, and he causes

a young boy to wither and another to die. This leads the townspeople to ask Joseph and his family to leave the region. A man named “Zacchaeus” comes to instruct Jesus, though the teacher acknowledges the superior knowledge of the student. Eventually, Jesus restores those he had cursed and performs other miracles. Irenaeus may have had knowledge of this work, which indicates a probable second-century A.D. date for it (see Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1; cf. *Inf. Gos. Thom.* 6:2-4).

7. *Secret Gospel of Mark.*

The *Secret Gospel of Mark* is one of the most controversial apocryphal texts discovered in the last century. Information about it comes from a copy of a letter purportedly written by Clement of Alexandria that was found in 1958 by M. Smith in a monastery located in modern-day Israel. Some today doubt its authenticity and consider it a forgery. In this letter Clement claims to know of three editions of the Gospel of Mark. The first is the canonical version used by the churches in worship. A second version is a later, secret edition that Mark wrote after going to Alexandria, which Clement says is “a more spiritual gospel for the use of those who were being perfected.” The third is an altered version of the secret edition. Carpocrates had acquired a copy of the “secret” edition through dishonest means and added material to support his own ideas.

Clement quotes two passages from the secret edition to indicate that it did not originally support Carpocratian teachings. In the first passage, a scene that had been inserted after Mark 10:34, Jesus raises a young man from the dead. The youth looks upon Jesus, loves him, and asks to remain with him, and together they go to the young man’s home. They meet again six days later, and Jesus teaches him about the kingdom of God. The second passage that Clement quotes is a one-sentence allusion to the previous scene.

Several positions have been staked out regarding the question of this letter’s authenticity. Of those who believe it to be authentic, some think that it conveys accurate information about the multiple versions of Mark; others judge Clement to be mistaken. Among those who have concluded that the letter is a forgery, a few have claimed that it is an ancient work. However, the majority who doubt its authenticity suggest that the forgery is much more recent and may have involved Smith himself.

8. *Dialogues of the Risen Jesus.*

Many early Christian writings include postresurrec-

tion conversations between Jesus and his followers. These dialogues often convey secret knowledge and involve the disciples or others posing questions to the risen Jesus. Most are gnostic in nature (e.g., the *Gospel of Mary*, the *Apocryphon of James*, and the *Dialogue of the Savior*), but some represent orthodox beliefs (e.g., the *Epistula Apostolorum*). The *Gospel of Mary* tells of the risen Jesus giving instructions to his male disciples, who become troubled over what they have heard. Mary comes to comfort and offer encouragement. Although it is not stated explicitly, this character is best understood as Mary Magdalene. She describes her vision of the risen Jesus, which appears to be a description of the ascent of his soul. When some of the male disciples complain about this, Levi states that Jesus has loved Mary more than all the others.

The *Epistula Apostolorum* is a second-century A.D. text that employs many traditions from the canonical Gospels. Its opening lines indicate that it is a revelation given by Jesus to his disciples in order to refute the false teachings of Simon and Cerinthus. In the second century A.D. Simon Magus (Acts 8) and Cerinthus were known as leaders within gnostic Christian circles. There is an emphasis on the physical and bodily nature of Jesus’ resurrection and on the claim that the source of true church teaching is the full group of apostles who knew and followed Jesus.

See also CANON; CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY; GOSPEL: GENRE; JESUS IN NON-CHRISTIAN SOURCES; Q.

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T. P. Henderson

GOSELS: HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION

The interpretation of the Four Gospels, both singly and as a whole, reaches back to the early centuries of the church. Augustine, Origen and Jerome are just a few of the church fathers whose comments are extant. This patristic tradition of interpretation remained influential throughout the Middle Ages and into the Reformation, when a shift away from allegorical interpretation toward philological and historical inquiry came to be preferred. The modern period has been characterized by an accent on critical engagement with questions of history as well as the sources and redaction of the Gospels. More recently there has been a burgeoning of approaches focused on rhetoric, narrative, intertextuality and social-scientific questions, as well as feminist and minority ethnic perspectives.

1. Synoptic Interpretation in Overview
2. Gospel of Matthew

3. Gospel of Mark
4. Gospel of Luke
5. Gospel of John

1. Synoptic Interpretation in Overview.

The obvious differences among the Gospels have been a strong motivating force behind their interpretation throughout history. The early and Medieval church struggled with these differences, often turning to the allegorical and spiritual meanings of the Gospels, which they perceived to be more crucial than the literal meaning. Augustine wrote *The Harmony of the Gospels* (*De Consensu Evangelistarum*) (ca. 400) to defend the Gospels against charges that they contradicted each other as well as the OT; and that redactors elaborated and modified the teachings of Jesus, and elevated his nature from wise teacher to God (Augustine, *Cons.* 1.7.10–12). He explained discrepancies between the Gospels as deriving from the different emphases of each Gospel, and Jesus using similar sayings on similar occasions.

The Reformation and Enlightenment were marked by a shift from allegorical interpretation to interpretation founded on historical inquiry and philology. The Reformation was concerned with preserving the works of the fathers, incorporating the new humanist emphasis on philology and rhetoric, and addressing the strong theological debates of that day. For example, Calvin continued the citation of the church fathers in interpretation, but also used their works more freely, agreeing and disagreeing with them to justify his own interpretation. His *Harmony of the Gospels* (1555) illustrates his concern that the Synoptic Gospels should not be interpreted separately but in light of each other. He presupposed that Matthew and Luke occasionally modified their sources for theological ends. What is given is not an entirely accurate account of the teachings and life of Jesus, for sayings were modified and events are not necessarily in chronological order. Calvin thus anticipated several trends in the modern study of the Gospels.

The Enlightenment was concerned with the authorship and provenance of the Gospels, their historical reliability and portrayal of Jesus, and their relationship to one another. H. S. Reimarus (1694–1768) argued that the Gospels offered glimpses of the historical Jesus, but painted their portrait of Jesus as a redeemer after his death. Jesus did not understand his suffering and death as atoning, or anticipate his bodily resurrection and imminent return in judgment. The historical Jesus and the portrait of him in the Gospels do not coalesce, the latter being a creation of his disciples after his death. Reimarus's work

was foundational for D. F. Strauss who, in his *Life of Jesus* (1835; ET 1972), argued that the Gospels were mainly mythological. These inquiries among others led to the *quest for the historical Jesus through *archeology and source analysis.

J. J. Griesbach produced the first synopsis of the Gospels, which made them available to critical comparison (1774), and argued in his commentary on the Gospels that Mark was a shorter version of both Matthew and Luke (1789, 1790). C. G. Wilke (1838) and C. H. Weisse (1838) espoused Markan priority, and this position, along with the assumption of the use of the sayings source *Q by Matthew and Luke, would gradually become a major assumption in Gospel studies to this day. This two-source hypothesis of nineteenth-century source criticism boosted Markan scholarship, for it assumed that Mark was the most historically reliable Gospel since it was the earliest one (see Synoptic Problem).

With the appearance of *form criticism in the early twentieth century, the focus shifted to the units of tradition used by the Gospel writers. It was understood that these units were typically in oral form and molded to the theology and practice of the church, thus precluding complete historical accuracy or a direct link to the historical Jesus in any Gospel (Dibelius 1919, 1933², ET 1965; Bultmann, 1921, 1931²; ET 1963). As form criticism gave way to *redaction criticism in the mid-twentieth century, all the Gospel writers were shown to be creative literary and theological authors who molded the tradition they received. Literary criticism that followed in the late twentieth century did not concern itself with the historical questions of a text but used the text in its received form to analyze the Gospels as literature. Such criticism includes structuralism and deconstruction, and *narrative, reader-response and rhetorical criticisms.

Recently attention in Gospel studies has turned to *feminist interpretation, the study of intertextuality, and uncovering the polemic against imperial Rome within the Gospels. Feminist interpretation reads the biblical text through the lens of feminist theory. It seeks to assess and transform interpretation to address gender, power and ideology that traditional interpretation engenders and maintains, with the goal of making that interpretation more self-aware and inclusive. Intertextuality studies trace how a text used prior tradition and sources to create new meaning, whether that use is as quotations, allusions or echoes. Investigation is also being conducted into the polemic in the Gospels against Roman imperial ideology and its claims to power and allegiance.

2. Gospel of Matthew.

Matthew's Gospel was dominant in the early church, being interpreted and quoted more than the other three Gospels. Its account of the life and teaching of Jesus was the one most widely used. This partially explains why Matthew was placed first in the lists and early collections of the canonical Gospels. This priority was largely due to the understanding that the Apostle Matthew wrote it and because of its usefulness for preaching and teaching. The latter was facilitated by its five discourses of the teaching of Jesus (Kealy 1997).

Papias (ca. 60–130) made this brief and puzzling comment about the origin of this Gospel: "Matthew collected the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each interpreted them as best he could" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.14). While open to many interpretations, it was concluded as early as Irenaeus (ca. 130–ca. 200) that Matthew was designed for preaching to the Hebrews because it shares the Jewish concern that the *Christ be from the seed of David (Papias, *Frag.* 29).

While most early church fathers assumed that Matthew contained the very words of Jesus, Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–ca. 215) was the first on record to note that its author had elaborated the received traditions. In his study of the Beatitudes, Clement claimed that to "blessed are the poor" (Mt 5:3) Matthew added "in spirit," and to "blessed are they that hunger and thirst" (Mt 5:6) he added "after the righteousness of God" (Clement, *Quis div.* 17). Origen (ca. 185–ca. 254) wrote the first extant commentary on Matthew (ca. 248) and assumed that the apostle Matthew was the author writing in Hebrew for a Jewish Christian audience (Origen, *Frag.* 5151; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.3–4).

In the Middle Ages the Franciscan Peter John Olivi (ca. 1248–1298) wrote a commentary on Matthew that is an unusual combination of scholastic and Franciscan interpretation based on patristic sources with an influence by the apocalypticism of Joachim de Fiore (ca. 1132–1202). In the Reformation, Calvin strongly questioned several assumptions in the interpretation of Matthew. He could not see how the Gospel was originally written in Hebrew as seemingly suggested by Papias, since the author quotes the Greek Septuagint. He challenged Augustine's claim (assuming it was Jerome's) that Mark was a condensed version of Matthew but did not further investigate the relationship between the two Gospels. He even anticipated redaction criticism by suggesting that Matthew modified his sources according to theological intent and thus was not nec-

essarily always historically accurate.

Since Augustine (354–430) it had been understood that Mark condensed Matthew, but by the mid-nineteenth century it was assumed that Mark was written prior to Matthew. This new understanding of the formation of Matthew necessitated a reassessment of its authorship and Jewish character. Matthew was no longer understood as the first Gospel, authored by the apostle Matthew, and preserving the most historical account of Jesus' life and teachings. For example, B. Bacon (1918) argued that Matthew gathered Jesus tradition to create his five discourses modeled on the five books of the Pentateuch. Thus the words of the *Sermon on the Mount, for example, were spoken at various times and gathered together in Matthew 5–7. The historicity of these discourses was called into question.

The understanding that Matthew used Mark as a source for his Gospel gave rise to *redaction criticism, which traces Matthew's use of sources to understand better his social setting and theology. Matthew's additions to, deletions from, and modifications of Mark, and his choice of sayings from Q indicate that Matthew had a theological agenda to change the focus of the account from Jesus as a miracle worker to Jesus as a teacher who explicates the meaning of discipleship. One of the foundational redactional works is G. Bornkamm's study of Matthew's account of the stilling of the storm (1948; ET 1963); it traces how, in comparison with the account in Mark that he utilized, Matthew's version moves the focus from Jesus as a wonder worker to one describing the negative and positive nature of *discipleship.

This study and others led to more specific works on the *Christology, ecclesiology and the social setting of Matthew's Gospel and its relationship to *Judaism. Regarding social setting, since Matthew used sources, it is difficult to know what hints of Matthew's social and cultural setting are intrinsic to the sources and which are indicative of his own and his audience. Helpful in this regard is the study of R. Brown and J. Meier (1983), which understands Matthew as intended to help the church of Antioch, Syria, train a large influx of Gentile converts on the nature of discipleship.

To redaction-critical studies have been added literary-critical and *social-scientific studies. Literary studies can be categorized as structuralism, narrative criticism and reader-response criticism. D. Patte (1987) provided a complete commentary on Matthew using structuralism, but did not show clearly how this method would work with other methods in biblical studies. R. Edwards (1985) and J.

Kingsbury (1988²) used narrative analysis to analyze Matthew, moving beyond redaction criticism's focus on how the author used sources to how he composed and structured his Gospel with his sources. The historical context of Matthew is of less interest than how Matthew's narrative tells the story of Jesus through the author's use of characterization, plot and point of view. Narrative criticism anticipated reader-response criticism, for the latter tries to show how the narrative affects the reader's experience without regard to the historical situation. D. Howell (1990) used narrative and reader-response criticisms to argue that the situation of the early Christians is not mirrored in any character or group within the narrative, but in the implied reader. The narrative leads the implied reader to recognize the significance of Jesus and understand him as the model of discipleship.

Social-scientific study of Matthew is difficult because it is nearly impossible to determine where it was written and what was the original audience, and whether internal indications of the social and cultural setting are from the sources Matthew used or are additions he made to address his own and his audience's situation (Balch 1991). Sociological, anthropological and cultural analysis works with models constructed from patterns of behavior observed among a variety of groups across time and space. Interpreters use these models to find comparable patterns and particulars in Matthew (Malina and Neyrey 1988). This approach has found similarities between Matthew's social phenomena and that of agricultural societies. While these studies make broad comparisons, study of the social and cultural phenomena contemporary to and in geographical proximity to biblical audiences provides more detailed comparison. J. A. Overman (1990) argues for similarities of the Matthean community with sects of the same period in Judaism. G. N. Stanton (1992) compares Matthew to the Damascus Document, showing similarities between the Qumran and the Matthean communities, both documents working to justify the separation of their community from mainstream Judaism and to serve as a foundational document for the newly constituted splinter group (*see* Dead Sea Scrolls).

Among other topics, recent work on Matthew focuses on intertextuality, *feminist readings and polemic against Rome (Aune 2001). Studies of intertextuality explore Matthew's use of allusions and quotations of the Hebrew Scriptures to create early Christian identity, theology and ideology in relationship to Judaism from which it sprang (Hatina

2008). Feminist readings of Matthew continue to examine passages pertaining to women to identify interpretation that disenfranchises women in the church, and to make contributions to the study of Christian origins, early Judaism and Mediterranean culture (Levine 2001). Also studied are Roman claims to power over the whole world and how Matthew challenges that power by providing alternative systems of authority that help mold the identity of his community (Riches and Sim 2005).

3. Gospel of Mark.

Assuming the priority of Mark and the two-source hypothesis, Matthew and Luke are the first interpreters of this Gospel as they incorporated its text into their own. In the first preserved comment on Mark, Papias (ca. 130) said that "Mark became Peter's interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, indeed, in order, of the things said or done by the Lord" (Eusebius, *Eccl. hist.* 3.39.15). This association of Mark with Peter was common in the early church and helped establish the authority of the Gospel of Mark. Its inclusion in Tatian's *Diatessaron* (ca. 160–175) is evidence of its wide circulation in the second century.

Origin wrote a commentary on Mark using allegory as his interpretative method, but it has not survived. The earliest surviving work on Mark is Jerome's ten homilies on Mark (ca. 394–413). He expounded the literal and spiritual meanings, using allegory to derive the latter. The commentary on Mark by Victor of Antioch (fifth century) uses homilies and commentaries on Mark by earlier scholars (particularly Chrysostom, but also Origin and Cyril of Alexandria) as well as Victor's own additional insights.

Augustine's assumption that Mark was a condensed version of Matthew (*Cons.*) truncated the separate study of Mark in the medieval period. The first complete commentary on Mark is that of Pseudo-Jerome, (mid-seventh century) entitled *Commentarius in Euangelium secundum Marcum*. It relies on the works of Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604) and interprets the literal and spiritual senses of Mark using the allegorical method. The commentary greatly influenced the exegesis of Mark because it was attributed to the famous exegete Jerome, even being quoted in the later compilation of patristic comment, the *Glossa Ordinaria*. The Venerable Bede wrote a commentary on Mark (ca. 725–731) that relies on the works of Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great, as well as the allegorical method. Theophylact, archbishop of Achrida (eleventh century), a Byzantine interpreter, wrote a

commentary on Mark from the Antiochene tradition with its focus on philology, historical context and literal meaning of the text. In the thirteenth century, Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–1280) wrote a major commentary on Mark, focusing on the allegorical, anagogical, moral and literal levels of the Gospel. In the Reformation Erasmus published a Latin paraphrase of Mark, which benefited from newly discovered Greek and Latin manuscripts (1523). J. Hoffmeister (ca. 1509–1547) wrote a commentary on Mark centered on the literal meaning, rejecting allegorical interpretation.

As noted above, in recent times Wilke (1838) and Weisse (1838) each argued for Markan priority. This raised the question of the historical value of each Gospel and, being the earliest Gospel, Mark was favored as having the more accurate account of Jesus' life and teaching. This assumption was challenged by the quest for the historical Jesus, with Mark being understood as a theologian who modified his sources for theological purposes just like the other Gospels. For example, W. Wrede (1901; ET 1971) showed the messianic secret in Mark to be a theological construct that tries to reconcile the earthly ministry of Jesus, one that did not fit the messianic expectation of a political and military king, with the belief that he was the Messiah.

In the early twentieth century form and source criticisms demonstrated that tradition was shaped by the practice and theology of the church, making direct evidence of the historical Jesus in any Gospel dubious. This, coupled with the fact that the sources of Mark are nearly impossible to isolate, shifted the focus to Mark's vocabulary, style, ordering of units and key topics in an attempt by redaction criticism to trace how Mark structured these units of tradition into a theological Gospel. W. Marxsen (1956; ET 1969) provided the first redactional study of Mark and demonstrated that Mark did not merely write down tradition but structured and molded it according to his theological goals. C. C. Black (1989) showed how this approach to Mark is vulnerable to the presuppositions of the interpreter.

Since Mark's sources are not easily isolated, there was a turn to literary criticism, which works with the text in its received form as a creative literary work, bereft of interest in sources, audience, situation and the historical Jesus. J. Dewey (1980) analyzed Mark 2:1–3:6, uncovering an elaborate chiasmic structure. M. A. Tolbert (1989) provided a literary-critical analysis of the entire Gospel, bringing to light the literary genius of its author in using characterization to develop a picture of the true nature of discipleship.

Recent interpretation of Mark builds on previous form, source and literary analysis, with the addition of rhetorical and intertextual analysis among many others (Kealy 2008). Rhetorical works on Mark owe much to the work of V. K. Robbins on socio-rhetorical analysis (1984) and subsequent studies that explore how this Gospel draws upon the literary, social and cultural forms and conventions of the Mediterranean world in the construction of its presentation of Jesus. Studies of the intertextuality of Mark focus on its use of the OT to interpret Jesus' ministry and the nature and use of prior Jesus tradition (Hatina 2006).

4. Gospel of Luke.

The early interpretation of Luke often involved its use by heretical sects within the church and the church's response (Kealy 2005). This included the gnostic use of Luke and the response of Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* [*Adversus haereses*]) and Clement of Alexandria (*Miscellanies* [*Stromata*] books 3-4, 7). In his *Antitheses*, the second-century heretic Marcion distinguished the Jesus of grace from the God of the OT and law. He whittled down the canon to an abbreviated version of the Gospel of Luke and a collection of Paul's letters, with any portions with which he disagreed removed. Since Marcion only accepted the Gospel of Luke among the Gospels, Tertullian's refutation of Marcion, his *Against Marcion* book 4, uses portions of Luke and in the process provides the oldest surviving orthodox commentary on Luke. Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) published a collection of 150 sermons on Luke as a commentary. It is partially aimed at refuting Nestorius in the christological controversies preceding the Council of Chalcedon (451), arguing for the dual divine-human nature of Jesus (Homily 1 on Lk 2:4-8).

In the medieval period, the exegetical work of the Venerable Bede (eighth century) became common reading. He wrote a *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* which, in medieval fashion, assembled, simplified and explained the works of previous interpreters, with Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory the Great being his favorites. The goal of the interpretation was to help people live a faithful Christian life and assure their salvation. During the Reformation, Erasmus wrote a paraphrase of Luke, *In Evangelium Lucae Paraphrasis* (1523), which also served as a commentary and illustrated a more philological approach to interpretation, although not completely devoid of allegorical readings. His interpretation was guided in part by his critique of the institutional church's corruption and his own theological agenda.

With the Enlightenment and the rise of the his-

torical method, the historicity of the Gospels came into question. Many interpreters tried to establish that Luke was useful for historical reconstruction by isolating portions that were older and supposedly more historically reliable. B. F. Streeter (1924) argued for a proto-Lukan Gospel composed of Q and L that was independent of Mark, but of about the same date. V. Taylor (1926) argued for a source for the passion account that was of similar date as Mark, which was used as a source for the passion account of Luke.

While the relationship of Luke to the other Gospels and to the quest for the historical Jesus has been one focus, another has been to interpret Luke within the development of early Christianity. Working with the Griesbach Hypothesis, F. C. Baur (1847) understood Luke to be a reinterpretation of Matthew by someone with a Pauline perspective on Christianity, who modified Matthew's more Jewish-Christian focus to one that was more inclusive of Gentiles. Bultmann (1948-1953; ET vol. 1, 1951) argued that Luke-Acts was written from the perspective of salvation history in order to counter the failure of imminent eschatology at the end of the first century, which the delay of Christ's return made evident.

In more recent study, H. Conzelmann (1953, ET 1960) used redaction criticism to further understand Luke's context and theology. He examined the places where the sources of Mark and Q are modified, as well as Luke's literary structure and how sections relate to one another. Like Bultmann, he argued that Luke downplays imminent eschatology. The shift to literary criticism was anticipated by H. Cadbury (1927), who argued for the literary unity of Luke-Acts. Narrative criticism reads Luke-Acts in terms of character, plot and narration, without concern for its original context (Tannehill 1986; Brawley 1990).

The 1970s and 1980s witnessed an ongoing drive to interpret Luke-Acts in the context of the Mediterranean world in order to determine as precisely as possible how Luke-Acts would have been understood in its own time. Literary parallels and anthropological and sociological theory and models were brought to bear on the politics, economics, and social and cultural aspects of the text, including the patron and client relationship, honor and shame, dyadic and individualistic personalities, and many more (Esler 1987; Moxnes 1988; Neyrey 1991).

Among many other subjects, recent interpretation of Luke focuses on feminist interpretation and intertextuality (Kealy 2005). Feminist studies examine the characters and themes in Luke, engaging the paradox that this Gospel shows women participating in ministry outside gender-determined roles while at the same

time reinforcing the mindset that women are valuable mainly for their procreative ability (Levine 2004). Intertextual studies focus on the use of the OT in Luke as the source of allusions and quotations, and as patterns and models, drawing on previous work in historical, social and narrative studies (Hatina 2010).

5. Gospel of John.

The letter of 1 John is the initial surviving interpretation of the Gospel of John. First John was written to address a schism involving Gnostic tendencies within the Johannine community and uses the community's original understanding of the Christology and ethics of the Gospel of John as a basis. In 1 John's interpretation of the Gospel of John the division between orthodox and Gnostic interpretation of the Johannine tradition becomes evident.

John's Gospel was popular with the gnostics and Montanists of the second and third centuries, for they found its high degree of conceptualization to blend well with their philosophies. Irenaeus is the first person known to have mentioned John's Gospel, and he used it extensively to argue against the gnostics (*Adversus haereses* [*Against Heresies*]). The first known commentary on John was by the Valentinian gnostic, Heracleon (ca. 170). The commentary survives in portions incorporated by Origen in his commentary on John, and those portions demonstrate Heracleon's use of allegory as an interpretive method. Heracleon's commentary prompted Origen to write the aforementioned work to refute the gnostic interpretation of John. His commentary focuses on the literary and historical interpretation as a way to exclude and refute gnostic interpretation, but does use allegory to interpret the Christology and eschatology of John.

The Montanists relied on John's teaching on the Paraclete to justify their emphasis on prophecy. The high Christology of the Gospel made it very useful in the christological controversies of the third through the fifth centuries to affirm the fully human and divine nature of Jesus Christ. Augustine's *Tractates on John* (*In Evangelium Johannis tractatus*) provided a theological and practical interpretation of John devoid of interaction with heretical and christological controversies.

The interpretation of John in the Middle Ages preserved the work of patristic interpreters without contributing anything noteworthy. Alexandrian interpretation predominated, with its emphasis on the literal, spiritual and moral aspects of the text. However, the scholastic method, which promoted the literal meaning of the text, continued to make strides in the study of John, as illustrated by the lectures of Aquinas on John given between 1269 and

1272 (ET Aquinas Scripture Series 4, 1980, 1988). On the wedding of Cana, Aquinas describes the literal and historical background, but the mystical sense (the wedding symbolizes the union of Christ and the church, and Mary's presence symbolizes her role in joining the bride to Christ) and allegorical (the six water jars are the six eras of the OT period that made hearts receptive to grace) are in abundance. Theological discussion on the nature of Christ and his work abounds, with reference to the interpretation of Chrysostom.

During the Reformation, Luther and Calvin preferred John over the Synoptic Gospels as having the most sayings of Jesus, and more theology than narrative. They found it useful for bringing people to faith and for debates about the sacraments of baptism (Jn 3:5) and the Eucharist (Jn 6:22–71). Two commentaries from this period blend patristic and medieval interpretation with humanism's concern for philology and the Reformation's concern for theology. Both use the exegetical tradition, but not its allegorical interpretation, although they do rely on it whenever a literal interpretation of a text is difficult. One is by W. Musculus, a former monk and a pastor in Zurich, who wrote *Commentariorum in Evangelistam Ioannem* (1547). The other is by Melancthon, who wrote *Annotationes in Johannem* (1523), which is notable for shifting the focus of interpretation from Christology to soteriology and justification by faith alone.

In the eighteenth century, G. Lessing (1778) was one of the first to question the apostolic authorship of John and to argue that the author amplified the nature of Jesus (see Quest of the Historical Jesus). In his *Life of Jesus Critically Examined* (1835, ET 1972), D. F. Strauss cast doubt on the historical reliability of John, arguing that John had portrayed Jesus as a Hellenistic philosopher to expound his own ideas. When compared with the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, John disagreed because he was historically incorrect and more mythical. By the early twentieth century there was an emerging consensus that John the apostle was not the author of the Gospel of John and the date of this Gospel was the late first century, thus making it less historically reliable than formerly thought (see John, Gospel of).

In the nineteenth and twentieth century there was also a flurry of works on the relationship of John to the Synoptic Gospels. P. Gardner-Smith (1938) demonstrated to the satisfaction of most scholars that the Gospel of John is independent of the Synoptic Gospels, a consensus seriously challenged in the late twentieth century (see Synoptics and John). Still, understanding John as an independent account of

the life and teaching of Jesus reopened the question of its historical reliability. C. H. Dodd (1953) argued that all four of the Gospels rely on *oral tradition and all have the possibility of containing historically reliable information.

In the nineteenth century, with its emphasis on the history of religions, it was argued that John was influenced by oriental mysticism, gnosticism and Mandeism. R. Bultmann's commentary on John (1941, ET 1971) represents the culmination of this emphasis. He argued that the Gospel was formulated in the context of pre-Christian gnosticism, relies on a gnostic redeemer myth similar to that in Mandeism, and utilized sources, particularly a signs source. The study of John that followed focused on isolating its sources, particularly the signs source, as well as the assumption that the Gospel was redacted several times before arriving in its current form (Brown 1966, 1970). This attention to sources and redaction led naturally to the study of the community that produced the Gospel and its history as reflected in and which shaped the text—the Johannine school (Culpepper 1975) or Johannine community (Brown 1979).

The twentieth century also hosted a debate about the setting of this community, whether Jewish, Hellenistic or gnostic. At first the latter two prevailed, but with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and obvious parallels with John's Gospel, its Jewish nature was also affirmed. The Gospel was placed in the context of the expulsion of the community from the synagogues and the self-definition shaped by debate with Judaism that followed (Martyn 1968, 1979²; Brown 1966, 1970). This earlier work on the Johannine community and its setting naturally led to social-scientific study of the Fourth Gospel using sociological and anthropological theories to understand the nature of the community, especially its seemingly sectarian nature (Neyrey 1988). Literary criticism was also applied, with its interest in how the narrative works to create meaning through characterization, drama and irony (Culpepper 1983).

Recently feminist interpretation seeks to move beyond using female characters and images as role models to seeing how the narratives incorporating them have the potential to liberate as well as support hierarchy and systems that exclude and marginalize (Levine 2003). Also, recent study shows that John was constructed to confound Roman imperial ideology, especially in the choice of appellations assigned to Jesus that parallel those applied to the emperor, in order to demonstrate that Jesus is the true ruler of the world (Richey 2007).

See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN CRITICISM; FEMI-

NIST AND WOMANIST CRITICISMS; FORM CRITICISM; LATINO/LATINA CRITICISM; NARRATIVE CRITICISM; QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS; REDACTION CRITICISM; SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC CRITICISMS; THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPELS.

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D. F. Watson

GRACE. See MERCY.

"GREAT COMMISSION." See GENTILES; MISSION.

GREATEST COMMANDMENT. See COMMANDMENT.

GREEK CULTURE. See HELLENISM.

GREEK LANGUAGE. See LANGUAGES OF PALESTINE.

GRIESBACH HYPOTHESIS. See SYNOPTIC TRADITION.

H

HAGGADAH. See RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS.

HALAKAH. See RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS.

HARDNESS OF HEART

The “hardening of the heart” is a Hebrew idiom that describes spiritual obstinacy before God. The NT condition finds its origin in the OT, where hardening occurs as a covenant curse symptomatic of idolatry. Jesus and the Gospel writers adopted the Semitic concept to describe inner faithlessness and sin. The hardening of the heart implements God’s punitive design for sinners; as sinners distance themselves further and further from God, their hearts grow more and more obstinate. Hardening is an inevitable consequence of alienation from the Creator.

The concept of the heart (*kardia*) in the Gospels carries over from the OT term (*lēb*, *lēbab*), which refers to “all aspects of a person: vital, emotive, noetic, and volutative” (Fabry, 401). Positively, the heart is the place of rejoicing (Jn 16:22), purity (Mt 5:8), *worship (Mt 15:8), forgiveness (Mt 18:35), the love of God (Mt 22:37), *repentance (Lk 1:17) and spiritual awakening upon encountering the risen Christ (Lk 24:32). Negatively, the heart is the seat of lust (Mt 5:28), disobedience (Mt 24:48), obtuseness (Mk 8:17), doubt (Mk 11:23; Lk 24:38), malicious plans (Lk 12:45), fear (Jn 14:1), drunkenness and anxiety (Lk 21:34), Satanic attack (Mt 13:19; Jn 13:2), evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts and defiling words (Mt 15:18-19; Mk 7:21). In sum, the heart represents the human will, where inner thoughts conceive (Mt 9:4; Lk 1:51; 2:35; 9:47), faith flourishes or dies (Lk 8:12), and people treasure up objects of worship (Mt 6:21; Lk 12:34).

1. Old Testament Background
2. The Synoptic Gospels

3. The Gospel of John

4. Divorce and the Hardened Heart

1. Old Testament Background.

The hardened heart is a notoriously enigmatic subject within the OT: “Why, O LORD, do you cause us to stray from your ways, and harden our heart from fearing you?” (Is 63:17). Crucial OT entry points for diagnosing the problem exist in Isaiah 6:8-10; Jeremiah 7:13-34; 11:1-17; Ezekiel 14:1-11; Psalm 115:1-8; 135:14-18, and Exodus, where God hardens Pharaoh’s heart (Ex 4:21; 7:3; 9:12; 10:1, 20, 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8, 17), Pharaoh hardens his own heart (Ex 8:15, 32; 9:34), and Pharaoh’s heart hardens itself (Ex 7:13, 14, 22; 9:7, 35) (Shupak, 390).

Underlying most accounts is the covenant infraction of idolatry (Meadors). Isaiah’s prophetic call to “render the hearts of this people insensitive” is understood within the context of Judah’s idolatry, which Isaiah denounces explicitly (Is 2:5-11, 17-22) (Beale 1991; Watts). Sensory depletion corresponds with idolatry, so that idolaters become like what they worship: “Their idols are silver and gold, the work of man’s hands. . . . Those who make them will become like them, everyone who trusts in them” (Ps 115:4-8) (Beale 2008; Meadors). Exodus is understandable in this context, where God executes judgments over the false gods of Egypt (Ex 12:12; 18:11; cf. Ezek 20:5-7) and fittingly hardens Pharaoh, the chief priest of Egypt’s amulet-ridden cult (Meadors). Pharaoh’s hardening is conditioned upon sin (Ex 9:27, 34; 10:16-17) that defies God according to the dictates of polytheism and idolatry. Psalm 135 thus transmits the “you become like what you worship” phenomenon against the background of Pharaoh’s sin (Ps 135:8-18) (Meadors).

2. The Synoptic Gospels.

OT usage carries over into the Synoptic Gospels, where Jesus applies the hardening curse to his own

generation (Mt 13:13-15; Mk 4:10-12; Lk 8:10). Mark reports Jesus' words as apparently unconditional on the basis of the underlying MT, while Matthew provides the expanded LXX translation, which focuses responsibility directly on the hardened party: "they have closed their eyes" (Mt 13:15). Luke provides a truncated version of Mark.

2.1. Mark. Hardening of the heart occurs three times in Mark (Mk 3:5; 6:52; 8:17-21), while the closely related obstinacy theme occurs once (Mk 4:12). In the context of Mark's literary theological development of Jesus as the *Christ, the *Son of God (Mk 1:1; 8:29; 15:39), hardening characterizes all who fail to recognize Jesus as such. Jesus grieves at the hardness of heart of the *Pharisees whose preoccupation with *Sabbath law blinds them from seeing Jesus as the Christ, even when he *heals the crippled before their very eyes (Mk 3:5). Jesus diagnoses sensory dysfunction as a symptom that debilitates those who hear the word of the gospel but allow the worries of the world, the deceitfulness of riches, and the desires for other things to enter in and choke the word (Mk 4:12, 19). And the disciples themselves display hardness of heart when they fail to connect the feedings of the four thousand and the five thousand (Mk 6:52; 8:17-21) to the dynamic presence of the *kingdom of God and Jesus' identity as the messianic agent of its arrival. In Mark hardness of heart is thus an intellectual impairment that corresponds to deficient faith.

2.2. Matthew and Luke. C. A. Evans has argued that Matthew softened the unconditional language of Mark 4:12 (Evans, 165). The distinction may be more apparent than real, however, in view of the background of Isaiah 1–6, where Judah's hardening is conditioned upon its idolatrous sin (Is 2:5-11). Moreover, Jesus' explanation of the parable of the sower, which follows Jesus' quotation of Isaiah 6:8-10 in each of the Synoptics, consistently explains the hardening curse as a consequence of divided faith. Hardening afflicts those who succumb to Satan, persecution, the worries of the world, the deceitfulness of riches and the deceptions of temporal securities (Mt 13:18-22; Mk 4:13-19; Lk 8:11-14). Hardening thus corresponds to preoccupation with things other than the kingdom of God. Sharing this focal point, Matthew and Luke express the same basic message as Mark.

3. The Gospel of John.

John 12:37-41 attributes the disbelief of Jesus' contemporaries to the fulfillment of Isaiah 6:10. In keeping with the prophetic theme, Jesus' contemporaries,

like Isaiah's, were so fixated on external religious ritual that they were blind to fulfilled prophecy even when it occurred in their presence. Already callous, Jesus' audience was predisposed toward cynical rejection of Jesus' signs. Throughout John's Gospel this predisposition reflects the world's preference of darkness to *light: "And this is judgment, that the light has come into the *world, and people loved the darkness rather than the light; for their deeds were evil" (Jn 3:19). The preference for darkness over light is a metaphorical diagnosis of idolatry that comports with a hardening outcome.

The motif of hardening complements John's broader "misunderstanding" theme by exposing the human inability to perceive Jesus' true identity prior to the cross and resurrection (Jn 6:60; 8:27; 10:6, 19-21, 24; 11:13; 12:16; 13:28; 14:5; 16:17-18; 20:9). John's message is that those who reject Jesus because of a preexisting love for evil (Jn 3:19) inevitably will exude a hardened countenance as the consequence of their separation from "the true light, which, coming into the world, enlightens everyone" (Jn 1:9).

4. Divorce and the Hardened Heart.

Jesus identifies the hardened heart as the underlying cause of *divorce (Mt 19:3-9; Mk 10:2-12). Divorce is a concession, not God's original design. That the two become one flesh is God's preference and will. Jesus attributes hardening to the callous disposition of the divorcing party: "Moses permitted you to divorce your wives because of your hardness of heart [*sklērokardia*]." The divorcing party's hardened state is displayed in disregard for God's design for the covenant of marriage. What God created as one, no person should separate (Mt 19:6; Mk 10:9). Like idolatry, divorce acts upon divisive desires to abandon a covenant partner. The hardened heart epitomizes the perpetrator of both idolatry and divorce, as each willfully betrays a sacred covenant.

See also FORGIVENESS OF SINS; REPENTANCE; SIN, SINNER.

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HEALING

The healing of disease in the Greco-Roman world could take several forms, from surgery to home remedies. While there were significant advances in health care in the centuries leading up to and immediately following the NT period, many could not travel to centers of healing or afford the care of physicians. Modern attempts to account for the prominence of healing in the ministry of Jesus and the miraculous element in the healing stories of the canonical Gospels include literary, medical and sociological explanations. The Gospel writers, however, simply assume the “miraculous nature of Jesus’ healings but place more emphasis on their theological significance as a sign of the inbreaking *kingdom of God than on disease and cure in themselves.

1. Health Care in the Ancient World
2. Jesus’ Healing Ministry
3. Distinctive Emphases of the Gospel Writers
4. Conclusion

1. Health Care in the Ancient World.

1.1. Greco-Roman. During the Greco-Roman period the practice of ancient medicine underwent significant development. Most dominant was Hippocrates, whose influence continued in the first and second centuries of the Christian era through physicians such as Celsus and Galen. To judge from the extensive writings of these and other physicians, healing in some schools began to be separated from philosophy and placed on a more empirical basis, the most important center being Alexandria (Avalos, 56). Celsus, for example, deals extensively with internal and external disorders, the use of drugs and herbal remedies, and even surgery. Ancient surgical procedures existed for setting fractures, treating spinal and other dislocations, cauterizing hemorrhoids and removing bladder stones (Howard, 14-19). Galen made major contributions in anatomical studies and surgical method.

Alongside such medical practitioners, whose services except in extreme cases were too expensive for most (cf. Mk 5:26), were the numerous healing centers, with their temples and rituals honoring the

several healing deities renowned throughout the Roman Empire, the most important being the cult of Asclepius. Visitors to these centers found reports of healing inscribed on stone plates, included among which was this affirmation: “Because the help of human physicians had failed, the sick came to the god for whom the impossible is possible” (quoted in Seybold and Mueller, 101). The Isis cult was also widespread and prominent in important centers of early Christianity such as Ephesus, Philippi, Corinth and Rome (Avalos, 53). At the same time, evidence exists that medical expertise displaced reliance upon miraculous healing in some places (Kee, 86).

1.2. Second Temple Judaism. The OT describes health holistically in the sense of total well-being (Hasel). The most important biblical statement regarding healing is found in Exodus 15:26: “I am the Lord your healer” (see also 2 Kings 20:5; Ps 103:3; 147:3). Human intermediaries may convey God’s healing power, but they are never called “healers” (*rôp’îm*). In fact, since Yahweh was *the* healer of Israel, the act of traveling to pagan centers of healing would, for many Jews at least, be a denial of faith. Nevertheless, there are indications in certain periods of Israel’s history that other avenues of healing were sought, including physicians, remedies, self-medication, household care and even pagan temples. Some Jews admired physicians for their skill in diagnosing illnesses and their knowledge of medicines that could alleviate pain and heal disease (Sir 38:1-8; cf. *b. B. Qam.* 85a). Various medicaments were employed for healing, oil being particularly common (e.g., Lk 10:34; cf. Is 1:6; Philo, *Somn.* 2.58; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.172) (see Bowie).

The Jerusalem *temple was renowned as a center of atonement but not of healing. The *priests did not attempt to heal illnesses, but rather confirmed a worshiper’s fitness to approach the temple, making judgments on matters of purity and evaluating any conditions that might render a person unclean (Hogan, 24). In the Second Temple period the stringency of purity regulations extended beyond that of the Levitical laws, hindering people with a variety of physical ailments from approaching the temple. The Qumran sectarians, due to theological concerns, socio-economic factors, as well as their harsh desert location, were generally more stringent than their priestly counterparts in *Jerusalem. However, despite a few texts referring to the treatment or prevention of disease (e.g., 1QapGen ar XX, 14-29; 4Q242; 4Q444; 11Q11), there is no evidence that Qumran became a healing center. The Pool of Bethesda, located near the temple in Jerusalem, reputedly pro-

vided possibilities for healing (Jn 5:2-7), but crowded conditions there and in other healing centers often prevented those who needed healing the most from obtaining it.

The life expectancy of the average Israelite was perhaps not much more than forty years, with peasants suffering from eye and skin diseases, damaged or missing limbs and a host of other maladies. Those who could not afford the health care available through physicians or healing centers relied on prayer, folk healers, “holy men” or assorted “miracle” remedies. Many probably resorted to a combination of these options. Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa (late first century A.D.) was said to heal by means of prayer, the fluency of which indicated whether or not the supplicant was healed (*b. Ber.* 34b). Besides such healers, an extensive support network of family members and others within the society contributed to the healing process. This typically included exhortations to pray and to seek help in the wider community (from a healer or at the *synagogue) and sometimes to intercede with a healer on behalf of the sick relative (Pilch, 26, 66-67). Since many Jews commonly considered health problems a punishment from God (e.g., Jn 9:1-2), cures often included religious components. Thus, healing was the outward indication of *forgiveness (Ps 103:3; cf. 4Q242; note *b. Ned.* 41a: “A sick man does not recover from his sickness until all his sins are forgiven”).

2. Jesus’ Healing Ministry.

Healing occupies a sizeable role in Jesus’ proclamation of the kingdom, with references present in every layer of tradition and sayings form (Blackburn). The healing stories, which have been rigorously analyzed both in terms of form (Bultmann) and narrative (Funk), fall into three categories: healing of disease, expelling of spirits or demons, and resurrections from the dead (Blomberg). From our vantage point, it is difficult to evaluate such stories. Literary studies have tended to understand the miracles in terms of the meaning that they convey rather than as significant events in themselves. Yet all four Gospels present them as historical reports, not simply as illustrative of some theological or spiritual truth. Medical analyses find in some of the maladies similarities to mental or psychosomatic disorders, but the Gospels show little interest in therapeutic method. Sociological studies avoid such etic judgments by emphasizing healing as opposed to cure—that is, the miracles’ effective role in terms of social and political structures. More specifically, these stories illustrate the role of *faith and the restoration of the recipient

of healing to the worship of God.

Nevertheless, the miracle narratives, at their most basic level, present the working of God in history in a way that modern science, philosophy and reason find implausible, although contemporary eyewitness reports of exorcisms and similarly miraculous healings are “surprisingly common” (Keener 2011, 2:761). By contrast, Jesus’ opponents were not skeptical of the miracles per se but rather of God as their source, considering Jesus as demonic and a deceiver of Israel employing magical cures. Whatever one may think of the healing stories, Jesus effected cures that were admitted even by apparently skeptical onlookers, both Jewish and pagan, to be miraculous (Evans, 12-14; Keener 2011, 1:22). More to the point, the significance of the miracles, then and now, may lie more in terms of their role as a call to faith because they remain outside the realm of proof.

A variety of afflictions ranging from crippled limbs or blindness to demonic possession are described, but healing is consistently attributed to the power of God at work in Jesus and through the disciples rather than to any specific medical expertise or remedy. While counts of the exact number of healing miracles performed by Jesus vary depending on which stories are considered authentic and which seem to reflect the same event in another setting, a summary of the fourfold healing narratives in Table 1 makes a useful point of reference. In all but three instances the means of healing is specified: a touch and/or a word from Jesus (twenty-one of twenty-eight); sometimes, in combination with these, the use of saliva as an extension of his person (three of twenty-eight); and touching the fringe of Jesus’ garment (once). Summaries mention Jesus healing groups of people but provide few further details (e.g., Mt 8:16-17; Mk 1:32-34, 39; 3:11; Lk 4:40-41). Unlike the accounts of healing uncovered at cultic shrines that had miracles happening routinely within their confines, the Gospels present Jesus’ miracles as surprising, improbable and surpassing what was available through any shrine, holy man or doctor (Theissen, 284, 301). The healings performed by Jesus distinguished themselves from those of other healers, whether Jewish (Honi the Circle-Drawer, Hanina ben Dosa) or Gentile (Apollonius of Tyana) in at least three ways: (1) serving to typify his ministry; (2) containing faith as an essential component; (3) extending the saving power of God in an unmediated manner (Green, 758).

The dominant words to refer to healing in the Gospels, *therapeuō* (36x) and *iaomai* (19x), at a minimum, affirm the perceived reality of physical healing

Table 1. Jesus' Miracles of Healing, Exorcism and Resurrection

Category	Description	Reference(s)	Means
Blindness			
1.	At Bethsaida	Mk 8:22-26	saliva, touch
2.	Near Jericho	Mt 20:29-34 // Mk 10:46-52 / Lk 18:35-43	touch // word
3.	Man born blind	Jn 9:1-41	saliva mud, word, water
4.	Two blind men	Mt 9:27-31	touch, word
Leprosy			
1.	Man full of leprosy	Mt 8:1-4 / Mk 1:40-45 / Lk 5:12-16	touch, word
2.	Ten lepers	Lk 17:11-19	word
Miscellaneous Infirmities			
1.	Paralyzed man	Mt 9:1-8 / Mk 2:1-12 / Lk 5:17-26	word
2.	Crippled man	Jn 5:1-9	word
3.	Man with withered hand	Mt 12:9-14 / Mk 3:1-6 / Lk 6:6-11	word
4.	Woman bent over	Lk 13:10-17	word, touch
5.	Ill slave of a centurion	Mt 8:5-13 / Lk 7:1-10	(distant) word / unstated
6.	Severely ill son	Jn 4:46-54	(distant) word
7.	Mother-in-law with fever	Mt 8:14-15 / Mk 1:29-31 // Lk 4:38-39	touch // word
8.	Woman with flow of blood	Mt 9:20-22 / Mk 5:25-34 / Lk 8:43-48	fringe touched
9.	Deaf and mute man	Mk 7:31-37	touch, saliva, word
10.	Man with dropsy (edema)	Lk 14:1-6	touch
11.	Man with severed ear	Lk 22:50-51	touch
Demonic Possession			
1.	In Capernaum synagogue	Mk 1:23-28 / Lk 4:33-37	word
2.	After the Sabbath (summary)	Mt 8:16-17 / Mk 1:32-34 / Lk 4:40-41	word / unstated / touch
3.	Near Gerasa	Mt 8:28-34 / Mk 5:1-20 / Lk 8:26-39	word
4.	Epileptic boy	Mt 17:14-21 / Mk 9:14-29 / Lk 9:37-43a	word
5.	Mute man	Mt 9:32-34	unstated
6.	Mute man // and blind	Lk 11:14-16 // Mt 12:22-23	unstated
7.	Mary Magdalene	Mk 16:9 / Lk 8:2	unstated
8.	Syrophoenician woman	Mt 15:21-28 / Mk 7:24-30	(distant) word
Raising the Dead			
1.	Jairus's daughter	Mk 5:21-24, 35-43 / Lk 8:40-42, 49-56 // Mt 9:18-19, 23-26	touch, word // touch
2.	Widow's son at Nain	Lk 7:11-17	touch, word
3.	Lazarus	Jn 11:1-44	[prayer] / word

Note: The single and double parallel lines are used to connect either the description listed in the second column or the means listed in the fourth column with the corresponding references in the third column. For example, the healing of blindness near Jericho is with a touch in Matthew and with a word in the other Synoptics.

¹Some consider the stories of the healing of the royal official's son in Jn 4:46-54 and the healing of the centurion's slave in Mt 8:5-13 // Lk 7:1-10 to derive originally from a single event, but significant differences may suggest otherwise (Keener, 1:631-32).

²Mt 9:32-34 is usually considered a doublet of Mt 12:22-23.

³Prayer, though not narrated, is referred to in Jn 11:41.

and its central role in the ministry of Jesus. Also common is (*dia*)*sōzō* (18x in the sense of “made well”), suggesting that the healings performed by Jesus comprehended total wellness (spiritual as well as physical). Implied too, if not always explicit, is the individual’s reintegration within the family, as well as the larger society, and restoration to the community of faith. The assurances of Jesus in Luke 7:50 and Luke 17:19, although identical in the Greek (*hē pistis sou sesōken se*), tend to be translated differently precisely because of this overlap (Gaiser).

Another example of this emphasis on total wellness is Jesus’ healing of the paralyzed man brought to him on a pallet. Assuring the man’s forgiveness becomes the implicit prerequisite for complete healing (Mk 2:1-12 par.). Jesus himself, when impugned for keeping company with tax collectors and sinners, seems to have made the link between healing and saving fairly explicit: “Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick; I have come to call not the righteous but sinners” (Mk 2:17). In other words, Jesus’ healings seem to have embraced more than physical restoration; they comprehended also a return to wholeness within Israel and a sign of the redemption that his kingdom proclamation offered.

Likewise significant in this respect is the healing specifically of those whose purity and fitness to approach God in temple worship were considered dubious by virtue of their physical ailments (Wahlen, 83-84n75). The connection between forgiveness and cure and the necessity of both in order to experience complete healing is suggested already in the OT (e.g., Ps 103:3; 143:2-3). So if all healing is attributed to God, it is a rather small step to the interrelating of sin with disease on the one hand (e.g., 1QapGen ar XX, 28-29; CD-A VIII, 4) and health with a righteous lifestyle on the other (e.g., 1QS IV, 6; 4Q257 V, 4; 4Q504 1-2 II, 14), as some of Jesus’ contemporaries did. Healing could thus be seen as the gateway for access to God. Not unrelated is the frequent reference to Jesus’ healing on the *Sabbath, making the Sabbath healings particularly significant by reversing the conventional logic (see Lk 13:14-16). Instead of requiring wellness to approach the holy, Jesus seems intentionally to have healed on the holy Sabbath as a sign of the redemption available through his kingdom proclamation. And, although he healed also on other days, it is probably not accidental that we find Jesus healing chronic rather than acute conditions on that day, despite the likelihood that such activity would have been considered impermissible on the Sabbath (Doering, 227-29, 253). Based on Isaiah

58:13, even talking about work could be prohibited (CD-A X, 19; cf. b. *Sābb*. 113b) and prayer for the sick construed as violating the sanctity of the Sabbath (cf. t. *Sābb*. 16:22). The saving of life on the Sabbath might not have been questioned (m. *Sābb*. 18:3; 19:2; t. *Sābb*. 19:11-17; m. *Yoma* 8:6), but none of the illnesses that Jesus deals with on the Sabbath seem to be life-threatening. Yet Jesus defends this healing work as an extension of the halakic principle that saving life on the Sabbath is permitted (Mk 3:4 par.; later articulated in t. *Sābb*. 15:17; m. *Yoma* 8:6-7; cf. Josephus, *J. W.* 12.277). To the woman cured of a constant blood flow, Jesus not only assured physical healing but also uniquely addressed her as “daughter” and spoke to her a blessing (“Go in peace”), thereby giving reassurance that her impurity had been removed and her place in Israel’s religious society restored. Through these healings Jesus affirmed the close connection between holiness and wholeness and even recognized *sin as the occasional cause of disease, while at the same time denying personal sin as the necessary explanation for all disease (Jn 9:1-3; cf. Lk 13:1-5).

The disciples too, during Jesus’ ministry, may have expelled demons and performed various healings, but not always successfully nor exclusively (Mk 6:13; 9:17-18, 38-40). The ongoing nature of this work is perhaps hinted at in Mark 6:13 by the use of three imperfect tense verbs (*exeballon*, *ēleiphon*, *etherapeuon*). In any case, the apostles’ use of oil to facilitate apparently miraculous healings suggests their dependence on the spirit power available in the kingdom proclamation, unlike Jesus himself, who seems to have healed the sick and expelled demons more directly (John, 51).

3. Distinctive Emphases of the Gospel Writers.

While each of the four Gospels emphasizes certain aspects of Jesus’ healing work, it is more a difference of emphasis than of substance (Brown). The Synoptic Gospels portray the healings as deeds of supernatural power or authority (*dynamis*) that witness to the inbreaking kingdom. In John’s Gospel the selected miraculous healings as well as Jesus’ doing the will of God or “works” (*erga*) become a “sign” (*sēmeion*) of his messiahship and illuminate the nature of his kingdom. They all disclose that “behind the healing ministry of Jesus and others stands Yahweh the healer” (Green, 758) (see also Hahn).

3.1. Mark. Mark shows that Jesus’ actions belong, just as much as the teachings themselves, to the kingdom proclamation. Jesus’ first activity, immediately after calling four fisherman to begin fishing for

people, is set in a synagogue and has Jesus teaching; but, although the people recognize that his teaching is with authority (*exousia*) and call it “new” (*kainē*), we are not told anything about what he taught. In short, the expulsion of unclean spirits, as with Jesus’ other miracles, seems to constitute an important component of the messianic teaching (Mk 1:22, 27). Altogether, Mark narrates eight healing miracles, four exorcisms and one apparent resurrection, all of which dominate this Gospel’s portrayal of Jesus up to his entry into Jerusalem. The theme of newness, begun with this first programmatic scene, continues in the subsequent block of healing miracles (Mk 1:40–2:12), with the larger issue again revolving around Christ’s authority. Later Jesus will delegate this same authority to the Twelve (Mk 3:15), sending them in pairs on a mission similar to his own and enabling them to expel unclean spirits and heal by *anointing the sick with oil (Mk 6:7, 13).

Purity also seems to be an important motif for Mark (Neyrey) and figures prominently in the healing stories (see Clean and Unclean). The first miracle, where the unclean spirit must flee before the Holy One of God, is followed in rapid succession by other encounters, all of which (apart from the healing of Peter’s mother-in-law) concern people with physical ailments or other obvious defects that would have hindered their active participation in the religious life of Israel. Jesus frequently touches those whom he heals (Mk 1:31, 41; 5:41; 7:33; 8:22; 9:27; cf. Mk 10:13), or they touch him (Mk 3:10; 5:27–31; 6:56). His confrontation with the demoniac in the region of the Gerasenes (Mk 5:1–20) illustrates this motif: “Jesus can abide what is impure, but what is impure cannot survive before him” (Chilton, 234). Mark thus portrays Jesus not only as immune from defilement, but also as a source of healing and so also of purifying power. Not accidentally, Mark sandwiches the crucial discussion of purity (Mk 7:1–23) between two exorcisms of *Gentiles, thus highlighting the universality of the gospel (Wahlen, 83–85, 101).

In terms of reintegrating those who are healed within the family and/or the larger society, Jesus’ words of address are often significant (Dawson, 87–88). The leper was told to show himself to the priest and offer the requisite sacrifice (Mk 1:44); others were explicitly sent back home (Mk 2:11; 8:26); the Gerasene demoniac was ordered to return to his own people in order to tell them of the mercy that he had received from the Lord (Mk 5:19); within earshot of the multitude, Jesus told the woman with a hemorrhage that her faith had healed her, thus mak-

ing clear to everyone that she was no longer unclean (Mk 5:34); he told the parents of the dead girl to feed her (Mk 5:43), indicating her return to the normal routine of life.

The two giving-of-sight stories (Mk 8:23–26; 10:46–52) bracket a pivotal part of the Markan narrative that includes the confession at Caesarea Philippi, Jesus’ three passion predictions and the failure of the disciples to cast out an unclean spirit that had rendered its victim unable to speak or hear. The blindness of Israel to Jesus’ messianic teaching has already been introduced (Mk 4:10–13). Now the disciples’ blindness to his warnings about the coming cross, contrasting sharply with Jesus’ success in twice opening the eyes of the blind, suggests that the disciples also fail to comprehend what it means to follow Jesus (a point illustrated repeatedly in this portion of Mark’s Gospel; see Mk 8:32–33; 9:32–34; 10:35–45; cf. Mk 8:18).

Finally, healing in Mark is linked with persevering faith (Marshall, 133) but hindered by unbelief (Mk 6:5) (Twelftree, 100). This lends added significance to Jesus’ lament in view of the soon coming cross, “O, faithless generation!” (Mk 9:19), and points up the tension in Mark between the glorious miracles and the ignominious suffering of Jesus. Despite the fact that no one who asks for healing is turned away, not even the Syrophenician woman in the end (Mk 7:24–30), suffering and death can also be the will of God, as it was for Jesus (Mk 14:36). Above all, Jesus’ death is the means of “ransoming many” (Mk 10:45) because he is the stronger one (Mk 1:7; 3:27) who is able to plunder Satan’s kingdom and free people through the exorcisms and healings (Collins). Ultimately, it seems, if Jesus can be recognized by blind Bartimaeus as the messianic *‘Son of David’ (Mk 10:47–48) and by the Gentile centurion as the *‘Son of God’ (Mk 15:39), even once faithless followers may have hope of their *blindness being healed and their faith restored.

3.2. Matthew. Matthew balances, more evenly than Mark, Jesus’ teaching and healing work (Mt 4:23–24; cf. Mark 1:39) with nine shorter accounts of healing (out of fourteen, including one resurrection) in Matthew 8–9 immediately following the *Sermon on the Mount. Nearly every category of miraculous healing found in the canonical Jesus tradition is present, including the healing of blindness, leprosy, paralysis, fever, chronic hemorrhaging, the expelling of demons, and the raising of the ruler’s daughter from death. Persistent use by Matthew of the verb *therapeuō* in subsequent chapters reinforces healing as an important theme (Comber). “All” are

healed from every possible kind of disease (Mt 4:24; 8:16; cf. Mark's "many"), with even the expelling of demons described as a form of healing (see also Mt 12:22; 17:16). Matthew thus presents Jesus as the healer of Israel: miraculously curing "every disease and every sickness among the people" (Mt 4:23); effortlessly expelling the spirits "with a word" (Mt 8:16, cf. Mt 8:8), recalling the power manifest at creation (Grimm); and fulfilling the promise made to Israel that sickness would be removed from them (Mt 8:17; cf. Ex 15:26; 23:25).

Through the healing stories Matthew also shows Jesus to be the messianic Son of David (see *Christ). Two telling passages contain healing summaries, followed by quotations from the *Servant Songs of Isaiah: the first (Mt 8:16-17), constituting the evangelist's only explicit citation of Isaiah 53, focuses on Jesus as the Isaianic messenger of *salvation (cf. Mt 4:14-17); the second (Mt 12:15-21) cites the very first Servant Song, in which God chooses the servant, commends him (cf. Mt 3:17) and puts his Spirit upon him. Many Matthean themes found just before and after this quotation are thus reinforced, especially Jesus' recognition that openly publicizing the miraculous healings would only engender greater opposition (Mt 12:19, cf. Mt 12:16, 9-14, 23-24) and Jesus' assertion of the reign of God through his possession of the Spirit (Mt 12:18; cf. Mt 12:28). Matthew's narration of the cleansing of a leper as the first miracle story (Mt 8:1-4), immediately after the Sermon on the Mount, reinforces the impression not only that Jesus is law-observant (Twelftree, 107), but also that his healing work stands as a metaphor of salvation for Israel (see Held). Here, as elsewhere in Matthew, the supplicant not only addresses Jesus as *kyrios* (a double entendre [also Mt 15:22; 17:15]) but also, by falling down before Jesus in *worship, evidences the faith necessary for healing; and Jesus rewards them for their faith (Mt 8:13; 9:29).

At the same time, some hints of Matthean ambivalence toward Israel's healing are noticeable in Jesus' dual citation of Hosea 6:6 (which in the larger context of the chapter in Hosea envisages Israel's future healing but also indicates that Israel is not healed; see Hos 6:1-5, 7-11; 7:1-2). Unlike the Gentiles, who reveal "great faith" such as Jesus did not find "in Israel" and who will come from "east and west" (Mt 8:10-11; cf. Is 49:12; 59:19), the "sons of the kingdom" (the privileged Jewish leaders who reject Jesus?) will be cast out (Mt 8:12). Interestingly, Matthew relates both his quotations of Hosea 6:6 (Mt 9:13; 12:7) to healing: the first instance justifies Jesus' embracing of "tax collectors and sinners" on the grounds of their

needing a "physician" (*iatros* [Mt 9:12]); the second, sandwiched between Sabbath controversies, has the Pharisees asking Jesus directly whether it is lawful to heal on the Sabbath (Mt 12:10). As with his healing of the leper (Mt 8:4), Jesus affirms the *law (cf. Mt 5:17), here enunciating a halakic principle for Sabbath observance: it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath (Mt 12:12). Having explained the right course of action, Jesus heals the withered hand.

The proclamation of the kingdom is closely associated with healing in Matthew, principally in the work of Jesus but also in that of his disciples, whose missionary activity is patterned after his (Mt 4:17, 23-24; 10:7-8). Unlike Mark, who seems to emphasize the intractability of the maladies (Mk 7:31-37; 8:22-26), Matthew, by judiciously retaining only essential details, makes the healings seem effortless. Jesus also encounters significant opposition, first by forgiving as well as healing the paralytic (Mt 9:2-3), next by healing on the Sabbath (Mt 12:9-10), and then finally (and most extensively) by proclaiming the kingdom (Mt 12:22-32). Matthew's Jesus imparts the wholeness necessary for participation in Israel's religious life, breaking through social as well as ritually legitimated barriers—by his healing as well as by his teaching. Even the most serious sources of ritual impurity pose no obstacle for Jesus. He is not disturbed by the touch of a menstruating woman, nor does he himself hesitate to touch the dead (Mt 9:20-22, 18, 25). And yet, as only Matthew explains, when the blind and the lame come to Jesus in the temple, he heals them (Mt 21:14), thus obviating the implicit problem of his potentially defiled listeners remaining in that holy place (Mt 21:14; cf. Mt 15:30-31). Perhaps opening the eyes of the blind and giving life back to the dead is also expressive of a Matthean hope for Israel and of their ultimate salvation.

3.3. Luke. Of the sixteen healing miracles recorded by Luke, four (including one resurrection) are unique to this Gospel (Lk 7:11-17; 13:10-17; 14:1-6; 17:11-19). As in Matthew, the proclamation of Jesus in Luke is characterized in Isaianic terms that include healing, as seen from the programmatic episode in Nazareth (Lk 4:16-21) (see Jubilee). That Jesus' healing work will be a prominent issue is anticipated already in the proverb "Physician, heal yourself!" and the mention of foreigners who received mercy in the time of *Elijah, including Naaman, who was cleansed of leprosy (Lk 4:23-27). The healing of Gentiles finds further development in Jesus healing the centurion's slave (Lk 7:1-10) and a Samaritan leper, who alone of the ten healed lepers returns to give glory to God despite his being a "for-

eigner” (Lk 17:17-18). Both of these stories highlight the non-Israelite expression of saving faith (Lk 7:9; 17:19). The vital role of faith is emphasized also in the sending of disciples by *John the Baptist to ask whether or not Jesus was the one whom they had expected. According to Luke’s account, John’s disciples see Jesus raising the widow of Nain’s son, healing people of various diseases (including demonic possession) and giving sight to the blind (Lk 7:11-21). Then Jesus asks them to tell John what they have “seen and heard,” making them the first witnesses to the “gospel” (cf. Acts 4:20; 22:15), which fulfills Isaianic prophecy (Lk 7:22; cf. Is 29:18; 35:5-6; 61:1). Although these passages in Isaiah do not mention resurrection, the *Messianic Apocalypse* from Qumran describes the messianic era in terms of these same passages, adding that the Lord “will make the dead live” (4Q521 II, 1, 8, 12). Still, Luke’s stories of healing, while seeming to comport with his larger framework of prophecy fulfillment, give no evidence of having been shaped to prove that Jesus is fulfilling prophecy through these miracles (Achtemeier). Rather, “Jesus is the Savior who refuses to save himself (Luke 23:35), the physician come not to heal himself (Luke 4:23), the one whose ministry and whose service lead to the cross” (Gaiser, 300).

Luke shows particular interest in those whom Jesus heals *as people*. He eschews labeling people in terms of their disease, avoiding the one-word descriptors so prevalent in the other Synoptics (see Lk 5:18, 24; 7:12; 8:35; 17:12; 18:35). He includes details important for understanding the impact of the malady not only on the sufferers but also on the larger family structure: the dead boy from Nain is a widow’s only son (Lk 7:12), and the demon-possessed boy is his father’s only child (Lk 9:38); the dead girl was Jairus’s only daughter and twelve years old (Lk 8:42). All four Gospels describe a disciple slicing off the ear of the high priest’s servant, but only in Luke is Jesus unwilling to leave the man in such a state, and restores his ear (Lk 22:51 [the event is so briefly mentioned that typically it is not classified as a miracle story]).

Jesus’ relation to the Spirit is also uniquely presented in Luke (see Holy Spirit). By virtue of his *birth and *baptism, he is Spirit-filled, Spirit-led, and Spirit-empowered to heal as well as to preach (Lk 1:35; 4:1, 14, 18-19). There is no dichotomy between preaching and healing. Twice, in fact, Luke distinctly emphasizes the power of the word of Jesus to heal (Lk 4:39; 18:42) when it goes unmentioned in the other Gospels. The use of the noun *dynamis* in connection with physical healing emphasizes the

power of the Spirit within him to heal (Lk 5:17; 6:19; 8:46). And despite the fact that salvation terminology is found nearly twice as often here as in Matthew and Mark, it is difficult to decide which nuance of the verb *sōzō* predominates in a given instance: its salvific aspect or physical healing—a fact that perhaps explains why only in Luke 8:47-48 does it appear in close proximity to one of the principal words for “to cure” (*iaomai*).

Also unique to Luke is mention of Satan’s “fall” (Lk 10:18), which in its immediate context alludes to a process of defeat. Jesus’ *authority over and expulsion of demons, which is also imparted to the disciples (Lk 9:6; 10:9, 17, 19), signifies the intrusion of God’s kingdom and the ensuing clash with Satan’s kingdom (Lk 11:18, 20), a confrontation continued throughout Luke-Acts (Lk 13:16; 22:3, 31; Acts 5:3, 9; 13:8-10; 26:18). The presence of the kingdom is seen not only in Jesus’ expulsion of demons but also in his healing people from the malevolent effects of unclean and evil “spirits” (Lk 6:18; 7:21; 8:2; 9:42; 13:11-14; Acts 5:16). Luke never speaks of the exorcism of illness, but rather as healing from spirit oppression or demonic possession. Most importantly, it is the healing of “all who were oppressed by the devil” (Acts 10:38) that enables them to share in the eschatological salvation brought by Jesus in God’s divine plan.

3.4. John. The Gospel of John narrates far fewer miracles than the Synoptics. It recounts only three healing miracles (Jn 4:46-54; 5:1-9; 9:1-41) and one resurrection (Jn 11:1-44), all of which are unique to this Gospel. John emphasizes their symbolic significance as “signs” (*sēmeia*) or, as Jesus calls them, “works” (*erga*), given him by his Father to complete (e.g., Jn 4:34; 5:36). The miraculous healings are explicitly selected to reveal who Jesus is and the nature of his kingdom, leading to faith in him (Jn 20:30-31). In the Synoptic Gospels any spiritual significance that the healings might have is subsidiary to the fact of the healings as acts of divine power (*dynameis*, a term not found in John). And nothing approaching the Synoptics’ depiction of spirits and demons appears in John. Spirits are never identified as evil or unclean; exorcisms are entirely absent; and “demon” terminology is sublimated into a cosmic conflict between *light and darkness embodied in Jesus and his human adversaries (Jn 7:20; 8:48-49, 52; 10:20-21).

Some see in the organization of the signs an elaborate chiasm with the restoration of the dying son paralleling the resurrection of *Lazarus and the two Sabbath healings of lameness and blindness in sharp contrast to each other (Girard). More likely, the sign miracles progressively unfold to the reader (and

even more slowly to the characters who experience and/or witness them) the unique identity of Jesus as the Son and his intimate knowledge of and obedience to the Father. The royal official is classed initially with the crowd of people who had to “see” before believing (Jn 4:48; cf. Jn 20:29). Ultimately, however, he believes and obeys Jesus’ word of command before seeing its fulfillment. The pitiful man at Bethesda does not know who healed him (Jn 5:13) and seems oblivious to the deeper issues provoked by the miracle and disclosed in the ensuing monologue: the healings portend complete restoration, spiritual as well as physical (Jn 5:14, 21, 25)—an idea only implicit in the similar Synoptic healing of the paralyzed man (Mk 2:1-12 par.).

The story of Jesus healing the man born blind reiterates the theme that Jesus’ identity can be understood only by those who believe. The man displays growing discernment, first knowing Jesus just as a man (Jn 9:11), then recognizing him as a prophet (Jn 9:17) and finally worshiping him as the Son of God (Jn 9:35-38) (Howard, 184). The man’s witness also expands from family and friends to Pharisees, and from gentle insistence to bold resolve as opposition mounts, culminating in his exclusion from the synagogue. Readers are made aware that “seeing” the divine signs and “hearing” the word of revelation (Jn 3:32; 6:45) moves people to a decision, either to embrace and walk in the light or to reject it and remain blind (Jn 9:41; 15:22-24). They are also invited to express the highest level of faith and realize the blessing pronounced upon those who have not seen and yet believe (Jn 20:29). Embarking on his final journey to Bethany, Jerusalem and the cross (cf. Jn 11:16), Jesus sets out to wake Lazarus from his death sleep, the most spectacular sign. Only as each of these signs are recognized for what they are—manifestations of Jesus’ *glory and unity with the Father (Jn 11:4; cf. 9:3)—are they truly understood (Hooker, 67).

4. Conclusion.

History attests a variety of support systems and health care centers in the ancient world to facilitate healing. Besides the ubiquitous folk healers with their remedies and “holy men” calling upon their gods, the Greco-Roman world boasted physicians with expertise in the then-modern methods of healing. Mostly, however, these centers, healers and doctors exhibited only limited medical success.

The work of Jesus manifests a new and special quality in that healing takes place fully and easily, unmediated even by prayer, because it flows out of his unique relation to God as Son. Sometimes indi-

viduals attributed magical qualities to things as an extension of Jesus’ person, but in all four Gospels healing ultimately comes from God and aims (implicitly if not always explicitly) at the complete restoration of the person physically, socially and spiritually. Jesus’ act of healing on the Sabbath echoes creation, not only in displaying divine power and authority but also in returning individuals to total health on the day that was the first full day of life for human beings in the beginning. It also points to the ultimate triumph of God’s kingdom and, as John makes explicit, eternal *life.

Closely connected with health is the idea of separation from sin because, in the world of Jesus and the Gospel writers, the ultimate, if not the effective, cause of all disease is sin. While sinful practices sometimes bring disease, *repentance and forgiveness are the remedy for sin whether or not disease is involved. At times, physical healing may not be God’s will; rather more important in the face of suffering seems to be submission to God’s will and a willingness for God’s glory to be manifested (Mk 14:36; Jn 9:3; 11:4). In the final analysis, God’s healing power is not circumscribed by national or ethnic boundaries or gender; rather it appears designed to encourage and reward the supplicant’s faith response to Jesus.

See also BLINDNESS AND DEAFNESS; DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; FAITH; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; LAZARUS; LEPROSY; MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES; RESURRECTION.

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C. Wahlen

HEAVEN AND HELL

In modern parlance, the combination “heaven and hell” often refers to distinct destinations in the afterlife. This combination never appears in this form in the Gospels, however, though the KJV contrasts “heaven” and “hell” at Matthew 11:23 // Luke 10:15 (cf. “Hades” [e.g., NRSV]). Instead, the Gospels use a complex of terms and metaphors to signify the fate of humans after death.

1. Linguistic Considerations
2. Portraits of the Afterlife Outside the New Testament
3. The Gospels and the Afterlife

1. Linguistic Considerations.

In the Gospels *ouranos* can refer simply to the sky or the air (e.g., Mt 6:26; Mk 4:32; Lk 17:24), or to what we today might call “outer space” (e.g., Mk 13:25). It can signify *God’s domain (e.g., Mt 5:16; 6:9; 23:22; Mk 11:25; Lk 11:13) and the abode of the *angels (e.g., Mt 18:10; 22:30; Lk 2:15; 22:43), and thus be used metonymically for God (e.g., Mt 21:25; Lk 15:18, 21). According to John’s Gospel, Jesus has come from heaven (e.g., Jn 3:13; 6:38) and, for Luke, after his resurrection Jesus *ascends to heaven (Lk 24:51; cf. Acts 1:9-11). Again, these are instances of heaven as God’s abode (cf. Jn 13:3; Acts 7:56). The names of Jesus’ *disciples are written in heaven (Lk 10:20), those who are harassed on account of their association with Jesus have a reward in heaven (Mt 5:12; Lk 6:23), Jesus instructs people to store up treasures in heaven (Mt 6:20; Lk 12:33) and heaven is the destination of those who are raised up at the *judgment (Mt 11:23; Lk 10:15). These few texts reveal that the use of the term “heaven” to signify the postmortem dwelling place of the faithful is uncommon in the Gospels, whether explicitly or implicitly.

Paradeisos appears only once in the Gospels, in Luke 23:43, where it is usually transliterated as “paradise.” Originally the term referred to a “park” or “nobleman’s estate,” and it is used in the Greek ver-

sions of Genesis 2—3 for Eden. Given the *apocalyptic notion that the end would recapitulate the beginning, the term came to be employed for the final, paradisaical state enjoyed in the new creation. *Paradeisos* appears only two other times in the NT—in Revelation 2:7, where it connotes the end-time restoration of divine presence and provision; and in 2 Corinthians 12:4, where it appears in parallel with “the third heaven,” an image that depends on the portrait of the first Eden (i.e., Paradise) as having been kept sealed in anticipation of the end (cf. Is 51:3; *T. Levi* 18:10–11; Lincoln, 77–84). In Second Temple Jewish literature paradise could refer simply to heaven, the divine abode and place of bliss (e.g., 4 Ezra 4:7–8; *T. Ab.* (B) 10:3); to the place of heavenly abode immediately upon death (e.g., *T. Ab.* 20:14); or to an intermediate abode of the righteous (e.g., 1 *En.* 37–71); but it refers most often to the end-time dwelling place of the righteous with God (e.g., 4 Ezra 7:36; 8:52; 2 *Bar.* 51:11; *T. Levi* 18:10–11).

The phrase *kolpos Abraam* appears only once in the Gospels, in Luke 16:22 (see also Lk 16:23), where it refers to “Abraham’s side” or “Abraham’s bosom,” that is, to the place of honor at the end-time banquet. According to the *Testament of Abraham*, here “there is no toil, no grief, no mourning, but peace, exaltation and endless life” (*T. Ab.* 20:14; *OTP* 1:895).

The Gospels use other terms and images for postmortem life with God, including inheriting the kingdom (e.g., Mt 25:34), eating in God’s kingdom (Mt 8:11; Lk 13:29; 14:15), shining like the sun in the kingdom (Mt 13:43), dwelling in “my Father’s house” (Jn 14:2–3), and inheriting, having and going into eternal life (e.g., Mt 25:46; Mk 10:30; Lk 10:25; Jn 3:16 et passim). In the afterlife, “the righteous are like the angels, they are God’s children and children of the resurrection” (Lk 20:36).

Hadēs in modern translations is sometimes simply transliterated as “hades,” and refers to the place of the dead, the underworld or the netherworld. Evidence from the wider NT world supports a range of possible uses, including Hades as the general abode of the dead, the intermediate abode for all of the dead prior to the final judgment, the intermediate abode of the wicked and the righteous prior to the final judgment (during which time punishments and rewards have already been assessed), and exclusively the place of punishment for the wicked (Bauckham 1998a, 9–96). On one occasion, Luke also uses a term closely associated with *hadēs*, namely, *abyssos*, “underworld,” usually transliterated as “abyss,” here with reference to the abode of *demons (Lk 8:31).

Geenna, usually transliterated as “gehenna” or translated as “hell,” refers to the place of punishment at the judgment. The term derives from the name of a valley located on the south slope of Jerusalem, the Valley of Hinnom (Josh 15:8; 18:16), where Ahaz and Manasseh followed the “detestable practices of the nations” by burning sacrifices to Molech and even sacrificing their own sons in the fire (2 Chron 28:3; 33:6; 2 Kings 16:3). Associated with such practices as these, the Hinnom Valley (or Valley of the Son of Hinnom) came to be associated with the most horrific images of divine judgment (Jer 7:30–33; 19:1–13; 32:34–35; cf. Is 31:9; 66:24).

Other images are used in the Gospels with reference to divine judgment in the afterlife, including “the outer darkness, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth” (Mt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30), “fire” (Mt 3:10; 7:12; 13:40, 42, 50; Lk 3:9; Jn 15:6; cf. “hell of fire” in Mt 5:22; 18:9; “unquenchable fire” in Mt 3:12; Mk 9:43, 48; Lk 3:17; “eternal fire” in Mt 18:8; 25:41), “eternal punishment” (Mt 25:46) and “God’s wrath” (Jn 3:36).

From the perspective of cognitive linguistics, then, the Gospels generally make use of two primary metaphors in their portraits of the afterlife: (1) Up Is More (and its corollary Down Is Less), in which experiences of verticality map onto judgments about quantity, in this case the quantity of divine *blessing one experiences; and (2) Closeness Is Belonging, in which spatial proximity maps onto relational concepts. With the first metaphor, the afterlife is portrayed in terms of upward or downward movement, typically with reference to regions above the earth’s surface (and so collocated with notions of honor, reward, happiness, good) or to regions below the earth’s surface (and so collocated with notions of debasement, punishment, anguish, bad). God’s abode is “up,” so *mountains are places of divine encounter and revelation (e.g., Mt 5:1; 17:1); God’s Spirit comes down to Jesus and God’s voice speaks from above (Mt 3:16–17); Jesus looks up to *pray (Mk 6:41; Jn 17:1); Jesus anticipates his *ascension (Lk 9:51) and is carried up (Lk 24:51); indeed, God is known as the Most High (Mk 5:7; Lk 1:32, 35, 76; 6:35; 8:28). Contrariwise, Hades is the underworld. Use of this metaphor is captured in Jesus’ pronouncement: “And you, Capernaum, will you be raised up to heaven? No, you will be cast down to Hades” (Mt 11:23; Lk 10:15). With the second metaphor, proximity to God is a benchmark of one’s postmortem experience. For example, those who inherit God’s kingdom are told, “Come!” (*deute*), whereas those who are cursed are told, “Go!” (*poreues-the*) (Mt 25:34, 41). This results in proximity or dis-

tance from the king, with the one defined as “eternal life” and the other as “eternal punishment” (Mt 25:46). Similarly, those wanting to enter the heavenly kingdom but who have not done the Father’s will are told, “I never knew you; depart from me, you evildoers” (Mt 7:23). In the same way, intimacy is signaled by references to living in “my Father’s house” or eating at “Abraham’s side,” and the opposite by the phrase “the outer darkness” (which also trades on the metaphorical polarity of “light and dark, with light associated with goodness and God, and dark associated with badness or evil, and the devil).

2. Portraits of the Afterlife Outside the New Testament.

2.1. Greco-Roman Views. Although the Greco-Roman world was home to an array of often-contradictory views regarding the afterlife, the major options are easily summarized: death is simply the end of life, after which nothing follows; or at death the soul departs the body and lives on. In the Roman period, the beliefs of many continued to be influenced by Homer on account of the central place of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* in Roman education. He depicted the underworld, Hades, as a dark, gloomy, underground region, the home of the “soul” (not the essential self as in later Platonism, but a ghostly shadow or phantom image of the living person, lacking consciousness, strength and intelligence) of everyone who has died. In the centuries after Homer, ethical reflection would lead some to distinguish between the fates of the moral and the immoral, and metaphysical reflection would lead some to develop an enhanced view of the soul as the center of personal identity. Now understood as immortal, the soul would escape the body in death and either live on independently or inhabit another body. The prospect of death, according to this latter view, was not to be lamented but welcomed as that moment when the soul is liberated from captivity to the body. The shift in thought is striking. At death, for Homer, the self lies on the ground and is buried or eaten by dogs, while the miserable soul journeys to Hades. For Plato, however, the loss of the container-body marks the liberation of the self-soul.

Platonic influence continued into the first-century world of the Gospels, of course, but the primary philosophical schools held different views. For Epicurean physics, the soul was comprised of fine particles that dissipated at death; death was therefore a prelude to nothingness and anticipation of death was no cause for worry. Accordingly, numerous gravestones were marked with this series of letters:

“nf f ns nc”—that is, *non fui, fui, non sum, non curo* (“I wasn’t, I was, I’m not, I don’t care”). Stoic views of the afterlife are less easy to summarize, but some apparently thought the soul could survive beyond death, some souls indefinitely. Souls might undergo different fates, with some punished and others rewarded. Some held the view that the *psychē*, or “soul,” was made of *aether* (which, in the ancient periodic table would have been the stuff of outer space), so at death it did not descend to the underworld but ascended into space. Roman religion was not particularly concerned with the afterlife, however, and apart from certain philosophical groups and the popular belief that a hero or emperor might morph into a divinity at death (apotheosis, deification), the more common view was that death was followed by nothingness. “When death comes, everything will be consumed by earth and fire” (CIL 6.17985a).

2.2. Old Testament and Second Temple Jewish Views. C. Setzer aptly observes, “The theme of the reward of the righteous at some future time is implanted in Israel’s consciousness, while the expression of that reward is a mix of images of bodily and spiritual survival and revivification” (Setzer, 11). She thus underscores both that Second Temple Jewish literature is characterized by an unruly diversity of viewpoints regarding the afterlife, a diversity incapable of synthesis into a single current of thought, and that the promise of rewards and punishments in the next life was integral to making sense of this life.

From the OT Israel takes its bearings from the twin, inescapable realities that human existence is marked by finitude and that death marks the cessation of life in all of its aspects (Morrow). “We must all die; we are like water spilled on the ground, which cannot be gathered again” (2 Sam 14:14). The place of the dead is typically called Sheol (Hades in the Greek OT), often with reference to the fate to which the ungodly are consigned and to which the godly declare their aversion (e.g., Pss 9:18; 16:10; 30:4; 31:18; 49:16; 55:16; 86:13; 88:6; Is 5:14; Job 24:19; cf. Alexander; Block; Johnston). Sheol is the subterranean world of the dead (e.g., Pss 55:15; 86:13; Is 14:15; Jon 2:2), a place of darkness (Job 17:13) where the worm feasts (Is 14:11). In a few poetic texts, the dead in Sheol are called *rēpā’im* (“shades” [NRSV], “ghosts” [CEB], “the dead” [NLT]; see Ps 88:10; Prov 2:18; 9:18; 21:16; Is 14:9; 26:14, 19), though with no suggestion that the *rēpā’im* are “alive” or possess a “self.” Here is neither a beatific vision of the afterlife nor the basis for one. Isaiah 26:14, 19 contrast the fate of the wicked, who will be overtaken by death, and the

righteous, whose death will be overturned by Yahweh. Scholars have puzzled over whether this is an image of Israel's return from *exile (cf. Ezek 37:1-14) or an early reference to belief in the resurrection of the righteous, or both (cf. Ollenburger). In any case, the first unambiguous OT reference to resurrection comes in Daniel 12:1-3, in which "many of those who sleep in the earth's dust will awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt." Additionally, the OT bears witness to other celebrated but exceptional cases: God "took" Enoch (Gen 5:24) and Elijah "ascended in a whirlwind into heaven" in a fiery chariot (2 Kings 2:11).

Hebrew understandings of death and the afterlife were transformed under Greek and Roman influence beginning in the fourth century B.C. Following a well-worn OT path, Ben Sira affirms the creation of human beings from the earth and their return to the earth at death (Sir 16:30; 17:1; 40:1, 11; 41:10), highlights the inevitability of death (Sir 14:12-19), and denies human immortality (Sir 17:30; 44:9). Others were pulled in other directions, however, with the result that theological development in this period gave rise to numerous beliefs about the nature of the afterlife. A few examples must suffice. Daniel's claim that, in the resurrection, "the wise will shine like the brightness of the sky" and "those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars" (Dan 12:3) may itself reflect Greek influence in that his simile seems to take its departure from the idea of astral immortality one finds in Greek literature. *Jubilees* represents Hellenistic influence in its picture of corpses at rest in the earth but spirits enjoying happiness (*Jub.* 23:31). The Wisdom of Solomon, the works of Philo, and the writings of Josephus, too, bear witness to a Platonic notion of the soul's immortality. (We would be mistaken, however, to accept uncritically the view *Josephus espouses that, as a "philosophical school," the Pharisees likewise held to the soul's immortality; his tendency to paint the Pharisees in his own image is increasingly recognized [cf. Elledge].) 2 Maccabees 7 reflects belief in a bodily resurrection. *1 Enoch* portrays Sheol as a place of detention, with four different chambers, one for each class of the dead, where people await final judgment. The *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* pictures Hades as the place of punishment for the wicked, visible from heaven, with the two, heaven and Hades, separated by a river, and the wicked appearing as embodied persons, even possessing hair (*Apoc. Zeph.* 10:12-14). In *Testament of Abraham* 11 we read of two gates, one for the righteous who enter Paradise (or heaven, *T. Ab.* 20:12), the other for

sinners destined for destruction and eternal punishment, with judgment occurring at the very moment of death.

These views of the afterlife cannot be organized along a spectrum, as though they represent different points along a continuum. Like the stars in the sky, they form instead a constellation of beliefs. This means that, when we turn to the Gospels, we cannot depend on "prevailing Jewish beliefs" to guide interpretation; there were no "prevailing beliefs," apart from general belief in an afterlife and the all-important claim that one's experience in the afterlife would be a reflection of one's conformity to Torah in the present. The not-insignificant exception to these beliefs was, of course, the Sadducees, who denied the resurrection and, with it, the idea of rewards and punishments in the afterlife (cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 2.165; *Ant.* 18.66; Mt 22:23; Mk 12:18; Lk 20:27; Acts 23:8). According to the Gospels, Jesus shared the more generally accepted Jewish belief in the afterlife and its association with the need to rebalance the scales of justice on the other side of death. If this last claim pervades the Gospels, however, it does so in sometimes surprising ways.

3. The Gospels and the Afterlife.

3.1. Matthew. More than the other evangelists, Matthew is concerned about the final *judgment, though not as a matter of speculation. Judgment, which concerns people both in and outside the church, is the moment when the righteous are distinguished from the unrighteous. Accordingly, judgment serves for Matthew as an impetus for hearing and doing God's will (see Mt 7:21-29). This is not because Matthew subscribes to a kind of "works-righteousness," as though one might be regarded as righteous on account of one's performance. Matthew's images are more organic. As a good tree bears good fruit and a bad tree bears bad fruit, so righteous people display in their day-to-day lives their covenant faithfulness before God (see Mt 7:15-20; 12:33). Those who align themselves with the kingdom behave in ways ("produce fruit"; see Mt 3:8; 21:43) that reflect their allegiance to the king. Those who do not produce good fruit are destroyed (Mt 3:10; 7:19; 13:40, 42).

Matthew uses the term *geenna* seven times, once with reference to people whose lives are inspired by "hell" (Mt 23:15), but otherwise with reference to the "hell" of eschatological condemnation (Mt 5:22, 29, 30; 10:28; 18:9; 23:33). Matthew 10:28 is interesting for its unusual portrait of the afterlife: "Do not be afraid of those who kill the body but cannot kill the

soul. Instead, be afraid of the one who can destroy both body and soul in hell.” This is not an example of Jesus’ adopting a Platonic view of the soul separated from the body, left to decompose in the ground; both body and soul are in hell. Matthean usage more broadly suggests that in this instance “soul” (*psychē*) refers to the inner aliveness of a person rather than a separate entity or “true self.” Matthew thus bears witness to a martyr theology according to which persecutors may torture the body, but only God has power over a person’s life. How is this so? The answer lies in the resurrection: God raises the dead! Concerning those who do not maintain faithfulness in the midst of persecution, however, God is capable of relegating them to Gehenna.

Expanding on the language of Gehenna (see 1 above), Matthew can portray final judgment in fiery terms (Mt 3:10, 12; 5:22; 7:19; 13:40, 42, 50; 18:8, 9; 25:41), signifying destruction in an all-consuming fire that is sometimes described as unquenchable or eternal. The concept of hell is also associated with anguished distress with the phrase “weeping and gnashing of teeth” (Mt 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30).

At several points, the outcome of the final judgment is shockingly unexpected, such as when “the heirs of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness” while people from around the world, *Gentiles among them, join *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the end-time banquet (Mt 8:11-12). Those inside the community of Jesus’ followers are vulnerable too, and must maintain faithful vigilance (cf. Mt 18:6-14; 25:1-30). In fact, only in the final judgment will it become clear who are “children of the kingdom” and who are “children of the evil one” (Mt 13:36-43, 47-50). Nowhere is this motif more transparent than in the scene Jesus paints in Matthew 25:31-46, where both the blessed and the cursed seem perplexed by the basis of final judgment. It would be difficult to find a stronger affirmation that righteous behavior is not the product of a moral calculus designed to attract divine attention, but rather an organic outgrowth of one’s allegiance to the ways of the king (for the history of interpretation, see Gray).

3.2. Mark. Mark devotes little attention to heaven and hell. References to hell are concentrated at the end of Mark 9, where Jesus warns his followers to set aside whatever might cause one to stumble in one’s faith (Mk 9:43-48). Borrowing from Isaiah 66:24 (cf. Jud 16:17; Sir 7:17), he associates those who stumble in their faith with God’s enemies, and paints hell with images of deplorable death and decomposition:

“their worm never dies, and the fire is never put out” (Mk 9:48). Mark thus uses dreadful images of end-time judgment to motivate unreserved allegiance to God. Life with God in the world to come is “eternal life”—that which the rich man wanted to obtain, but which demanded heavenly treasures, namely, renunciation of his possessions and giving all to the poor, as well as joining the band of Jesus’ followers (Mk 10:17-30). In debate with the *Sadducees, Jesus grounds his belief in the resurrection in his belief in the living, faithful God (Ex 3:6), and observes that, in the afterlife, people, like angels, will not marry (Mk 12:18-27; likewise Mt 22:23-33). Luke will draw out this simile further by noting that, like angels, people in the age to come will not die (Lk 20:27-40).

3.3. Luke. Luke is distinguished from the other Gospels primarily with respect to what J. Dupont has called Luke’s “individual eschatology,” that is, his concern with the fate of the individual at death. This motif comes into special focus in two texts: Luke 16:19-31; 23:43 (cf. also Lk 12:16-21).

In its narrative setting, Jesus’ story of the rich man and *Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31) is his reply to the *Pharisees who questioned his fidelity to the *law (Lk 16:14-18) (see Green, 98-112). The purpose of the story then, is to demonstrate Jesus’ faithfulness and the Pharisee’s duplicity vis-à-vis the law. At one level, the story concerns wealth and its manifestations: a wealthy man engages in conspicuous consumption without regard for a beggar who resides at his gate, that is, for someone who is quite literally his “neighbor” (Lk 16:19-21; cf. Lk 10:29-37). The rich and poor then experience the eschatological reversal announced in Luke 6:20-25. On another level, the story centers on the case of a wealthy man who realizes too late that he has ignored the words of Moses and the prophets concerning the poor (Lk 16:31).

The stage is set by an extravagant parallelism. The two main characters are distanced from each other in this life and the next. The rich man is outrageously affluent, while Lazarus is expendable. Both die, but the rich man is buried whereas Lazarus apparently is not. Immediately, then, the rich man appears in Hades, and Lazarus at Abraham’s side. Lazarus is in a state of bliss while the wealthy man is tormented in Hades. In this case, then, Hades is not simply a waiting area in preparation for final judgment. Lazarus already shares in Abraham’s celebrated hospitality and participates in the heavenly banquet (see Lk 11:22-30), and the rich man is now suffering in Hades. Continuity of personal identity is obvious, the relationship between the character of one’s earthly life and the nature of one’s experience

in the afterlife is highlighted, and these characters act as human agents with corporeal existence (who can thirst, speak and, presumably, fetch water)—all while earthly life continues (Lk 16:27-31).

Among the Gospels, Luke alone records the exchange between the two criminals and Jesus at the scene of their crucifixion (Lk 23:40-43). The first criminal *blasphemes Jesus, whereas the second demonstrates surprising insight into Jesus' identity. Our interest is in Jesus' reply to the second criminal, "I assure you that today you will be with me in Paradise," and especially the two words "today" and "Paradise." Although it is grammatically possible that "today" could be read with "I assure you," its function as an adverb to denote when the criminal will join Jesus in Paradise is assured by Luke's well-documented concern with the immediacy of salvation (e.g., Lk 4:21; 19:9). And, since "paradise" connotes the end-time dwelling of the righteous with God (see 1 above), Jesus promises an immediate transfer to life in God's presence.

In neither of these Lukan texts do we find testimony to support the notion of an "intermediate state," that is, the presumption of the passing of time between one's death and the final judgment. If this appears to stand in tension with other NT texts, especially Pauline, that recommend the passage of time from death to the end (e.g., 1 Thess 4:16-17), this could be because we are faced with two divergent biblical traditions. Alternatively, this passing of time could be a matter of perspective: the participation of the dead in the movement from this life to the next versus the perception of time by those who bury their dead and await the eschaton. If the dead experience eternity with God, then there is good basis for imagining that they are not governed by the passing of time as we experience it (see Thiselton).

3.4. John. John never mentions hell or Hades. Moreover, for John, heaven is God's domain from which Jesus has come and to which he will return; heaven is not used in references to the afterlife. For this, John turns especially to the language of "life" itself, including the phrase "eternal life." For John's Gospel, "eternal life is . . . a continuation into the future of a reality granted and experienced here, of which faith is already a constituent element" (Thompson, 46). This faith is expressed in faithfulness, that is, in remaining or abiding—"his word abiding in you," the Spirit's abiding in you, "abiding in Jesus," "abiding in love" (Jesus' and the Father's) (Jn 5:38; 6:56; 14:17; 15:1-10). What of those who do not believe? "God's wrath remains on them" (Jn 3:36).

This is not to say that for John the end can be col-

lapsed into the present, however. John 5:25-29 anticipates the resurrection in words reminiscent of Daniel 12:1-3. The *Son of Man will execute judgment, the graves will give up their dead, "those who have done good to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil to the resurrection of condemnation" (Jn 5:29). In John 11:25-26, Jesus (who is "the resurrection and the life") explains that those who enjoy eternal life in the present will live even if they die, on account of the resurrection.

See also BLESSING AND WOE; ESCHATOLOGY; ETHICS OF JESUS; JUDGMENT; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; LIFE, ETERNAL LIFE; RESURRECTION.

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HEBREW LANGUAGE. See LANGUAGES OF PALESTINE.

HELLENISM

A controversial term, *Hellenism* typically denotes the presence of Greek culture. The period following Alexander the Great is frequently referred to as the “Hellenistic age,” during which time elements of Greek culture exerted widespread and long-lasting influence over much of the Mediterranean region, including Palestine. The fact that the NT Gospels were composed in Greek is testimony to the Hellenization of much of the ancient Mediterranean world.

1. Defining Hellenism
2. Hellenism and Judaism
3. Hellenism and the Gospels

1. Defining Hellenism.

1.1. *Hellenism in Antiquity.* The concept of Hellenism is difficult to define. The English word *Hellenism* derives from the Greek *hellēnismos*, yet both ancient and contemporary sources employ the term in a variety of ways. At one level, Hellenism has to do with the ethnic and cultural construct of “Greekness.” Thus, the fifth-century B.C. historian Herodotus records a speech from an Athenian delegation that identifies as one of the reasons for their failure to come to terms with the Persian Xerxes the Athenians’ own “Greekness” (*to hellēnikon*), defined in terms of “common blood, common language, altars of gods and sacrifices shared in common, and common ways of life” (Herodotus, *Hist.* 8.144.2 [cf. Isocrates, *Paneg.* 50]). Here Hellenic identity is depicted as shared kinship, language, religion and culture (see Hall).

The verb *hellēnizō* (“to Hellenize”) is found in Greek literature as early as Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War*, where the historian employs the term to indicate that the Amphilochean Argives “were first Hellenized, with respect to the language they presently speak, by their Ambrakiot fellow-settlers” (*kai hellēnisthētan tēn nyn glōssan tote prōton apo tōn Amprakiotōn xynoikēsantōn*) (Thucydides, *Pel.* 2.68.5). The wording here may imply that the verb *hellēnizō* typically meant something more than facility in the Greek language, given the emphasis on the fact that the Amphilochean Argives were Hellenized “with respect to the language they presently speak.” This would

suggest that Thucydides interprets *hellēnizō* as a broader cultural, not merely linguistic, phenomenon. Alternatively, perhaps *hellēnizō* did primarily designate the ability to speak Greek, and Thucydides simply qualifies that “the present language” (*tēn nyn glōssan*) of the Amphilochean Argives is Greek. Frequently in later literature the verb *hellēnizō* does refer to the ability to speak, write or understand the Greek language (e.g., Plato, *Prot.* 328; Xenophon, *Anab.* 7.3.25; Lucian, *Philops.* 16; Chariton, *Chaer.* 4.5; cf. Acts 21:37). According to the first-century B.C. Roman philosopher Cicero, Aristotle’s student Theophrastus (ca. 371–287 B.C.) employed the cognate noun *hellēnismos* in the sense of purity or grammatical correctness in Greek prose, one of the four virtues of rhetoric (Cicero, *Orat.* 79). Yet just here the issue becomes complicated, for the understanding of language is closely tied to some degree of acculturation.

The most influential use of the noun *hellēnismos* in ancient literature, however, is found in 2 Macc 4:13, where it refers to the adoption of foreign customs by Jason, the high priest in Jerusalem in the years 175–172 B.C. Jason’s name itself is revealing, for the Jewish historian Josephus reports that Jason changed his name from “Jesus/Joshua” (Gk. *Iēsous*, Heb. *Yēhōshua*), presumably because of a desire to appear more “Greek” (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.239). According to the author of 2 Maccabees, during his time as high priest Jason instituted an aggressive plan to “Hellenize” the city of Jerusalem. This “climax of Hellenization” (*akmē tis hellēnismou*), as the author of 2 Maccabees puts it, included the establishment of a gymnasium and an *ephēbeion* that kept priests away from the sanctuary (2 Macc 4:9, 12)—an attack on traditional ways of living according to the law (2 Macc 4:11)—and encouragement for young men in Jerusalem to adopt a Greek style of dress (2 Macc 4:12). In short, 2 Maccabees frames “Hellenism” as equivalent to “the Greek way of life” (*to hellēnikos charaktēr* [2 Macc 4:10]) and to the adoption of foreign customs (*allophylisomos* [2 Macc 4:13]).

This negative characterization of “Hellenism” in 2 Maccabees is established in contrast to *ioudaismos* (“Judaism” [2 Macc 2:21; 8:1; 14:38; cf. 4 Macc 4:26; Gal 1:13–14]), the latter of which is bravely defended by the heroes of the narrative. The author of 2 Maccabees, writing shortly after the events of the Hasmonean uprising against the Selucid king Antiochus IV (and no later than 124 B.C.), is therefore responsible for the construction of “Hellenism” and **“Judaism”* as antinomies. In this context, *hellēnismos* is a term that denotes a culture that is foreign and hostile to “Judaism.” In fact, the author of 2 Macca-

bees may have coined the term *ioudaismos* in this context to function as the polar opposite of *hellēnismos*. Interestingly, however, the book of 2 Maccabees itself is deeply shaped by Greek culture, for the text is a summary of a five-volume account of the Maccabean crisis written in Greek, following numerous conventions of Greek historiography, by a Diaspora Jew, Jason of Cyrene (see 2 Macc 2:19–28). The relationship between “Hellenism” and “Judaism,” therefore, is far more complex than the ideological construction of these entities as polar opposites would suggest.

1.2. Hellenism in the Modern Period. Although the term *Hellenism* is found in modern literature as early as the seventeenth century, it was the three-volume work of the German historian J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (1836–1843), that first claimed the existence of a discrete historical time period known as the “Hellenistic age.” Reflecting a Hegelian philosophy of history, Droysen argued that the dawn of Hellenism in the activity and aftermath of Alexander the Great overcame the particularism of local Greek tribes and city-states by establishing a universal language, culture and political system. For Droysen, *Hellenismus* was a technical historiographical term that denoted the period of time from Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.) until the beginning of Roman Imperial rule after the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.). The mixture of Greek and Oriental culture in the Hellenistic age, therefore, became a transitional period that bridged the way from classical paganism to the emergence of Christianity as a universal religion. Significantly, Judaism played almost no role in Droysen’s historical reconstruction (see Momigliano).

Although “Hellenistic age” is still conventionally used to designate the period 323–31 B.C., there are at least two problems with Droysen’s understanding of *Hellenismus*. First, Greek culture itself was far from homogeneous, yet discussions of “Hellenism” often take place as if there were a pure strain of Greek culture diffused by Alexander and his followers throughout the eastern Mediterranean. More often than not, “Greek” culture in non-Greek regions was a blend of Hellenic and local elements. Second, and related, Greek engagement with, and fascination regarding, other civilizations from Egypt to Palestine to Persia predates the rise of Alexander the Great by a significant period of time, and cultural influence ran from both west to east and east to west (see Vasunia). Therefore, any model of “Hellenization” that focuses solely on the spread of Greek culture to passive recipients of cultural conquest misses the fact that “when Alexander carried Greek culture to the

Near East some of his cultural baggage may have originated there” (Alexander, 70). That is not to deny the enduring legacy of Alexander the Great, for the Greek military conquests of the fourth century B.C. did shape the Mediterranean region in novel and profound ways. It is simply to note that the cultural fusion known as “Hellenism” has historical roots that antedate the “Hellenistic age.”

Broadly, therefore, “Hellenism” refers to the presence of Greek culture. More specifically, Hellenism denotes “the common urban culture in the eastern Mediterranean, founded on the Greek language . . . typically expressed in certain political and educational institutions and largely maintained by the social élite” (Barclay, 88). Thus, “Hellenism” is found where elements of Greek language, political structures, educational patterns, religious practices and other material cultural markers (e.g., dress, architecture, food, pottery) are present.

It may be helpful, however, to draw a distinction between the closely related terms *Hellenism* and *Hellenization*. If “Hellenism” refers to the presence of Greek culture or the cultural environment of the Mediterranean world in antiquity, “Hellenization” designates the process of engagement between Greek and local cultures, a process that occurred on many different levels. Occasionally this engagement was (or was perceived as) intentional and hostile, as is claimed in the depiction in 2 Maccabees of the imposition (by Jews, it must be noted) of a dominant, foreign culture upon a local context. More frequently, however, the engagement between Greek and local cultures reflected a balanced, and often unacknowledged, cultural fusion. G. W. Bowersock, for example, has made the case that “Hellenization” is a problematic term because it reflects modern notions of cultural imperialism largely absent in antiquity. Even explicit interaction with imperial power often entailed careful negotiation and dialogue rather than domination (so Ma). “Hellenization” should be retained only if it is clear that the process that it describes was mostly unforced, reflecting a Hellenistic culture that included and tolerated a great deal of cultural diversity. In contrast, the parallel but clearly distinct term “Romanization”—that is, the engagement between Roman and local cultures—reflects much greater levels of political and cultural imperialism.

2. Hellenism and Judaism.

2.1. Introduction. Like all other peoples of the ancient Mediterranean world, Jews engaged with Hellenistic culture. As we have seen, however, a

sharp dichotomy has often been drawn, pitting Judaism against Hellenism. The Judaism-Hellenism divide, reflected in an ancient source such as 2 Maccabees, often has been used in modern times to identify Judaism (negatively) with particularism and nonrational thought, on the one hand, and Hellenism (positively) with universalism and rationality, on the other. For example, according to F. C. Baur, the leading representative of the nineteenth-century Tübingen school, the early Christian movement was characterized by an ideological conflict between Jewish Christianity, on the one side, and the "Hellenists," on the other. The former group represented "the cramping and narrowing influence of the Jewish national Messianic idea," whereas the liberalizing tendencies of the latter group of Greek-speaking Jews paved the way for the universalism of Pauline/Gentile Christianity (Baur, 1:49). Aside from this negative caricature, the Judaism-Hellenism divide remains an entrenched concept in modern scholarship. It remains an open question, however, whether Judaism and Hellenism should be set in sharp opposition to one another.

2.2. Diaspora and Palestinian Judaism. Jews from the Diaspora, especially in large cities such as Alexandria, Cyrene and Antioch, lived in environments pervaded by Greek culture. For Diaspora Jews, Greek was the primary language. This situation led to the production of Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, a process that probably started as early as the third-century B.C. in Alexandria, Egypt (so *Letter of Aristeas*). Many Diaspora Jews were well integrated into the social, political and educational structures of their local contexts. Philo of Alexandria, for example, offers a fascinating example of a thoroughly Hellenized Jew who employed his considerable intellectual abilities and his familiarity with the Greek philosophical tradition in the service of his Jewish community. Other well-educated Diaspora Jews produced literature in Greek, including historical fiction (*Joseph and Aseneth*, *Letter of Aristeas*, LXX Esther, 3 Maccabees, 4 Maccabees), poetry (Philo the Epic Poet, *Sibylline Oracles*), philosophy (Aristobulus, Philo), historiography (Demetrius the Chronicler, Artapanus, Jason of Cyrene) and wisdom literature (Wisdom of Solomon).

A lively debate regarding the extent of Hellenization in Palestine from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D. has resulted in two opposing perspectives. On the one hand, the influential work of M. Hengel claims a significant amount of Hellenization in Palestine from the end of the Persian period to the rise of the Maccabean revolt. Hengel himself

is reacting against the view that a sharp distinction could be drawn between Hellenistic Judaism and Palestinian (or "traditional") Judaism. Hengel marshals evidence for a substantial Greek influence on Jewish politics, language, education and literature in Palestine from the time of Alexander the Great to the Maccabees, concluding, "From about the middle of the third century BC *all Judaism* must really be designated '*Hellenistic Judaism*' in the strict sense" (Hengel, 1:104).

On the other hand, critics of Hengel contend that he has overstated the Hellenization of Palestine in the pre-Maccabean era (see Feldman). For example, although it is true that some Palestinian Jews were Hellenized with respect to language, it is not so clear that the Greek language made inroads among the non-elites to the extent that Hengel assumes. More substantively, Hengel appears to treat Hellenization as an either-or proposition, as something to be rejected or accepted, without acknowledging that an individual or a group might be Hellenized to different degrees and in different ways. Thus, the antinomy between Judaism and Hellenism first seen in 2 Maccabees still characterizes much scholarship today.

3. Hellenism and the Gospels.

The foregoing discussion suggests that the question of the presence of "Hellenism" in the canonical Gospels is inherently complex, and that an answer to the question depends to a large degree on the definition of "Hellenism" employed. In some discussions there has been a tendency to categorize all "non-Jewish" elements in the Gospels as examples of Hellenism, but such a strategy ignores not only the fluid interaction of Jewish and Hellenistic culture but also the impact of non-Greek (e.g., Roman) culture.

At the same time, the abiding impact of Greek culture did not end with the emergence of Roman imperial power. The most obvious influence of Greek culture on the NT Gospels is found in the language of their composition, namely, the *Koinē* ("common") Greek spoken widely throughout the eastern Mediterranean region. *Koinē* not only was the lingua franca of the Gospel writers; it was also the language of the LXX, the Greek translation of the Jewish Scriptures, which is most commonly the source of OT quotations in the Gospels. Given the bilingual context of Roman Palestine, it is possible that Jesus possessed the ability to converse in Greek, although his first language was Aramaic (see *Languages of Palestine*). Moreover, the literary genre of the Gospels is perhaps best identified as Greco-Roman biography, a form of literature popular

in the Greek literary tradition (*see* Gospel: Genre). At the same time, because the Gospels have much in common with biblical historiography, their literary genre itself bears witness to the dynamic engagement between Greek and Jewish culture.

Finally, mention should be made of the Hellenistic context of Jesus' mission in *Galilee. On the one hand, it has often been claimed that the region of Galilee was thoroughly Hellenized, particularly to the extent that it contained a large Gentile population. On the other hand, a growing body of literature suggests that Galilee was far less Hellenized than other regions of the Greco-Roman world. Archaeological evidence, for example, points to the strong presence of Jewish material culture in Galilee (e.g., ritual baths, Hasmonean coins) and only minimal Roman and Greek influence in the first century (Chancey). Certainly there were some non-Jews residing in the Galilee of Jesus' day (Mt 8:5-13; Lk 7:1-10), but the Gentile population in the region seems to have been a small minority, and interaction with Gentiles does not seem to have been a significant aspect of Jesus' mission.

See also GENTILES; GODS, GREEK AND ROMAN; JUDAISM, COMMON; ROME.

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D. Downs

HEROD. *See* HERODIAN DYNASTY.

HERODIAN DYNASTY

The Herods formed an important part of the political setting of Jesus' ministry. Several of them are mentioned in the Gospels, along with a group known as the "Herodians."

1. Sources
2. Origins of the Dynasty
3. Herod I
4. Archelaus
5. Philip the Tetrarch
6. Antipas, Herodias, Salome
7. Herodians

1. Sources.

Aside from a few references in Greco-Roman writers, the Gospels and later Christian authors, most of our information on the Herods comes from *Josephus (Josephus, *J.W.* 1—2; *Ant.* 14—18). Although he had his own agenda (*Jewish War* is much more positive toward the Herods than is *Jewish Antiquities*), Josephus drew on good sources. Remains of Herod I's buildings and several coins supplement the literary accounts.

2. Origins of the Dynasty.

The Herods originated in Idumea, a region subjugated and forcibly converted to *Judaism in 127 B.C. Herod I's grandfather Antipas was appointed *stratēgos* (military governor) of Idumea, but it was his resourceful son Antipater who secured the family's fortunes by supporting Hyrcanus II in the civil war after the death of Salome Alexandra. Following Pompey's intervention in 63 B.C., the land was put under the control of the Syrian governor and forced to pay tribute, with a drastically reduced Jewish territory given to Hyrcanus. A decade and a half later, in return for supporting Julius Caesar in the Roman civil wars, Hyrcanus was confirmed as *ethnarchēs* (national ruler) and high priest, while Antipater was

rewarded with Roman citizenship, exemption from taxes, and the post of *epitropos* (chancellor of the exchequer) (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.187-194; *Ant.* 14.127-137, 143). Antipater was already the power behind the Hasmonean throne, but his son Herod (born in the late 70s B.C.) would oust them completely.

3. Herod I.

Herod became *stratēgos* (military governor) of *Galilee at the age of twenty-five (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.203; *Ant.* 14.158). His natural abilities and unwavering loyalty brought him to the attention of several prominent Romans who were in a position to advance his career. He used the Roman civil wars to his advantage, and by 42 B.C. Mark Antony had raised him to the level of *tetrarchēs* (ruler of a quarter of a kingdom) (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.242-244; *Ant.* 14.324-326). Two years later, however, the Parthians invaded and installed Hyrcanus's nephew Antigonus on the throne. Herod escaped to *Rome, where Antony and Octavian (later to be the emperor Augustus) promised to make him king if he defeated the Parthians (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.282-285; *Ant.* 14.377-389). By 37 B.C., after a five-month siege of Jerusalem, Herod joined a number of other client kings along Rome's eastern border.

At first, Herod's position was uncertain, as his realm had experienced prolonged civil unrest, and he himself was not of royal blood. He set about removing opposition, first by executing Antigonus's supporters (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.358; *Ant.* 15.5), and then the remaining members of the Hasmonean royal family (including his wife Mariamne). In place of the old aristocracy, Herod promoted his Idumean relatives, cultivated groups who had been hostile toward his predecessors, and promoted non-Jews to prominent positions in the army and at court. He also brought the high priesthood under his control, abandoning the traditional hereditary principle, replacing incumbents at will, and keeping the sacred vestments under his own guard. He favored men of high priestly Diaspora origins (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.22, 39-40, 320-322), doubtless assuming that they would pose less of a threat than older Palestinian families. These men formed a new aristocracy dependent solely on Herod.

External dangers came from Cleopatra VII of Egypt, who had designs on Herod's land. Her schemes, however, proved advantageous in that he was prevented from joining Antony at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. because Cleopatra had sent him to war against the Nabateans. Herod emerged victorious, but he was met by the disastrous news that his

patron, Antony, had been defeated, and that Octavian was now the sole ruler of the Roman world. Undaunted, he presented himself before Octavian, stressed his former loyalty, and was promptly confirmed in his position. Later, Herod entertained Octavian lavishly and was rewarded by further territories (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.386-397; *Ant.* 15.187-201, 217). By 20 B.C., after several more extensions, he ruled over the whole of the former Hasmonean kingdom (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.398-400).

The years 30-12 B.C. were a time of stability, prosperity and splendor. Herod's friendship with Rome was at its height, and the king delighted in honoring his Roman patrons: he founded cities and buildings in their name and dedicated temples to the emperor in Pnias, Sebaste and Caesarea (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.407). Most impressive of all were Sebaste (formerly Samaria) and Caesarea Maritima, both splendid Greco-Roman cities complete with Hellenistic institutions and entertainments, the latter boasting a magnificent harbor. Herod wanted to be seen as a great patron and benefactor, showed generosity to cities outside his realm, and he even endowed the Olympic games. Jerusalem too was completely transformed. The most ambitious project was the rebuilding of the *temple (begun in A.D. 20/19); Herod doubled the size of the Temple Mount, creating one of the most magnificent temples in the ancient world (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.401; see also *b. B.Bat.* 4a).

Herod's last years were characterized by emotional and psychological deterioration. Augustus allowed him to nominate his successor, but indecision and paranoia led to several changes of his will, and he had no clear heir (his ten wives had borne him fifteen children). Continual vying for power led to the execution of his three eldest sons in the closing years of his reign. In 4 B.C., prompted by false rumors of Herod's death, two leading *Pharisees persuaded a number of youths to tear down a golden eagle that Herod had erected above the temple gates. Now aged about seventy, Herod had them burned alive shortly before his own agonizing death (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.648-655; *Ant.* 17.149-164). His burial at Herodium marked the end of a thirty-three-year reign that had brought stability and repressive peace to a nation previously torn apart by civil conflict.

Herod appears in the NT only in connection with Jesus' *birth, which Matthew dates two years before the king's death, roughly 6 B.C. (Mt 2:1-23 [on Lk 1:5, see 4 below]). The same evangelist adds the story of Herod's massacre of boys under the age of two in Bethlehem (Mt 2:16-18). Herod certainly was capable of such brutality, particularly in his later troubled

years, yet the atrocity is not recorded by either Josephus (whose record is particularly detailed at this point) or Luke (whose account is quite different). Matthew's concern to present Jesus as a second Moses has prompted some to suggest that the story was created on the analogy of the Pharaoh in Exodus 1: just as the infant Moses was threatened by the evil Pharaoh, so Jesus almost lost his life at the hands of Herod.

4. Archelaus.

Upon Herod's death, the country was plunged into conflict. Decades of resentment and frustration broke out against both Herod and the Roman regime that had supported him. Order was finally restored by Varus, the Syrian legate, though not without significant casualties.

Herod's final will divided the country among three of his sons. Half (including Judea, Idumea and Samaria) went to Archelaus; born around 27 B.C., he was the eldest son of Herod's Samaritan wife Malthace. The remainder was divided between Antipas (who inherited Galilee and Perea) and Philip (who received a number of territories to the north and east of the Sea of Galilee). After brutally quelling a Passover riot, Archelaus sailed to Rome with his two brothers to have his succession ratified. Despite the request of fifty prominent Judeans for direct Roman rule (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.80-91; *Ant.* 17.299-314), Augustus decided to follow Herod's wishes. He appointed Archelaus *ethnarchēs* (national ruler), promising to make him king if he proved himself worthy, and Antipas and Philip *tetrarchēs* (rulers of one quarter) (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.93-100; *Ant.* 17.317-323).

Josephus has little to say about Archelaus: he crushed remaining unrest, appointed a new high priest, embarked on a rather mediocre building programme, and unlawfully married Glaphyra, the daughter of the king of Cappadocia (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.111; *Ant.* 17.339-353). After a ten-year reign, he was accused before Augustus by embassies from both Jews and *Samaritans of excessive brutality, a charge that fits with the reluctance of Mary and Joseph to live under his rule (Mt 2:22). He was banished to Vienne in Gaul in A.D. 6 and died there (Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.765).

Rather than appoint another Herod, Augustus imposed direct Roman rule on Judea. A census was taken for taxation purposes (overseen by Quirinius, the Syrian legate), and a Roman prefect was put in command. Luke sets Jesus' birth at the time of this census in A.D. 6 (Lk 2:1-7). He also refers to "Herod the king" (Lk 1:5), but the proximity of the census suggests that he has Herod Archelaus in mind ("Herod" now being a dynastic title).

5. Philip the Tetrarch.

Philip (born c. A.D. 26) was the son of Cleopatra of Jerusalem and was the half-brother of Archelaus and Antipas. He was appointed tetrarch of Iturea, Panias, Gaulanitis, Batanea, Trachonitis, and northern Auranitis following his father's death in 4 B.C. (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.95; *Ant.* 17.319; 18.106; see also Lk 3:1). Josephus describes him as modest, peace-loving and just (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.106-108), though saying little about his thirty-seven-year reign. He was the only Herod to put images on his coins, but because of the predominantly Gentile character of his lands, this caused little offense.

In A.D. 6/7 he rebuilt the city of Panias, renaming it "Caesarea (Philippi)" in honor of Augustus. It was near here that Jesus discussed his identity with his disciples, and, according to Matthew, that he gave Peter a special commission (Mt 16:13-20; Mk 8:27-30). Around A.D. 30, Philip enlarged and fortified Bethsaida, a Jewish village on the Sea of Galilee, renaming it "Julias" in honor of Tiberius's mother (though it is still known as Bethsaida in the Gospels). John's Gospel implies that this was the hometown of Peter, Andrew and Philip (Jn 1:44; 12:21), though the Synoptics link them to Capernaum.

Mark 6:16 (and some manuscripts of Mt 14:3) suggest that Philip was married to Herodias, who left him to marry Antipas (see 6 below). More probably he was married to Herodias's daughter Salome (so Josephus, *Ant.* 18.136). When Philip died in A.D. 33/4 leaving no heir, his territory was annexed to Syria and later given to Agrippa I (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.108).

6. Antipas, Herodias, Salome.

Antipas (born c. 25 B.C.) was the son of Malthace the Samaritan and so was the full younger brother of Archelaus. He was appointed tetrarch over two non-contiguous territories, Galilee and Perea, adopting the dynastic title "Herod" after Archelaus's banishment in A.D. 6 (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.167; see also Mt 14:1; Lk 3:19). Mark 6:14 incorrectly, though understandably, refers to him as "king."

Antipas's forty-three-year reign seems to have been good and prosperous. He rebuilt the city of Sepphoris, close to Nazareth (which had been destroyed in the revolt after Herod I's death), and then later he founded a new capital city on the Sea of Galilee, naming it "Tiberias" in honor of the emperor. Though impressive by Galilean standards, neither city could match the opulence of the predominantly Gentile urban centers of Caesarea Maritima or the Decapolis.

Antipas *divorced his first wife in favor of Hero-

dias, the wife of his half-brother Herod Philip (not the tetrarch) (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.110, 136). The marriage was unlawful because the half-brother was still alive. According to Mark and Matthew, it was *John the Baptist's criticism of Antipas's actions that led to his arrest (Mt 14:3; Mk 6:17). Later, at Antipas's birthday party, Herodias's daughter (Salome, according to Josephus, *Ant.* 18.136) entranced the tetrarch with her dancing; when he offered her anything she wanted, she asked for John the Baptist's head, and Antipas, bitterly disappointed, had to comply. The story has a legendary air to it and is reminiscent of the tale of Esther, but the central claim that John criticized Antipas's marriage may well be historical. Josephus also mentions the Baptist's death, but in his account Antipas, worried by John's large following, had him imprisoned in the fortress of Macherus and executed (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.116-119). There are differences in emphases here, but in general terms the two accounts are complementary.

Jesus' ministry took place in Antipas's Galilee, though he seems to have avoided the cities and confrontation with the tetrarch (perhaps remembering the Baptist's fate). Luke has a particular interest in Antipas. In Luke 9:7-9 Antipas hears of Jesus and thinks that the Baptist has been raised (so also Mt 14:1-2; Mk 6:14-16); in Luke 9:9 he wants to see the miracle worker; and in Luke 13:31-32 a number of Pharisees warn Jesus against Antipas (whom Jesus refers to as a "fox"). Finally, in Luke 23:6-12 the evangelist records a hearing in front of Antipas at Jesus' trial. Learning that Jesus belonged to Antipas's jurisdiction, *Pilate sent him to the tetrarch (who was in Jerusalem for the Passover). Antipas, however, disappointed that Jesus would not perform a sign for him, mocked him and returned him to the prefect. The historicity of this scene has been questioned because there was no legal requirement for Pilate to send Jesus to a representative of his home territory, and Luke is the only evangelist to record this exchange. The meeting may have been created by Luke to parallel the trials of Paul in Acts (who was tried by another Herod, Agrippa II) or to make Antipas a second witness (along with Pilate) to Jesus' innocence. The reasons for any hostility between Pilate and Antipas (Lk 23:12), if historical, are unknown (though the incident in Lk 13:1 may have created friction).

Antipas lost his position in A.D. 39 when, urged by Herodias, he asked the emperor to make him king. His land was added to that of Agrippa I, and both Antipas and Herodias were banished to Gaul.

7. Herodians.

"Herodians" appear twice in the Gospels (Mk 3:6; 12:13 [the latter paralleled in Mt 22:16]), both times linked with the Pharisees. In the first passage, set in Galilee, their plot to kill Jesus forms the culmination of a series of controversies (Mk 2:1-3; 5). In the second, set in Jerusalem, they question Jesus over the payment of tribute (Mk 12:13-17). Neither John nor Luke mentions the Herodians, the latter's silence being all the more remarkable, given his interest in the Herods.

The Herodians have been explained in a number of ways: a religious party claiming one of the Herods as messiah; a political party seeking the extension of Herodian rule; or as identical with scribes, Essenes or even Sadducees. In all probability the word is a Latinism, *Herodiani*, referring not specifically to an organized party but rather to supporters, servants and officials of whichever member of the dynasty held influence (see Josephus, *J.W.* 1.319). At the time of Jesus it referred to supporters of Herod Antipas.

See also HELLENISM; ROME; TEMPLE.

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H. Bond

HERODIANS. See HERODIAN DYNASTY.

HERODIAS. See HERODIAN DYNASTY.

HISTORICAL JESUS. See QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS.

HISTORICISMS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

"Historicism" refers to any of a range of approaches to assigning significance to the past. "Historiography" refers to the writing of history or, more particularly, the narrative representation of the past. In the modern era few issues have been more central to critical study of the Gospels than their historical nature. This is due especially to three interrelated considerations. First, readers have long assumed that, in some significant sense, the Gospels "intend history," that the mode of discourse found in the Gospels coheres with what we expect of ancient narratives that relate real events and real people. Second, biblical studies since the late eighteenth century has tended to segregate theology and history, prioritizing the historical over the theological. This is because, third, biblical scholars and theologians gravitated toward the view that theological claims comprise a superstructure requiring a solid, historical foundation. As a result, until recently biblical scholars generally have regarded themselves foremost as historians and their work as the quest for what actually happened. Thus, the Gospels have been cast as windows into an authoritative past rather than as authoritative witnesses to God's mighty acts in Christ Jesus. In recent decades historical inquiry has become a more complex activity because of attempts to clarify the enterprise and innovations both in the philosophy of history and in historical method.

1. Understanding "History"
2. The Gospels and "History"
3. Three Approaches to Study of the "Historical Jesus"

1. Understanding "History."

What scholars mean by "historical study" is not always clear. In the English language the term *history* itself can be confusing because this one word might refer to "the past," "study of the past," and "representation of the past." Work in the philosophy of history over the past three or four decades has helped to clarify the relationships among these usages (see below). Moreover, in biblical studies "critical study" is often characterized simply as "historical study" (singular) in spite of the fact that scholars actually practice a variety of historical criticisms (plural). One typology for making sense of the various ways in which the Gospels are studied historically posits three broad approaches (Green): (1) Historical inquiry is the reconstruction of past events in order to narrate the story of the past; in the discipline of history, this is the characteristic work of the historian.

(2) Historical inquiry is the exploration of Gospel traditions, sometimes called "Jesus traditions," for the purpose of explaining the processes by which events in Jesus' life have come to be recounted the Gospels. This includes a range of critical approaches, including tradition criticism, *form criticism, source criticism and *redaction criticism. (3) Historical inquiry is the examination of the historical situations to which the Gospels bear witness and within which they were generated, including especially the socio-historical institutions and sociocultural conventions that they take for granted. This article is concerned with "historical criticism" understood in the first sense of identifying what happened in the past, then retelling the story of Jesus.

Understood in this more narrow sense, questions of history about Jesus and the Gospels are raised by the nature of the evidence itself. That the NT includes four stories of Jesus that differ on points of detail and, especially in the case of John's Gospel, on overall narrative structure presses historical questions (see Synoptics and John). For example, Clement of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 150–220) thought that Matthew, Mark and Luke recounted the "physical" facts, whereas John wrote a "spiritual Gospel" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.14.7 [my translation]). Reflecting on disparities between the Gospel of John and the Synoptic Gospels, Origen wrote in the mid-third century, "I conceive it to be impossible for those who admit nothing more than the history in their interpretation to show that these discrepant statements are in harmony with each other" (*Comm. Jo.* 10.15). Discoveries of ancient texts, especially at Nag Hammadi and Qumran (see Dead Sea Scrolls), in the mid-twentieth century raised questions about the Gospels' portraits of "the Jews" of Jesus' day (see Judaism, Common), for example, and more generally about the sources appropriate for historical study of Jesus and his first disciples. Study of other texts, such as the works of *Josephus, has also raised questions regarding the historical veracity of the NT Gospels, as have shifting assumptions regarding what Jesus must have said or done, or what he could not possibly have done.

Modern understandings of the nature of "history" rest in large part on the principles of E. Troeltsch (1865–1923), reformulated by V. Harvey (1926–). According to modern thought, anachronism is the unforgiveable sin (see Schorske), with the result that biblical texts like the Gospels must be read according to historical-critical assumptions and protocols. This means that readers of the Gospels must operate (1) autonomously—that is, without the influence of

tradition, confessional theology, the church or one's own beliefs; (2) analogically—that is, assessing what is plausible in the ancient world by analogy with what we know happens today, since neither the laws of nature nor basic human capacities have changed over time; (3) critically—that is, open to ongoing revision in light of further study; (4) correlationally—that is, seeking to explain natural events in the world in terms of their natural causes (see Collins). Undergirding this approach to historical inquiry, and perpetuated by it, are certain pivotal assumptions about the nature of history: (1) "History" has existed as an object or sequence of objects outside of the historian's own thought processes. (2) The historian can know and describe this object or sequence of objects as though they objectively existed. (3) Historians can remove their own interests, whether theological or philosophical or political or social, as they engage in the task of doing history. (4) Historical facts are discovered in a past that exhibits a recognizable structure. (5) The "stuff" of history can be grasped through intellectual efforts, without recourse to the transcendent (see Clark, 14; Novick, 1-6).

These presuppositions and principles remain characteristic of study of Jesus and the Gospels that claims to be scientific. It is true that some scholars have attempted to revise or exclude one or more of these assumptions in their attempt to introduce divine action into the equation—to allow for the possibility of *miracles, for example. What such scholars fail to realize is that the very nature of historical investigation *as a science* requires the exclusion of divine action as a possible explanation of historical events. This led T. Tilley, for example, to admit that historical investigation could not proceed on the basis of faith-based warrants. At the same time, though, he urged that no religious principle could be undermined by historical study, thus severing any possible connection between theological commitments and historical inquiry. As M. Rae has rightly recognized, a different approach to the Gospels—one that takes the Gospels as testimonies to God's aims and activity—demands a different account of how to engage the historical task, one that is determined theologically (see also Levering).

2. The Gospels and "History."

The chief problem confronting the historian has been the problem of distance—how to verify and apprehend the past. Modern approaches to this problem have generally taken their cues from L. von Ranke (1795–1886), whose aim was developed methodologically in the work of Troeltsch, Harvey

and others. Von Ranke claimed that he did not want to pass judgment on the past, but rather to report *wie es eigentlich gewesen*—"how it actually was." In spite of the ease with which virtually all NT scholars admit the impossibility of this aim, this motto has guided, and continues to guide, much of what passes for historical inquiry as scholars work to overcome historical distance through appeal to rigorous methods by which they might verify historical facts and prove the veracity of historical narratives. Nevertheless, this approach is seriously undermined by a consideration of at least three realities.

First, it must be admitted that this interest in securing the veracity of historical facts is not well documented within the Gospels themselves. Thus, we find in the Gospels almost nothing regarding the nature of their sources, the naming of witnesses consulted, and so on (*pace* Bauckham). Largely absent from the Gospel narratives is evidence of a concern, sometimes found among ancient historians, with documentation and verification. No witnesses are named for the content of Jesus' prayer at *Gethsemane (during which the disciples were sleeping), for example, or for his wilderness *temptations. The one significant exception to this dearth of interest in verification is Jesus' *resurrection—not that the evangelists identify witnesses to this event, but rather that Matthew provides a failsafe proof of the empty tomb (Mt 27:62-66; 28:11-15), and Luke has it that Jesus demonstrated that "he was alive with many convincing proofs [*tekmērion*]" (Acts 1:3 [on *tekmērion*, see Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.12.16-17 §1357b]). Someone might claim that Luke 1:1-4 evidences Luke's concern with eyewitnesses (*autoptai*) and historical veracity, but this is a consequence of reading Luke's preface within the boundaries of modern history writing; in antiquity, his reference to *autoptai* would signify not seeking or sifting eyewitness testimony, but rather firsthand experience of the sites of historical incidents (e.g., Alexander, 120-25), and his preface would mark his commitment to unveiling the significance (not the veracity) of the narrative he had penned (e.g., Moessner).

Second, early Christian writers like the evangelists would have been influenced by traditions of history writing quite different than that represented by modern historical inquiry. From their Jewish antecedents they would have learned of historical progression in the service of God's aims, the role of historical narrative in instruction, the repetition of patterns in characters and events, and the constant awareness of God's continued presence. From their Greco-Roman predecessors they would have learned

forms of history writing concerned not merely with reporting events, but with describing and explaining their sequential development. Taking the claims of ancient historians at face value, moderns have tended to characterize Greco-Roman historiographers as objective investigators who rejected the place of myth and the supernatural and the use of rhetorical tools and aims. To the contrary, their practices reveal their concern to persuade their audiences to a particular reading of the past, and their use of a variety of means for authorizing their accounts, including reference to divine intervention and the supernatural, imitation, and patterns of prediction and recurrence (e.g., Marincola; Pitcher; Rothschild). What are the consequences of these influences on the evangelists? First, history writing was, for the evangelists, a form of instruction and identity formation, demonstrating the roots of their faith in Scripture and, indeed, documenting the continuity of Jesus and Jesus movement with the scriptural stories of *Abraham, *Moses, and/or Isaianic promise in the case of the Synoptic Gospels, and with the creation of the cosmos in the case of John. Second, for the evangelists, the course of history is the arena within which God is active—grounded in God's aims in creation and liberation, with God revealing his aims through a variety of media (e.g., prophets, dreams, Scripture), and with God continuing to work through the *Holy Spirit, human agents (e.g., *Mary, *John the Baptist), heavenly messengers (e.g., Gabriel) and especially through Jesus, God's Spirit-anointed Son.

Third, the modern approach to overcoming the problem of distance by means of scholarly methods for securing historical facts and proving historical narratives has been undermined by contemporary reflection on the nature of history and history writing. In fact, a steady stream of critical studies (e.g., Bevir; Clark; Cook; Novick; Stock) has emphasized a range of observations pertinent to our reflections on what it means to think about the Gospels historically. (1) Historical recollection is never concerned with the facts only, since the mere recall of the past is itself an exercise in meaning-making. Humans apprehend episodes not as pristine events, but rather always in relation to evaluations based on what we and our communities take to be significant. (2) Hence, history writing provides us with both more and less than "the past"—more in that historiography construes events in a web of causal relationships that draw out a significance that is greater than individual episodes might suggest on their own, less in that historians must make hard-

nosed choices about what to exclude lest the retelling become infinitely detailed. Consequently, history writing is inherently partial, in both senses of the word: providing only a selection of the grand total of episodes that comprise the past, and doing so in terms of the particular interests of the historian. Interestingly, these two basic and essential tasks of the historiographer—selectivity and ordering in a causal sequence, both in the service of the author's aim(s)—are the very tasks mentioned by Luke and John (Lk 1:1-4; Jn 20:30-31; 21:25). (3) History writing is thus a rhetorical exercise in which documentation and interpretation are inextricably woven together. (4) History writing is less *mimēsis* and more *diēgēsis*, more narrative representation than imitation of past events. "Memory" of persons and events is being formed in advance of the arrival of the historian. Oral history nurtures a community of memory, so that history-telling precedes and constrains history writing. And memories are in constant flux, being surfaced or suppressed, shaped and reshaped, pressed into service always in relation to their perceived importance. (5) History writing accounts for the present to which the past has led. In this sense, all historiography is contemporary, since the historian demonstrates through narrative representation how the present grows organically out of sequences of past events. As a consequence, historiography is a powerful instrument of community legitimation, identity formation and instruction.

Such considerations call for a ground shift with regard to traditional Gospels study. Indeed, historical study as it has been widely practiced is in an important sense antitextual, for it is designed to replace the discrete narratives of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John with narratives freshly constructed by the scholar in question. Those interested in such a historical enterprise need to take significant steps toward admitting that the result of their work is not an objective recounting of the past, not an unbiased presentation, and not a "scientific" account of what really happened. All history writing (whether by the NT evangelists or modern historians) is partial—that is, incomplete and perspectival. No historical account can recover the totality of the past as it really was. The work of the historian is never simply "retrieval." For those interested in studying the Gospel as historical narratives, then, the central question is not "Did this really happen?" We ask, rather, "How is this event related causally to that one? What end is served by narrating the story in this way (rather than some other)?"

3. Three Approaches to Study of the "Historical Jesus."

Today, students of Jesus and the Gospels who practice historical inquiry tend to do so in one of three ways. These approaches situate themselves vis-à-vis the perspectives sketched above in varying ways.

3.1. The Approach of Criteria-Based Historicism. From the mid-twentieth century up to the present, the primary approach to historical study of Jesus of Nazareth has been grounded in historical positivism—that is, in the principles and presumptions accompanying the view that our only knowledge of Jesus is scientific knowledge. The primary points of departure for this approach are threefold: (1) the principle of doubt, so that the burden of proof rests with those who claim the historical veracity of a saying or event in Jesus' life; (2) the exercise of Troeltschian principles of investigation (see 1 above), which on scientific grounds disallows the historicity of both divine action and unique occurrences; (3) the assumption that the basic unit of investigation is the individual saying or episode, understood to have existed originally as an isolated datum without interpretation, with the result that one might think of reported events as having a historical kernel from which the historian must strip away all theological understanding. Such historians utilize a two-step process. First, they select raw data, kernels of sayings and events thought to go back to the historical Jesus, devoid of any theological significance (since, as the thinking goes, this significance would have attached itself to the data in the process of early church transmission). This step depends on the use of "criteria of authenticity, such as multiple attestation, dissimilarity, embarrassment, historical constraints, coherence, and so on. Second, the historian arranges these data into a narrative sequence in order to provide a fresh, and purportedly more historically accurate, representation of the past. This approach either is innocent of the failure of its positivism or it denies that its positivist commitments have been undercut by critical theory.

3.2. The Approach of Critical-Realist-Based Historicism. Made popular through the work of N. T. Wright, this approach is cast as an alternative to criteria-based historical reconstruction. It has two points of departure. The first is a philosophical commitment to critical realism—that is, the view that human language refers to real events, but not in a naive fashion (memory and historical truth are not the same thing). In historical positivism, what is real is (only) what we can observe scientifically through our senses. In critical realism, what is real is the

product of an ongoing negotiation between the knower and the thing known. This leads to the question "On what basis do we accept an event report as a historical occurrence and render it meaningful?" The second point of departure is an awareness that scholars always work with a metanarrative, whether acknowledged or not, on the basis of which judgments are made regarding what counts as historical. This leads to the question "What data is coherent with the likely, historical 'big picture'?" Accordingly, the historian begins with the self-conscious construction of the metanarrative and then asks, "Given this metanarrative, does this datum make sense as an historical event? And, given this metanarrative, what might it mean that this event happened?"

3.3. The Social-Memory Approach. In the wake of the sweeping criticism of the rudiments of the historical-critical paradigm outlined above, a number of historians have recognized that the recollection of historical events itself is always historically inspired. This means that historical events are never recalled apart from their significance, nor as isolated units of the past, since events are always apprehended according to shared conceptual patterns that inextricably tie together past, present and future. Historical work and historical narratives are, in this sense, inescapably partial, then, and the holy grail of traditional Jesus studies—the nontheological Jesus or, better, "what really happened"—has the same status as the mythological unicorn. Such considerations have led some historians to recast their projects in relation to recent work in social memory (see Kirk).

The central claim of social memory studies is that memory is never a simple act of recall, but rather a complex process whereby the past is reconstructed in light of present interests that are defined and shaped socially. (Neuroscientific study of memory has underscored the degree to which memory is malleable and dynamic, a reality that undermines important aspects of Bauckham's thesis regarding the Gospels as eyewitness testimony [see Redman].) Rejecting long-standing efforts to divorce "history" from "theology" in biblical studies, then, social memory studies recognize that all memory is an indissoluble mixture of past and present, of "event" and "interpretation." Dismissing out of hand the quest for "historical kernels," this means that traditions about Jesus, both sayings and events, simply cannot be isolated from their narrative framework. Moreover, rather than organizing those sayings and events within a new narrative framework of the historian's own making, the historian analyzes how

events and sayings mean within their existing narrative frameworks—an approach that serves the historian's interest in conceptualizing and articulating how social groups appropriate the past in the service of the present. This approach to historical study concerns itself with what inferred actual past best explains the narrative representations that we have. In other words, how do we account for the interpretations of Jesus we read in the Gospels?

See also CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY; FORM CRITICISM; GOSPEL: GENRE; GOSPELS: HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS; SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC CRITICISMS; SYNOPTICS AND JOHN; THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPELS.

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J. B. Green

HISTORIOGRAPHY. See HISTORICISMS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY.

HOLINESS. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

HOLY SPIRIT

References to the (Holy) Spirit ("Spirit of God," "Paraclete") in the Gospels designate God's creative power in fulfilling the OT's eschatological promises through the life and ministry of Jesus and through those of his disciples.

1. Setting the Stage
2. The Synoptic Gospels
3. The Gospel of John
4. Summary

1. Setting the Stage.

1.1. Old Testament Background. At the outset of the OT the Spirit of God is associated with the newness of life and the word of God; references to God's Spirit serve to accentuate God's creative power that overcomes the forces of chaos and brings forth life (Gen 1:2; 2:7; Job 33:4; Ps 104:30; Is 40:13). In contrast, where the Spirit is withdrawn, life ceases (Gen

6:3). At times it is difficult to clearly differentiate in these passages between *rûah* as referring to the “spirit” of God or to “wind” as a mysterious power used by God (cf. Ex 14:21; Num 11:31); either way, these references evidence God’s creative and life-giving involvement in this world.

The OT authors refer to the Spirit also in articulating their eschatological hopes for the restoration of the people of God and this world. In some passages this renewal is depicted either as the result of a direct outpouring of the Spirit upon the people (Is 32:15-18; 44:1-5; Ezek 37:1-14; Joel 3:1-5) or as the result of the ministry of the Spirit-anointed Messiah/Servant, who will restore justice, peace, mercy and the fear of God (Is 11:1-4; 42:1-4; 61:1-4). All of these texts share a common eschatological as well as pneumatological emphasis, and they also agree in their social ethical vista (cf. Is 32:15-18; 44:1-5; Zech 3:1-10; 4:6; 12:10). While at first glance it may seem that Ezekiel 36:27 speaks of an “intrapersonal” renewal through the Spirit, the aim of the oracle is the restoration of obedience to the Torah among God’s people so that they may “live in the land” (Ezek 36:8; 37:13-14). Ezekiel’s vision is further soaked with language from Genesis 1–2 and describes the restoration of Israel’s homeland in terminology borrowed from the creation accounts (Levison, 99-103). This nexus between Israel’s eschatological hopes and the anticipated outpouring of the Spirit seems to be a logical outcome of the notion of *rûah* as *Spiritus Creator*.

The OT authors show little interest in neatly defining the exact role of the divine and the human spirit in the anticipated renewal, and often it is difficult, and perhaps even unnecessary, to clearly determine whether some of the mentions of *rûah* are referring to a human spirit as acted upon by God or to God’s Spirit as acting upon people (Deut 34:9; Judg 9:23; 2 Kings 19:7; Ps 51:10; Is 61:3; Ezek 11:19; 18:31; 36:26; Hos 4:12).

In the book of Judges references to *rûah* are mainly in the context of the ministry of Spirit-anointed leaders who have preserved Israel’s national life (Judg 3:10). In times when everyone was seeking personal advantage (Judg 21:25), these leaders restored the sense of community among God’s people.

1.2. The Holy Spirit in Judaism of the Second Temple Period. Second Temple Judaism carries over the OT’s ambiguity in regard to the Spirit of God as acting upon a person versus a person’s spirit being acted upon by God (cf. 1QS III, 13–IV, 26; Philo, *Leg.* 1:36-38 [Philo’s fluid application of “spirit” language is directly due to his understanding of Gen 2:7]).

1.2.1. The Spirit and Inspiration/Ecstasy. If there is

any agreement in contemporary scholarship on the role of the Spirit in Second Temple Judaism, it is that during that period the Spirit was associated with *prophecy, inspiration and, at times, ecstasy. This inspiration comprised a wide range of experiences. In the sapiential tradition the Spirit both fills the sage with insight into the will of God and lets the sage speak words of wisdom (Sir 39:6-8; cf. CD-A VI, 2-11; 1QH^a XV, 7; in contrast, see 1QH^a VI, 12b-13; 1QS VIII, 15-16), or the Spirit grants insight into the plan of God so that the paths of the inhabitants of the earth will be made straight (Wis 9:17-18; cf. 4 Ezra 14:22, 40; Jub. 40:5; Philo, *Gig.* 55; QE 2.7; *De-cal.* 1; *Somn.* 2.252; *Spec.* 3.1-6; *Deus* 2-3; *Opif.* 144). According to Josephus, the divine Spirit gave Daniel special wisdom so that he was able to discern what others never had thought of (Josephus, *Ant.* 10.239). In Pseudo-Philo’s retelling of Israel’s story, the Spirit inspires prophetic speech (*L.A.B.* 31:9 [similarly Josephus, *Ant.* 4.119; 6.166, 222-223; Philo, *Mos.* 1.175]) and praise (*L.A.B.* 32:14 [cf. 1 En. 71:11]), accompanied with ecstatic experiences (*L.A.B.* 27:9-10). In this last passage, however, the locus of the Spirit’s activity is on restoring God’s salvific benefits for Israel. Elsewhere in Pseudo-Philo, Kenaz, filled with the Spirit, begins to prophesy in a state of ecstasy (*L.A.B.* 28:6-9).

That these accounts of inspiration and ecstasy “bear almost no resemblance to their scriptural forebears” (Levison, 219) may be only a half-truth, since such ecstatic experiences often are linked with a more fundamental transformation of the person(s), similar to Saul’s experience narrated in 1 Samuel 10:9-16: Abraham’s ecstatic experience transformed him into a virtuous person (Philo, *Virt.* 212-219), and the seventy elders were transformed during an ecstatic experience into something they could not become by themselves (Philo, *Gig.* 24; cf. Philo, *Plant.* 23-27; *Gig.* 47; see also 1Q28b, II, 24-25).

1.2.2. The Spirit and New Creation. Judaism of that period has taken over from the OT the two strata in regard to the eschatological hope for the restoration of Israel (see Exile and Restoration) and the renewal of creation: either through a Spirit-anointed figure or through the work of the Spirit upon the people in general.

In regard to the anticipated messianic figure, there are numerous references, many of them playing off Isaiah 11:1-4 (see 1 En. 49:2-3; 61:1-11; 62:1-12; *Pss. Sol.* 17:37; 18:8; 1Q28b V, 24-26a; 4Q161 III, 10-19; 4Q521). The proximity between the authority of this messianic figure and the strength of his word may imply that the nexus between the references to the

Spirit and inspired or ecstatic utterances in the Jewish writings of that period may be due not only to Greco-Roman influences upon Judaism (so Levi-son), but also to the close proximity between the Spirit and God's creative and powerful word right at the outset of the OT.

Another set of texts depicts the Spirit as an immediate positive ethical influence on people (*T. Benj.* 8:2; Greek fragment of *T. Levi* 2.3B7-8, 14; *T. Sim.* 4:4) or as instrumental in the incorporation of a pagan person into the people of God (*Jos. Asen.* 8:9; 19:10-11; see also Philo, *Gig.* 24; *Virt.* 212-219).

The nexus between the Spirit and the OT eschatological hopes is most clearly evidenced probably in the Qumran writings. This community understood itself as the eschatological people of God. Receiving the Spirit or being cleansed by the Spirit often is associated with entering the community (1QH^a V, 18-20; VI, 11-13; VIII, 10-20; X, 11-13; 11Q13, II, 1-25; CD-A II, 11-13; 1Q34, Frag. 3, col. II; 1QS IV, 20-25), but also with sustaining the sectarians in their religious life (1QH^a XV, 6-7; 1QH^a Frag. 2, 9-13; 1Q28b V, 24-25), often by granting them special wisdom (1QH^a VIII, 14-15; XX, 11-12; CD-A VI, 2-11).

2. The Synoptic Gospels.

Among the Synoptic Gospels, Luke places most emphasis on the Spirit. However, all three of them narrate *John the Baptist's saying about the coming one's *baptism by the Spirit (and fire) (Mt 3:11; Mk 1:8; Lk 3:16), and all three relate the Spirit to Jesus' baptism (Mt 3:15; Mk 1:10; Lk 3:22). But already in the following *temptation narrative and its reference to the Spirit, Luke seems to pursue his own particular concern (Lk 4:1; cf. Mt 3:4; Mk 1:12). This is also true for the other shared reference to the Spirit, the *blasphemy against the Spirit (Lk 12:10-12; cf. Mt 12:31; Mk 3:29).

2.1. Luke. The infancy narratives of Luke's Gospel begin with multiple reports of people being filled with the Spirit and as one result thereof prophesying (Lk 1:41, 67; most likely also Lk 2:28, 38) (see Birth of Jesus). Since the appearance of E. Schweizer's article in the *TDNT*, it has often been argued that this inspiring work of the Spirit describes best Lukan pneumatology. This argument is at times advanced in a more exclusive way: the Spirit in Luke-Acts is related only to the inspired prophetic speech and not to Jesus' *healings and exorcisms (Menzie; a little less exclusively, Cho); or more inclusively: the Spirit is also related to God's healing and restoring power (Shelton; Hur; Woods). In the infancy narratives the Spirit is, however, also related to the Baptist's life and

ministry (Lk 1:15) and to Jesus' birth (Lk 1:35). In Luke 1:13-17 the Spirit's work in and through the Baptist is further correlated with the preparation of God's people by reconciling what is ostracized, and in Luke 1:35 the Spirit clearly is the *Spiritus Creator*. It further seems best to understand Luke's redactional work in this verse as implying that the role of the Spirit in Jesus' conception also accounts for his status as being holy (contrary to Matthew) (see Wenk). Hence, to limit the Spirit in the writings of Luke to inspired speech and proclamation may not represent the whole picture of Luke's colorful and multifaceted pneumatology.

Following the infancy narratives, John's pneumatic ministry (Lk 3:1-20) is depicted as the fulfillment of the angel's announcement in Luke 1:13-17. Filled with the Spirit, the Baptist radically redefines the conditions for membership in God's covenant people. In the climactic prophecy about the coming one (Lk 3:16), John contrasts his ministry with the one of the mightier one, whose "Spirit-and-fire baptism" will bring about the eschatological cleansing and restoration of God's people (cf. Lk 24:46-47)—the return from *exile as anticipated in texts such as Ezekiel 36:33; Lamentations 4:22; Daniel 9:16-19; Ezra 9:6-15 (cf. 1QS XI, 11-16; Bar 1:15—3:8).

J. D. G. Dunn perceives Luke 3:16 to be paradigmatic for an individual's cleansing experience. For those who perceive Jesus' experience at his baptism (Lk 3:22) as archetypal for the believer's experience, the passage signifies an individual's conversion/initiation into the Christian life (so Dunn; however, he disagrees with the more sacramental view). Those who define Lukan pneumatology mainly in terms of empowerment for ministry assess Jesus' baptism mainly in terms of his empowerment at the beginning of his public ministry (Menzie). The allusions to Psalm 2:7 and Isaiah 42:1-4 place the idea of empowerment in the foreground, but not in such a restricted way as referring only to the inspiration of prophetic speech and proclamation; in view is Jesus' empowerment to restore the people of God, as outlined in Luke 4:16-30, and not merely the inspiration of prophetic speech. And as noticed, Luke has related the Spirit to the liberation of God's people and the fulfillment of the eschatological hopes of Israel already in the infancy narratives.

In the following temptation narrative (Lk 4:1-13) Luke differs from both Mark and Matthew and seems to imply that the Spirit not only was leading Jesus into the wilderness (Mk 1:12: *ekballō* with the preposition *eis*; Mt 4:1: *anagō* with the preposition *eis*), but also was leading him while he was there (Lk 4:1: *agō*

with the preposition *en*) and thus sustaining him in his struggle with the devil. Luke's overall structure of the baptism and temptation narrative, hinting at Deuteronomy 8:1-9, as well as his redactional changes identify Jesus as the anointed messianic figure who, assisted by the Spirit, remains faithful to God. Endowed with the Spirit for his messianic ministry, and assisted by the Spirit in his conflict with Satan, Jesus returns to Galilee in the power of the Spirit to instigate his liberating and restoring ministry.

The programmatic speech (and OT quotation) at the beginning of Jesus' public ministry (Lk 4:16-30; cf. Is 61:1-2) can be understood only by also considering Luke's other programmatic OT quotation at the beginning of the book of Acts (Joel 3:1-5 in Acts 2:17-21). Both quotations agree in their eschatological vista and expect a new social order, either through the ministry of the Spirit-anointed prophet (Lk 4:16-30) or through the life and ministry of the Spirit-anointed community (Acts 2:17-21). Luke combines in his two volumes the two strata of the role of the Spirit in OT's eschatological expectations concerning the restoration of God's people: restoration through the life and ministry of a Spirit-anointed figure (Is 11:1-4; 61:1-2) or through a direct Spirit-outpouring upon the people (Is 32:15-18; Joel 3:1-5). In both volumes Luke expects the eschatological renewal of God's people to be of pneumatic origin and with social-ethical consequences; the Spirit-inspired words and deeds (Lk 24:19; cf. Acts 2:22; 7:22) accomplish God's saving and restoring work and thereby transform the (social) reality of people. Luke's redactional changes of Isaiah 61:1-2 underline this aspect even more so, and to limit the discussion of these changes to his omission of "to heal the brokenhearted" may not do justice to his overall pneumatological as well as social-ethical concern.

Luke 11:1-13 is another key text for understanding Lukan pneumatology. This passage seems to reflect the evangelist's concern to depict the Spirit as instrumental in bringing about the fulfillment of the eschatological promise. While Matthew has separated the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:5-15) from the assurance of God's positive answer to prayer (Mt 7:7-12), Luke joins them (Lk 11:1-13); the pericope begins with calling upon the Father and ends with the assurance of the Father's positive response to prayer. And while Matthew 7:11 reads that God will give "good gifts" to those who ask him, Luke concludes his pericope on prayer with the statement "How much more will the Father out of heaven give Holy Spirit to those who ask him" (Lk 11:13 [cf. Acts 2:33]). It seems that the phraseology "will give Holy Spirit" serves for Luke

as a summary of God's intervention on behalf of his people who pray for the inbreaking of the eschatological kingdom of God. The terminology "will give Holy Spirit" does not entail that merely charismatic manifestations are in view here; rather, it points to God's final re-creating and restoring work among his people (daily provision of food, divine and mutual forgiveness, protection from apostasy), as anticipated in many OT passages where Israel's apostasy, God's forgiveness and the return from exile are interrelated (Is 40:1-2; Jer 31:31-40; Lam 4:22; Ezek 36:24-28; 36:33; 37:21-23; Dan 9:16-19; cf. 1QS XI, 11-16). The manifestation of the kingdom of God has been related to prayer already in Luke 1:10, and it is also the main topic of the following pericope (deliverance from demonic enslavement [Lk 11:12-28]). The nexus between prayer, the giving of the Spirit and the coming of the kingdom of God underlines that the promise of God cannot be brought about by human intervention but only by the Father's faithful mediation. To limit Luke 11:13 to an encouragement of the post-Pentecost disciples to pray for the Spirit, so that they will be empowered for the witness for Christ (Menzie's), may do justice neither to Luke's particular focus in this pericope nor to his overall perspective of the role of the Spirit in realizing the eschatological kingdom of God.

The next reference to the Spirit in Luke's Gospel—or the absence thereof—(Lk 12:8-11) cannot be discussed without considering the other Synoptics. While Matthew and Mark associate Jesus' saying of blaspheming the Holy Spirit with an exorcism and the accusation of the Jewish leadership that he is casting out demons by the prince of demons (Mt 12:22-37; Mk 3:22-30), Luke places the saying in the context of the disciples' bold confession. And while Matthew has Jesus saying that he casts out the demons by the Spirit of God (Mt 12:28), the Lukan Jesus does so by the "finger of God" (Lk 11:20). The term "finger of God" seems to be an Egyptianism and is linked with the exodus (Ex 8:15; Deut 9:10), indicating that in Jesus' ministry and exorcism God's direct and immediate exodus power has been manifested (Woods). In addition, M. Turner has convincingly argued that if Luke wanted to associate Jesus' healings and exorcism with God's *dynamis* rather than with the Spirit (as Menzie's argues), he would have had Jesus saying that he casts out the demons by the "power of God" (Turner, 253-59).

Regarding Luke's placing of the saying regarding "the blasphemy against the Spirit," there is an ongoing debate whether the saying in Luke 12:10 refers to a sin committed by persecutors of Christians or by

believers who are pressed by the authorities to blaspheme the Spirit and thereby fail to give heed to the voice of the Spirit. The first interpretation understands the saying as an encouragement for believers in times of distress: the same Holy Spirit who has been blasphemed by their opponents will teach them what to say in times of persecution. According to this understanding, Luke would not differ so much from Matthew and Mark, since in all three Gospels the context of the blasphemy saying would be the opposition of the Jewish leaders to Jesus or to his disciples as continuing Jesus' mission. If the saying is understood as applying to Christian believers, then Luke radically differs from Mark and Matthew by indicating that to resist the confession of Jesus prompted by the Spirit is to blaspheme the Spirit. The first line of interpretation (encouragement) may correspond better with Luke's overall emphasis on forgiveness as well as with Jesus' conflict with the Jewish authorities (cf. Acts 28:25-27). It is also more consistent with his understanding of the Spirit as the power of God to liberate his people from exile: to resist the Spirit-prompted liberation proclaimed by the followers of Jesus is to place oneself outside the restored eschatological people of God; hence, such people are not participating in God's forgiveness and restoration of Israel (cf. Lk 15:11-32).

2.2. *Matthew and Mark.*

2.2.1. *Matthew.* Although the Gospel of Matthew may not be the first book that both scholars and church laypeople think about when discussing NT pneumatology, the Holy Spirit serves almost like a parenthesis for the entire narrative: In Matthew 1:18 the readers are told that Mary was "found to be pregnant through the Holy Spirit," and in Matthew 28:19 the disciples are told to baptize people from all nations "in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." Hence, the Spirit is instrumental at the beginning of Jesus' mission, and the Spirit is present in the continuation of Jesus' mission through the disciples. In between, Jesus is identified as the Spirit-anointed servant of God who will proclaim justice to all nations (Mt 12:18, quoting from Is 42:1-4). Matthew further associates the Spirit with the inspiration of Scripture (Mt 22:43) and the disciples' defense in times of persecution (Mt 10:20).

Matthew opens his account of Jesus with the phrase "book of the genesis of Jesus Christ" (Mt 1:1), and in Matthew 1:18 he writes, "This is how the genesis of Jesus Christ was: . . . his mother Mary . . . was found to be pregnant through the Holy Spirit." This association of genesis with *pneuma* may well convey the idea that God, through Jesus, brings about the

new creative work, and that this work is set in motion through the Spirit (Charette, 38-39), the *Spiritus Creator* is becoming the Spirit of the eschatological restoration. This gives the entire Gospel a "pneumatological perspective." B. Charette further reasons that the title "Emmanuel" may contain an intentional allusion to the Spirit, and that "the Holy Spirit remains with Jesus as the presence of God to carry out the salvation of his people" (Charette, 41).

This pneumatological and eschatological perspective on Jesus is heightened in the Baptist's announcement of Jesus as the mightier one who will baptize "in Spirit and fire" (Mt 3:11). This clearly refers to the anticipated eschatological restoration and purification of God's people by the messianic figure, and, as with Luke, it should not be restricted to referring either to his empowerment for prophetic speech or to an individual's conversion/initiation into the messianic kingdom.

Among the Synoptics, Matthew provides us with the longest account of Jesus' baptism (Mt 3:13-17) and agrees with Mark on the more "subjective" description of the event: "the heaven was opened [for him], and he saw the Spirit descending and coming upon him like a dove" (Mt 3:16). As with Luke and Mark, Jesus' baptism in Matthew represents his anointing to fulfill his messianic task. The very same Spirit who anointed Jesus for his messianic task now leads him up into the desert (Mt 4:1). This reference to the Spirit simply aims to underscore that Jesus' encounter with the devil was initiated not by the adversary but rather by the very same Spirit who came upon him at his baptism (Charette, however, thinks that Matthew, as Luke, understands the Spirit to be instrumental in Jesus' victorious combat with the devil [Charette, 48-51, 65-67]).

Matthew places Jesus' discussion on the blasphemy against the Spirit in the context of the eschatological fulfillment of God's promise (Mt 12:15-21) and the subsequent exorcism of a man possessed by a *demon as a sign of the final inbreaking of God's kingdom (Mt 12:22-37); hence, the presence of the Spirit in Jesus' ministry "signifies that the kingdom of God has now come" (Charette, 77). To deny the power of the Spirit active in Jesus' liberating work is to place oneself outside of God's restoring and liberating work, and in this sense such an antagonism is "unforgivable."

2.2.2. *Mark.* Among the Synoptics, Mark has fewest references to the Spirit, but he agrees more or less with Matthew on the role of the Spirit at Jesus' baptism (Mk 1:10; cf. Mt 3:16) and in the temptation narrative (Mk 1:12; cf. Mt 4:1), as well as in regard to the

Baptist's saying about the coming one's baptism by the Spirit (Mk 1:8; cf. Mt 3:11 [Matthew: Spirit and fire]) and Jesus' saying about blaspheming the Spirit (Mk 3:29; cf. Mt 12:31). He also agrees with Matthew in attributing David's utterance (Ps 110:1) to the inspiration of the Spirit (Mk 12:36; cf. Mt 22:43; see also Lk 12:11-12; 21:15; surprisingly, Luke omits the note that David spoke "in the Spirit" [Lk 20:42]).

3. The Gospel of John.

3.1. The Spirit Endowment of Jesus. After the prologue, John's narrative opens with the account of the Baptist and his saying about the Spirit coming upon and remaining on Jesus (Jn 1:32-34). The evangelist does not tell his readers that Jesus was baptized, and he indicates that the descending and remaining of the Spirit upon Jesus seems more to have been a sign for the Baptist, who, having seen it, now can testify to the Son of God (rather than a voice from heaven testifying to Jesus as in the other Gospels). Further, John's water baptism is placed less in contrast to Jesus' Spirit baptism but rather points toward it: "And I myself did not know him, but for the purpose that he may be revealed I myself came baptizing with water" (Jn 1:31). This coming and remaining of the Spirit upon Jesus from the beginning of the Gospel ties the Spirit closely to Jesus, the bearer and the giver of it (Jn 20:22-23). According to John, Jesus, however, will give the Spirit only after his death: "This he said concerning the Spirit which those who believe in him were to receive; for there was no [Holy] Spirit yet because Jesus was not yet glorified" (Jn 7:39). There is another way by which John expresses the close proximity of the Spirit to Jesus, to which we now turn.

3.2. The Life-giving Power of the Spirit. In John's Gospel (eternal) life is associated not only with Jesus (e.g., Jn 1:4; 3:15; 11:25), but also with the word of God and the Spirit of God (Jn 3:5-7, 34; 6:63-68; cf. Is 32:15-18; 43:9; Zech 14:8). In John 7:37-39 the living *water flowing from Jesus (?), and thereby bringing forth new life, is equated with the Spirit. Whether or not the saying about the living water flowing from "his" belly may refer to Jesus' death at the cross, as both T. G. Brown and J. Levison argue, it is quite obvious that the Spirit is associated with both the word and the water that accomplishes the eschatological cleansing and re-creation as anticipated in Ezekiel 36:25-26. As such, it may be best to understand John 7:38 as being fulfilled in John 19:30 (differently, Buch-Hansen, who understands Johannine pneumatology mainly in terms of a Stoic background).

There are two other passages in which John high-

lights the life-giving power of the Spirit: John 3:3-8; 20:19-23. In John 3:3 the evangelist defines the newness of life as "being born from above" (Jn 3:3), which Nicodemus understands as temporal, "being born again" (see *New Birth*). Jesus corrects this temporal understanding by defining the new birth as "of water and of spirit" (Jn 3:5, 8 [both times using the preposition *ek*]). There is some debate as to whether "of water" refers to (1) natural birth followed by spiritual birth; (2) John's water baptism followed by reception of the Spirit; (3) Christian baptism. If John 3:5 qualifies John 3:3 (being born *anōthen*), the first option is ruled out because "of water and of spirit" is equal to "from above" (*contra* Brown) and thus cannot refer to natural birth. The third option is the least possible because any reference to a Christian baptism would have made no sense to Nicodemus. The second option is also not convincing, and it seems best to understand the saying along the line of L. Belleville's argument that it is influenced by Ezekiel 36:25-26 and its promise of a new heart sprinkled by clean water and the reception of a new spirit. Hence, being "born of water and of spirit" means to participate in the eschatological fulfillment of God's promise; it is coming to life again after a period of death and drought, because God breathes once more his spirit into that which is without life and which he himself has purified with clean water.

In John 20:19-23 almost all of the main themes of this Gospel are tied together and brought to a climax. John reports that Jesus, after having breathed (*enephyssēsen*) on the disciples, said to them, "Receive [the] Holy Spirit" (Jn 20:22). This clearly alludes to Genesis 2:7 and Ezekiel 37:5, 14 (LXX) and thereby places the entire pericope into the context of the Spirit as God's life-giving power, both at creation and in the eschatological re-creation of God's people as God's *temple. Any attempt to interpret John 20:21 either as John's account of Pentecost or the disciples' rebirth (so Brown) or ordination falls short of the eschatological vista of the text. According to John, the disciples are clean because of the word spoken by Christ (Jn 15:3), and they are consecrated by the Spirit to speak the life-giving word that they heard from Christ to this world, or to withhold it. In John 20:21 the Spirit's presence in the lives of the disciples guarantees that their mission is the continuation of Jesus' restoring and life-giving ministry (Jn 16:5-16).

3.3. The Paraclete in Jesus' Farewell Discourse.

In his farewell discourse (Jn 13-17) Jesus promises his disciples "another paraclete [*paraklētos*]" (Jn 14:16). The Spirit will guarantee the disciples the continuing presence of and access to God, and as

such, the new paraclete continues the role of Jesus in the disciples lives (cf. Jn 20:19-23). In order to avoid any specific religious-historical figure as the explanation for John's paraclete, Brown advances the concept of a broker, as known in the Mediterranean culture, who primarily mediates access to certain "benefits from a patron who possesses these benefits"; John's paraclete guarantees the disciples continuous access to Jesus, who in turn continues to be a paraclete on behalf of the disciples (Brown, 211).

According to Levison, the first of Jesus' sayings about the paraclete (Jn 14:16-17) sums up the following ones and determines the perspective from which these (Jn 15:26; 16:7-9) must be viewed (Levison, 382-83). While D. Pastorelli understands the "Spirit of truth" as leading the disciples into all truth rather generally speaking and connoting a moral perspective (Pastorelli, 295), Levison concludes that "the spirit, when it arrives, will teach the disciples all and remind them of all (14:26) and guide them into all truth of Jesus' death and resurrection (16:13)" (Levison, 405). His argument is directly building upon his assessment that according to John, the Spirit will be given only after Jesus' death. This "current absence of the Spirit" also reflects John's major difference from the Qumran texts of the two spirits: "In the Teaching on the Two Spirits, although the spirit of truth within is tempered by the spirit of deceit, with which it battles, it is nonetheless present within as the source of a life of virtue. In the Fourth Gospel . . . there is no corresponding group of people who bask in the light. There is no group—not yet, anyway—with the spirit of truth in it" (Levison, 390). But there will be such a group, and the paraclete will recall for them the significance of Jesus' death and resurrection.

4. Summary.

Although each of the Gospels reflects its own particular outlook on the Spirit, their pneumatologies are in one way or another a corollary of the OT understanding of the Spirit as the creative and restoring power of God. This restoration, accomplished by the Spirit-endowed Jesus, will bring about a renewed and cleansed community (Spirit-and-fire baptism in the Synoptics; the cleansing as anticipated in Ezek 36—37 in John). Hence, in the Synoptics, to resist Jesus' restoring and liberating work is to blaspheme the Spirit. Within this eschatological framework, Luke, among the Synoptics, places most weight on the Spirit and links it with his social-ethical concern and his emphasis on prayer.

In all four Gospels the Spirit is further related in

some way to God's creative and powerful word, which is able to transform realities (prophetic speech in the Synoptic Gospels; the life-giving and cleansing word in John).

Both Luke (seeing Luke-Acts as a two-volume work) and John accentuate most the (future) role of the Spirit in the disciples' lives as the continuation of Jesus' presence in and his ministry through them.

See also ASCENSION OF JESUS; AUTHORITY AND POWER; BAPTISM; CHRISTOLOGY; EXILE AND RESTORATION; GOD; HEALING; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; NEW BIRTH.

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HOSPITALITY. See TABLE FELLOWSHIP.

HOUSEHOLD. See FAMILY; ECONOMICS.

HYMNS. See SONGS AND HYMNS.

HYPOCRITE

The word *hypocrite* is the transliteration of the Greek noun *hypokritēs*. In nonbiblical Greek the root *hypokrin-* means “to answer, respond” (cf. the use of *apokrin-* in the NT). In theatrical contexts *hypokritēs* could mean “actor” (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.2.4), and *hypokrisis* “delivery” (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.1.7). In other nonbiblical contexts, *hypokrisis* could mean “pretense,” a military feint (Appian, *Hist. rom.* 7.19) or feigned acts of friendship (Plutarch, *Adul. amic.* 50.4). In the LXX, in other Second Temple era Jewish texts in Greek, and in the NT *hypokrisis* and *hypokritēs* always have a negative connotation.

1. “Hypocrite” in the Septuagint and Old Testament Pseudepigrapha
2. “Hypocrite” in the Gospels

1. “Hypocrite” in the Septuagint and Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.

Hypokrisis, *hypokritēs* and forms of the verb *hypokrinomai* appear relatively infrequently in the LXX. In some cases, the word group connotes pretense: Antiochus pretends to come to Jerusalem in peace (2 Macc 5:25); Eleazar, under threat of torture, refuses to pretend to eat pork (2 Macc 6:21, 24-25; 4 Macc 6:15, 17); hypocrites who act holy in order to be people pleasers should be cursed by God (*Pss. Sol.* 4:7-8, 20). A slightly different sense is having one’s loyalties divided between God and something else. Sirach 1:28-29 treats as parallel the hypocrite and the one who, from a divided heart, is disobedient. *Testament of Benjamin*, a polemic against double-mindedness, includes hypocrisy in a list of things the person focused on God will not do (*T. Benj.* 6:5). In other cases, “hypocrite” seems to be a more broadly negative term, equivalent to “godless” or “disobedient.” In

Job 34:30 “hypocrite” appears to contrast God’s steadiness and integrity with human untrustworthiness. Job 36:13 likewise uses “hypocrites in [their] heart” as a parallel to the “godless” (*asebeis*) who take bribes and commit injustice against the poor, and who refuse to repent when disciplined. In Sirach 32:15 a hypocrite is a person who stumbles over the Torah rather than seeking out God’s direction. A hypocrite, who hates the law, is as directionless as “a boat in a storm” (Sir 33:2).

2. “Hypocrite” in the Gospels.

In the NT, Matthew has more than half of the instances of “hypocrite” and other words derived from the same root (fourteen in all); Mark has two instances, Luke has five, and Galatians, 1 Timothy, and 1 Peter each has one. All three instances in the epistles mean “duplicity,” and 1 Peter 2:1 is the only place in the NT where “hypocrisy” is found in a vice list (albeit a very short one).

2.1. “Hypocrite” in Mark. In Mark 7:6 “hypocrites” substitute human traditions for God’s commands, honoring God verbally but without any real commitment. In Mark 12:15 “hypocrisy” describes a question asked for false motives, which Jesus recognizes and deflects. Both Markan uses appear to derive from the “pretense” part of the word group’s domain.

2.2. “Hypocrite” in Luke. Luke 20:20 changes Mark’s “knowing their *hypokrisis*” (Mk 12:15) to a circumstantial participle (“acting hypocritically”) without changing the connotation of duplicity. Luke 12:1, where Jesus identifies the Pharisees’ influence on the crowds as “hypocrisy,” follows Jesus’ second meal with Pharisees, during which Jesus lambasted them for misplaced priorities (Lk 11:39-52). Angered, they begin to try hard to trip him up under intense interrogation (Lk 11:53-54); “hypocrisy” therefore could describe questions with hidden agendas, as it does at Luke 20:20, or could refer to their hostility to Jesus, arising as it does from overvaluing Torah study, reputation and social status. Luke’s other three uses make “hypocrite” an epithet: those who overly focus on the mistakes of others and ignore their own failings, those who can recognize a coming storm but not the presence of God’s *kingdom, and those who would forbid healing on *Sabbath are all hypocrites. In these three examples “hypocrite” questions not motives but rather acumen: the disciples, crowds and synagogue leader are indicted for being imperceptive of God’s presence in Jesus’ words and deeds.

2.3. “Hypocrite” in Matthew. Matthew much prefers the vocative “hypocrite” to other forms of the word group. Matthew 15:7 makes Mark’s “about you

hypocrites" (Mk 7:6) into a vocative "hypocrites," while Matthew 22:18 changes Mark's "knowing their hypocrisy" (Mk 12:15) into a vocative: "Hypocrites, why are you testing me?" Matthew 7:5 (// Lk 6:42) also reads "You hypocrite!" raising the possibilities that the vocative "hypocrite" was a feature of Q that Matthew adopted, or that this feature of Matthean style in Luke argues for Luke's use of Matthew.

In the *Sermon on the Mount "the hypocrites" are those who perform normal religious acts—alms-giving, *prayer, *fasting—in a way designed to draw public attention to the actor and in order to be praised by others (Mt 6:2, 5, 16; see also *Did.* 8:1-2). The hypocrites, who are not addressed by the text and are outsiders serving as negative examples, "have their reward" in the praise that they receive and should expect nothing else from God. In this case, the problem is the "hypocrite's" motive, and the remedy offered is, apparently, doing all of one's pious acts secretly. This strategy might eliminate human praise as a motivation, but it also would eliminate the exemplary and community-building potential of visible piety, and thus many interpreters wonder if the total secrecy urged here is hyperbolic.

In Matthew 7:5 (// Lk 6:42) any person who tries to correct someone else without first engaging in self-correction is called "hypocrite." These are insiders, and so the problem is not motive—the person with the log may be compassionately trying to remove the speck—but rather a lack of self-awareness.

Half of Matthew's fourteen instances of the root *hypokrin-* are in Matthew 23. In this polemic, the "scribes and Pharisees" fail to follow their own teachings (Mt 23:2-4), and their acts of piety are done for show (Mt 23:5-7). The epithet "hypocrite" thus has

the sense of pretense, but the indictment is broader: the *Pharisees are criticized for misplaced priorities (Mt 23:23-24), lack of integrity (Mt 23:25-28), incorrect exegesis (Mt 23:16-22), and being implacable enemies of Jesus and his followers (Mt 23:13-15, 29-36).

Some commentators (e.g., Neyrey) consider "hypocrite" in Matthew to be purely mudslinging, devoid of any specific meaning. Others (Betz; Garland) consider "hypocrite" to reveal something about Matthew's objection to the way the "Pharisees," stand-ins for Jewish groups who oppose or compete with Matthew's group, practice their faith. The stylized "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" (Mt 23:13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29) is unique to Matthew, and since "hypocrite" does not appear to have been a favorite epithet for early Christians to fling at enemies, its frequency in Matthew is both redactional and not meaningless. That is, because Matthew could have put any slur in Jesus' mouth but chose to emphasize the relatively uncommon "hypocrite," it seems likely that Matthew's community saw the insincerity of the "Pharisees" as the main reason why they rejected Jesus.

See also BLASPHEMY; PHARISEES; SCRIBES; SIN, SINNER.

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I

“I AM” SAYINGS

The four canonical Gospels contain several pronouncements that feature the Greek phrase *egō eimi* (“I am”). Since only the verbal form (*eimi*) is required in Greek to express the words “I am,” the inclusion of the personal pronoun (*egō*) gives prominence to the words of the speaker. In the Synoptic Gospels and particularly in John’s Gospel, where “I am” declarations occur with striking frequency, the authoritative *egō eimi* statements pronounced by Jesus can possess profound christological significance.

1. Synoptic Gospels
2. John’s Gospel

1. Synoptic Gospels.

In some cases “I am,” as uttered by Jesus or other figures, is accompanied by a predicate (e.g., Mt 24:5: “I am the Christ”; cf. Mt 22:32; Lk 1:19; 24:39), while on other occasions an implied predicate can be identified from the context (e.g., Mt 26:22, 25: “Surely it [the one who will betray Jesus] is not I?” [*mēti egō eimi*])). Of particular interest are the three instances in Mark’s Gospel where Jesus’ pronouncement of *egō eimi* belongs to the narrative’s gradual unfolding of his identity (Mk 6:50; 13:6; 14:62).

On the first occasion Jesus announces to the *disciples as he walks on the sea: “Take heart, it is I [*egō eimi*]; do not fear” (Mt 14:27 // Mk 6:50). This *egō eimi* utterance functions not only as Jesus’ statement of self-identification to allay the disciples’ fear (“It’s me, Jesus”), but also as the vehicle whereby he discloses his identity as the one who exercises God’s power to walk on the sea (cf. Job 9:8; Ps 77:20; Hab 3:15). The presence of numerous theophanic motifs within the account (Mk 6:45–52; cf. Ex 14:4, 18) indicates that Jesus’ “I” pronouncement embodies his offer of divine deliverance in the form of a new exodus.

The most enigmatic Markan example of *egō eimi* occurs in the *eschatological discourse, where Jesus tells his disciples, “Many will come in my name saying

‘I am’ [*egō eimi*], and they will lead many astray” (Mk 13:6 [cf. Lk 21:8]). These impostors, later identified as false prophets and false messiahs (Mk 13:21–22), are represented as usurping Jesus’ own claim to authority (= *egō eimi*) as already set out in Mark 6:50 (Williams, 233–41). In a likely historical reference to leaders of popular first-century A.D. movements (see Revolutionary Movements) who sought to initiate a new deliverance patterned on the exodus and the conquest of the land (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.97, 167–170; *J. W.* 2.259, 261–263), Mark emphasizes that Jesus alone has the power and authority to fulfill God’s promises.

Finally, when the high priest asks Jesus during his *trial, “Are you the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed?” (Mk 14:61), he responds, “I am [he]” (*egō eimi*) (Mk 14:62) (see Christ). This forms an affirmative response to the preceding question; Jesus, for the first time in Mark’s Gospel, publicly or openly confirms his identity according to the categories (“Messiah” and “Son of God”) that sum up Mark’s understanding of Jesus (see Mk 1:1, 11; 3:11; 5:7; 9:7; 15:39).

2. John’s Gospel.

Among the “I” formulations that characterize the speeches of the Johannine Jesus are a number of *egō eimi* declarations, for which at least three patterns of usage are commonly identified: (1) “I am” is accompanied by a predicate (e.g., Jn 15:1: “I am the true vine”); (2) “I am” is self-contained (e.g., Jn 8:28: “When you have lifted up the Son of Man, you will know that I am”); (3) “I am” has an implied predicate recoverable from the immediate context (e.g., Jn 18:5: “I am he [Jesus of Nazareth]”). However, John’s Gospel does not always maintain a hard-and-fast distinction between the second and third categories.

2.1. Metaphorical “I Am” Statements. On seven occasions Jesus makes a self-declaration in which the expression *egō eimi* is combined with a predicate

in the form of a memorable image or concept.

- "I am the bread of life" (Jn 6:35, 48) (cf. Jn 6:41, 51;
- "I am the [living] bread who descends from heaven")
- "I am the light of the world" (Jn 8:12) (cf. Jn 9:5)
- "I am the door (for the sheep)" (Jn 10:7, 9)
- "I am the good shepherd" (Jn 10:11, 14)
- "I am the resurrection and the life" (Jn 11:25)
- "I am the way, the truth and the life" (Jn 14:6)
- "I am the true vine (Jn 15:1, 5)

With regard to form and structure, several of the metaphorical or predicative "I am" declarations are followed, either immediately or in their wider context, by conditional statements highlighting the importance of following Jesus (Jn 6:35, 51; 8:12; 10:9; 11:25-26; cf. Jn 6:48-50; 15:5-6). Sometimes the conditional statement spells out the consequences of belief both positively and negatively (e.g., Jn 8:12 NRSV: "Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness but will have the light of life"). In terms of content, the images ("bread," "light," "vine," "shepherd") attached to "I am" operate on a material level and center on tangible realities, although on a deeper level they point beyond the material objects to Jesus' true identity (see Zimmermann, 126-31). In terms of *christological function, it is necessary to investigate the origin(s) of these metaphorical "I am" sayings as well as their symbolic significance, which usually can be determined from their wider Johannine context.

Given that "I am" sayings are attested in a number of religious traditions in the ancient Near East, a wide range of possible formal parallels has been proposed, from Isis aretologies ("I am Isis, the ruler of every land" [Cyme inscription]) to gnostic texts from Nag Hammadi (e.g., "I am the first and the last" [*The Thunder: Perfect Mind*]) to Yahweh's "I" declarations in the OT (e.g., "I am your shield" [Gen 15:1]). Some scholars are eager to maintain a broad religious context for the Johannine predicative "I am" sayings in order to highlight their capacity to draw culturally diverse audiences into the Fourth Gospel's distinctive textual and metaphorical worlds (MacRae; Petersen).

As far as thematic affinities are concerned, all the Johannine images attached to "I am" possess striking parallels in the OT and ancient Jewish tradition (see Ball), whether it is the image of Israel as a flock (Ps 77:20; 78:52) (see Shepherd, Sheep) or a vine (Ps 80:8; Jer 2:21; Ezek 17:6-8; cf. Is 5:1-7), of the *Servant of Yahweh as a "light to the nations" who opens the eyes of the blind (Is 42:6-7; 49:6; 51:4), or of *Wisdom inviting people to eat her bread (Prov 9:5) and

to eat and drink of the fruits of her vine (Sir 24:17-18) so that they will hunger for more and thirst again (Sir 24:21). The fact that possible referents for the image of "shepherd" include the successor of *Moses (Num 27:17), *God (Ezek 34:11-16; Mic 2:12) and his "servant David" (Ezek 34:23) highlights the difficulty of pinning down the Johannine metaphors to a specific OT passage. It appears likely that John deliberately draws on images that have the potential to evoke more than one referent; what binds these images together is that all of them stem from scriptural promises of divine *salvation.

The network of metaphorical "I am" statements in John's Gospel are similarly linked by the theme of salvation, as all of them focus on Jesus' role as the source and giver of eternal life. Three of the sayings refer explicitly to Jesus in terms of "life" (*zōē*) ("the bread of life" [Jn 6:35, 48, 51]; "the resurrection and the life" [Jn 11:25]; "the way, the truth and the life" [Jn 14:6]), whereas two other pronouncements contain overt references to "life" in their immediate context (Jn 8:12; 10:9-10). Furthermore, Jesus as shepherd lays down his life for the sheep (Jn 10:11, 15), which is then explained: "I give them [the sheep] eternal life, and they will never perish" (Jn 10:28 NRSV). The connection with "life" is also maintained in the seventh, and final, of the "I am" sayings, where remaining on the vine (= Jesus) is said to sustain the life of the branches (= disciples) and to be the source of their fruitfulness (Jn 15:1-2, 4-5).

The link between the theme of life and Jesus' "I am" claims is sometimes demonstrated by his miraculous deeds ("signs"). Jesus' feeding of the five thousand "signifies" his identity as the *bread of life (Jn 6:1-14, 26-27), and his claim to be the light of the world is exemplified by his subsequent healing of a man born blind (Jn 9:5-41). Jesus' bestowal of eschatological life is most fully explicated in the seventh of the Johannine signs: the raising of *Lazarus to physical life serves as a symbolic enactment of Jesus' claim "I am the resurrection and the life" (Jn 11:25), but also as a concrete manifestation of his earlier promise that "the hour is coming, and now is here, when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live" (Jn 5:25 [cf. Jn 11:38-44]).

Given that God is frequently described as the sole giver of *life (cf. Deut 32:39; 1 Sam 2:6; Ps 36:10), and some of the Johannine metaphors are used in the OT as designations for God ("light," "shepherd"), the identification of Jesus with these life-evoking images amounts to a christological appropriation of the role traditionally ascribed to God alone. The emphatic nature of the formulation ("I am") thus artic-

ulates the exclusiveness of Jesus' claim to embody the revelatory and salvific presence of God.

2.2. Absolute "I Am" Statements. A second pattern of usage centers on Jesus' declarations in which *egō eimi* occurs without a predicate. In these statements, commonly referred to as "absolute" *egō eimi* pronouncements, Jesus employs the phrase "I am" without, it seems, clearly identifying what it is he claims to be. He declares to his opponents, "Unless you believe that I am, you will die in your sins" (Jn 8:24 [cf. Jn 8:28]), and they pick up stones to kill Jesus upon hearing him proclaim, "Before Abraham was, I am" (Jn 8:58). And when Jesus predicts his imminent betrayal, he informs his disciples: "I tell you this now, before it occurs, so that when it does occur, you may believe that I am" (Jn 13:19).

There is much debate about the origin and significance of these enigmatic absolute "I am" statements, for which there are, in contrast to their metaphorical counterparts, no non-Jewish parallels. It has been claimed that John's use of *egō eimi* in its bipartite form echoes God's revelation of his name to Moses, "I am who I am" (Ex 3:14a [Heb. 'ehyeh 'āšer 'ehyeh]), which is rendered in the LXX as *egō eimi ho ōn* ("I am the one who is") (see Odeberg, 308-10; Fossum, 127-28). It should be noted, however, that LXX Exodus 3:14 gives greater prominence to *ho ōn* than *egō eimi*, as Yahweh directs Moses to tell the people, "He who is' [*ho ōn*] has sent me to you." If Exodus 3:14 has influenced John's use of *egō eimi* in its absolute form, this probably has occurred indirectly through other divine self-declarations in the OT that can provide a more adequate explanation of Jesus' words.

The key that appears to unlock the meaning of the bipartite Johannine "I am" statements is the distinctive use of *egō eimi* in the LXX versions of the Song of Moses (Deut 32:39) and the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah (Is 41:4; 43:10, 25; 46:4; 51:12; cf. Is 45:18; 52:6) to render Yahweh's proclamation of his exclusive divinity and eternal sovereignty: "I am he" (Heb. 'anī hū'). The presentation of *egō eimi* as the object of belief (Jn 8:24; 13:19) and knowledge (Jn 8:28) finds its closest parallel in LXX Isaiah 43:10, where Yahweh calls upon Israel to act as his witnesses, "so that you may know and believe and understand that I am [*egō eimi*]" (see Ball, 188-95; Williams, 271-73). Several other thematic and structural parallels strongly suggest that John has consciously reflected on both the setting and significance of "I am" as the self-declaration of God. In Isaiah's trial speeches some of the arguments presented as proof that Yahweh alone is God bear close resemblance to the context of Jesus' *egō eimi*

declarations. Like Yahweh, Jesus exists from eternity (Jn 8:58; cf. Is 41:4; 43:13; 48:12), he is able to foretell and control events (Jn 13:19; cf. Is 43:9-10; 46:10-11), he offers salvation to those who believe in him (Jn 8:28; cf. Is 41:4; 46:4; 48:12), although those who reject him face condemnation (Jn 8:24). Central to Jesus' claim is his unique divine status: he can declare *egō eimi* because he is the eternal Word incarnate, the heavenly emissary, the Son, who speaks and acts in unity with the Father.

It is also possible that when Jesus claims to have been given God's name and to have manifested it during his earthly mission (Jn 17:6, 11, 12, 16), the name in question is *egō eimi* as a rendering for the Hebrew declaration 'anī hū' (see Brown, 1:533-38; 2:755-56). In addition to extensive Jewish evidence for the use of *hū* ("he") as a substitute for the Tetragrammaton (e.g., 1QS VIII, 13; *m. Sukkah* 4:5), those cases where the LXX reads *egō eimi egō eimi* (LXX Is 43:25; 51:12) could well have prompted John to interpret the second occurrence as the divine name: "I am 'I AM'" (see Dodd, 94).

2.3. "I Am" Statements with an Implied Predicate. Another cluster of Johannine *egō eimi* declarations are commonly categorized as statements of self-identification because a predicate can be supplied from the immediate context (Jn 4:26; 6:20; 18:5, 6, 8). Thus, the Samaritan woman's remark "I know that the Messiah is coming" leads Jesus to announce, "I am he, the one who is speaking to you" (*egō eimi ho lalōn soi*) (Jn 4:25-26). In other words, Jesus identifies himself as the Messiah, who will "proclaim all things" (Jn 4:25). He offers a similar response to the arresting party when they state that they are looking for "Jesus of Nazareth"; once again it is appropriate, at least in formal terms, to interpret Jesus' words as affirmation that he is the figure in question: "I am he [Jesus of Nazareth]" (Jn 18:5, 6, 8). Numerous parallels to this usage of *egō eimi* (e.g., LXX 2 Sam 2:20; *T. Job* 29:4; 31:6; Mk 14:62; Jn 9:9) indicate that, as a declaration of identity, it does not necessarily possess christological significance.

It is likely, however, that John, on these occasions, engages in a deliberate interplay of the various possible meanings of *egō eimi*, from its use in everyday speech to its more theologically charged function as a divine self-declaration. For example, not only do Jesus' words in John 4:26 bear resemblance to Yahweh's proclamation in LXX Is 52:6 (*egō eimi autos ho lalōn*), but also the pivotal position of Jesus' declaration within the scene suggests that *egō eimi* encapsulates all that he has hitherto revealed to the woman about himself (Jn 4:10-26). Similarly, the

theophanic connotations of Jesus' pronouncement of *egō eimi* as he walks on the sea (Jn 6:20) indicate that this occasion of divine self-manifestation ("I am; do not fear" [cf. Is 41:10, 13; 43:1]) is what enables the disciples to move from the darkness (cf. Is 42:16) and reach the safety of the other side (cf. Is 43:16; 51:10). The polyvalent force of *egō eimi* finds its most dramatic demonstration in the account of Jesus' arrest, where the soldiers' response of drawing back and falling to the ground (Jn 18:6) demonstrates Jesus' sovereign control over the events leading to his death. Indeed, Jesus' twofold pronouncement of *egō eimi* in this scene serves as a powerful exemplification of the claims linked to this elusive expression elsewhere in John, for it encapsulates the Johannine presentation of Jesus as the one in whom God is revealed and his promises are fulfilled.

See also BREAD; CHRIST; CHRISTOLOGY; LIFE, ETERNAL LIFE; LIGHT AND DARKNESS; SHEPHERD, SHEEP.

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ILLNESS. See HEALING.

IMMINENT ESCHATOLOGY. See ESCHATOLOGY.

INAUGURATED ESCHATOLOGY. See ESCHATOLOGY.

INCARNATION

The Council of Chalcedon insisted in A.D. 451 that Jesus Christ was not two persons (*prosōpa*) but rather a single person (*prosōpon*), made known in two natures (*physeis*), human and divine. This careful formula for describing the incarnation came only after centuries of reflection and debate regarding the precise selection and careful definition of key terms. A similar concern for precision accompanies the writing of an article such as this one. Four issues are particularly problematic. First, historical questions loom large. Some scholars see high *Christology only in later NT documents (Dunn), while others see such beliefs very early (Hurtado). Second, some scholars require a clear statement regarding the pre-existence of Christ before they will identify something as specifically incarnational (Brown, 141). Third, many issues occupied the NT authors, and not all authors were equally focused in a singular way on the incarnation, even in an inchoate fashion. Fourth is the issue of genre. As narratives, Gospels do not systematically articulate their doctrines in the manner of theological treatises or creeds. For many reasons, therefore, it is difficult to discern the classic doctrine of the incarnation in a given Gospel. And yet, if the Gospels do not express the doctrine of the incarnation in its classic form, they can be read to contain a doctrine of the incarnation. Or rather, the canonical Gospels represent several searching attempts to demonstrate that the human Jesus of Nazareth was *God in the flesh.

1. The Gospel of John
2. The Synoptic Gospels
3. Conclusion

1. The Gospel of John.

John 1:14 offers the most explicit statement about the incarnation in the NT: "The Word became flesh."

1.1. The Dialectical Theology of John. To call Jesus “the Word” (*ho logos*) implies a high Christology. The term * *logos* has a history too rich to be explored in any depth here (see Tobin), but for present purposes it is enough to say what the prologue to John’s Gospel says. All things were created through the Word; the Word was with God; the Word was God (Jn 1:1-2). Applying this term to the preincarnate Jesus corresponds to Jesus’ claim later in John’s Gospel: “The Father and I are one” (Jn 10:30). On the other hand, to say that Jesus took on flesh is to evoke an image of lowliness. Here “flesh” (*sarx*) refers to mundane human existence, as opposed to the heavenly existence of the Spirit (see Jn 3:6; 6:63). This corresponds to Jesus’ comment later in John’s Gospel: “The Father is greater than I” (Jn 14:28). Thus, in the brief statement of John 1:14 we see the high and the low poles of Johannine Christology, and both poles continue to be held in tension throughout this Gospel.

How does the body of John’s Gospel coordinate these elements? Prominent interpreters have argued that they are not coordinated at all. R. Bultmann famously focused his attention on Jesus’ humanity and insisted that the Word incarnate is nothing but a human being (Bultmann, 40-49). The incarnation implies that any contact with the divine *Logos* is impossible through the human Jesus. For Bultmann, then, the emphasis of John’s Christology was found in the first half of John 1:14: “The Word became flesh.”

At the other extreme, E. Käsemann insisted that the Fourth Gospel actually reflects a “naïve docetism,” wherein Jesus’ humanity was only on the level of appearances and was not real. Käsemann drew his inspiration from the latter half of John 1:14: “And we beheld his glory.” Jesus’ humanity, for Käsemann, was not important for Johannine Christology, and Jesus was simply “God striding over the earth,” revealing his divine glory (for a detailed response to Käsemann, see Thompson).

Each side of this divide finds support for its position somewhere in John’s Gospel. For example, Jesus is referred to as God both at the beginning (Jn 1:1, 18) and at the end (Jn 20:28), and he repeatedly employs the “I am” phrase of Exodus 3:14, which identifies the God of Israel (Jn 8:24, 28, 58). On the other hand, Jesus’ fleshly incarnation is given equal attention (Jn 1:14), especially when Jesus dies and a special point is made of providing eyewitness testimony that blood and water actually poured from his wound (Jn 19:34). Thomas even touches the flesh of the risen Jesus (Jn 20:27). How does one resolve this tension?

It is important to recognize that Christology is

not the only theological matter in John that operates in this fashion. For example, Johannine eschatology has both a realized and a future character, as exemplified in John 5:25: “Very truly, I tell you, the hour is coming, and is now here, when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live.” Thus, Jesus can refer both to the future life that believers will enjoy (Jn 11:25; 14:23) and to the present reality of their new life: “Very truly, I tell you, anyone who hears my word and believes him who sent me has eternal life, and does not come under judgment, but has passed from death to life” (Jn 5:24). The same applies to signs and faith in John. Signs are supposed to lead to belief (Jn 20:31), and they do so (Jn 2:11), but some who believe are rejected or rebuked (Jn 2:23-25; 4:48). All major theological topics in John reflect the same tension (see Anderson, 314-17).

A key to unlocking these theological tensions appears in John 12:36, where Jesus announces, “While you have the light, believe in the light, so that you may become children of light.” But after emphasizing images of light and illumination, the evangelist says, “After Jesus had said this, he departed and hid from them.” The moment of revelation is also a moment of concealment. C. K. Barrett refers to this as the “dialectical theology” of the Fourth Gospel, in which opposing statements contradict one another, and the contradictions are not resolved in order to push theological reflection to a higher plane (Barrett, 67). This method seems to reflect the radical character of the incarnation. When God becomes mortal, when eternity enters time, and when the Creator enters the creation, the categories of reality are shattered. Such a phenomenon cannot be systematically explained. A narrative Gospel is such a rich vehicle for depicting the incarnation for precisely this reason. Narrative can accomplish what a treatise struggles to lay out systematically.

1.2. Glory and the Incarnation. The disagreement between Bultmann and Käsemann over the relative value of the two clauses in John 1:14 is instructive for other aspects of the incarnation as well. When John 1:14 closes by asserting, “We have beheld his glory,” the term “glory” refers to the events of the hour of Jesus’ death and resurrection (e.g., Jn 12:31; 13:31; 17:1). Thus, the Word becomes flesh and reveals his glory—on the cross. The incarnation and the human life of Jesus in John must be understood to be inherently connected to Jesus’ death (Thompson). Käsemann did not see this connection, for at least two reasons. First, in keeping with his docetic reading of John, Käsemann believed that “the passion comes into view in John only at the very end,” and

that John simply forces “the features of Christ’s victory upon the passion story” (Käsemann, 7). This is true, but only partly so. Christ’s victory certainly is pressed upon the passion when Jesus announces, “In this world you will have trouble, but take heart; I have overcome the world” (Jn 16:33). But if Christ’s victory is pressed upon the passion, John also presses the passion upon the entire incarnate life of Christ. The death of Jesus comes into view well before the very end. This is obvious in many ways, but especially in John’s rich and varied use of imagery to describe Jesus. Images are not only piled upon one another, but also modified and made multivalent. As he prepares to depart from the world, for example, Jesus refers to the “way” on which he travels (Jn 14:4). But then suddenly, instead of speaking of the way on which he travels, Jesus insists, “I am the way” (Jn 14:6). The image of the way is not one thing, but many. And yet, as image is piled upon image, and as each image is turned this way or that to reveal new complexities and meaning, our focus is not distracted, but rather sharpened—on the cross. H. Attridge writes, “The cross lurks in and around many, if not all, of the images in the gospel. . . . I would suggest that the gospel as a whole might be construed as one large cubist image, refracting the *cross* through other images, of light, water, shepherds, ladders, snakes” (Attridge, 54). The image of water, for example, flows throughout the early chapters of John’s Gospel, and it means many things. But this complexity and confusion associated with water are clarified on the cross when water pours out with blood from Jesus’ wound in the passion (Jn 19:34). “The water that works with the spirit to give new birth flows finally from the cross” (Attridge, 9). Other major images in John operate similarly, pointing to the cross throughout Jesus’ earthly life.

The question of Jesus’ glory is the second issue forming Käsemann’s views about the death of Jesus. For, if Jesus reveals his glory on the cross, this revelation of glory is redundant and irrelevant, since Jesus already reveals his glory at Cana (Jn 2:11). This claim does not account, however, for John’s postresurrection perspective. John makes it clear that things after the hour of Jesus’ glorification are different from before the hour (Jn 7:39), and the significance of Jesus’ earthly life is understood only after the events of the hour (Jn 2:22; 12:16). And yet, the clear scheme separating the “before and after” of the hour often is violated, especially in the farewell discourse (Jn 13–17). Jesus there claims that he has already been glorified (Jn 13:31), but then conversely prays, “Father, the hour has come; glorify your son” (Jn 17:1 [cf. Jn

17:5]). Or, Jesus can announce his imminent departure by saying, “In a little while, the world will no longer see me” (Jn 14:19), but then he announces that he has already left: “And I am no longer in the world” (Jn 17:11). The same postresurrection perspective lies behind the revelation of glory in John 2. Because the incarnate life of Jesus culminates in the cross, the glory of the cross is visible throughout that incarnate life: “The time is coming and now is” (Jn 5:25). And yet, this is not so because the cross is irrelevant, but rather because it is hyperrelevant. It is the culmination of the incarnation. The Word became flesh in order to reveal his glory (Jn 1:14).

2. The Synoptic Gospels.

Do the Synoptic Gospels reflect such careful attention to the enfleshment of God in the human Jesus as John does? How might the Synoptic Gospels communicate implicitly things that are more explicit in John? To answer these questions, it is first important to recognize that no other Gospel envisages Jesus as a preexistent being as the Gospel of John does. If incarnation depends completely on a notion of preexistence, then we cannot see the incarnation in any Gospel but John’s. And yet, there is still much to say. The birth narratives of Matthew and Luke are especially suggestive in this regard (*see* Birth of Jesus). This does not mean, though, that the idea of virginal conception per se implies the incarnation of God. Philo, for instance, refers to the miraculous conceptions of Sarah and Zipporah without implying that those born from them are divine (*Cher.* 47). But additional elements in both Matthew and Luke’s birth narratives suggest and imply something very close to the incarnational thought of John.

2.1. The Gospel of Luke. This is especially true of Luke, as it has been recently read by K. Rowe. By focusing on Luke’s subtle use of the term “Lord,” Rowe argues that Luke’s Christology is especially closer to John’s claims that “the Word was with God” and “the Word became flesh.” Luke and John may use different terms, but they express something similar (Rowe, 230). The operative term in Luke for showing this is “Lord” (Gk. *kyrios*), which plays a prominent role in the birth narratives (Rowe, 31–55). Throughout the first two chapters of Luke we hear over twenty references to the God of Israel as the Lord, such as that Zechariah and Elizabeth were “living blamelessly according to all the commandments and regulations of the Lord” (Lk 1:6). It comes as a surprise, then, that Elizabeth suddenly calls Mary “the mother of my Lord” (Lk 1:43). Jesus receives the name of the God of Israel, which tightly

identifies Jesus with God. And yet, there is also a distinction between the two, especially when Luke 2:11 couples the title "Lord" with that of "Messiah": "To you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, who is the Messiah, the Lord" (see Christ). This is the first application of the term "Messiah" to Jesus, and it helps us to understand how he is Lord. Throughout the ensuing Gospel, Luke distinguishes between the Lord who is the Father in heaven and Jesus the Lord, the Messiah, on earth. The term "Lord" thus identifies Jesus with the Father but also distinguishes between the two.

2.2. *The Gospel of Matthew.* The Gospel of Matthew seems to accomplish something similar, but in a different way. In Matthew, however, the operative term is not "Lord" but rather "Emmanuel": "And they shall name him Emmanuel," which means, "God is with us" (Mt 1:23). The phrase here translated "God is with us" is taken from the LXX version of Isaiah 8:8, and its relevance for Matthew has been understood in two different ways (Davies and Allison, 1:217). One way is to render the phrase not as "God is with us," but instead as "with us is God." In this rendering Jesus may make God especially present, but he himself is not God. That Matthew nowhere else calls Jesus "God" supports this reading, and W. Davies and D. Allison prefer this interpretation. They recognize, however, that Matthew 1:23 often is rendered "God is with us" in concert with John 1:1-5; 20:28. This translation finds support in the regular insistence throughout Matthew of the importance of Jesus being "with" his disciples (Mt 18:20; 25:31-46; 28:20). If Jesus is "with" his disciples on earth, God the Father is always spoken of as being in heaven in Matthew (e.g., Mt 6:9). Thus, through his very human (albeit miraculous) birth Jesus is a human being, while he is also in some mysterious sense "God with us." J. Dunn observes of Matthew that here we can see "a concept of incarnation," if only implicitly and not explicitly (Dunn, *ABD* 3:403).

2.3. *The Gospel of Mark.* Can Mark be read in a similar fashion? Like John's, Mark's image of Jesus reflects a dialectical tension between knowledge and ignorance, power and weakness, and so forth (Boring, 462). Jesus, for instance, knows that power has left him when a woman touches his garments, but he does not know who touched him (Mk 5:30). In various other ways Jesus is equally associated with, and distinguished from, God. Thus, the language from the psalms (Pss 29:3; 46:3; 65:8) regarding God's victory over violent seas applies to Jesus (Mk 4:35-41), while, on the other hand, it is not up to Jesus to de-

termine who will sit at his right hand (Mk 10:40). Or, only the Father, not Jesus, knows the time of the end (Mk 13:32). Jesus, finally, also dies a painful death on the cross, indicating his humanity. Mark thus seems to hold in tension the high and low poles of Christology. But Mark's emphasis is not where John's is, with such a total focus on the incarnation and its significance. Mark seems primarily concerned to depict a Jesus who is "the basis for redemption and the pattern for his followers" (Hurtado, 311). And yet, given Mark's high Christology, whereby Jesus is regularly associated with God, it is possible with Mark, as it was with Matthew and Luke, to say that something lies implicit in this text that John makes explicit and develops further (Boring, 471).

3. Conclusion.

This article has discussed the incarnation in the Gospels by operating in reverse chronological order, beginning with the document generally considered to be the last written, John, and concluding with the document largely considered to be the first written, Mark. The fact that John, the latest Gospel, contains the most explicit statements on the incarnation might suggest that only later Christology is high Christology. According to this line of argument, Mark, and maybe even Matthew and Luke, present Jesus through the prism of a lower Christology, whereas John elevates Jesus to a status higher than that given to him by the other evangelists. But I believe that this way of reading would be incorrect. Early Christology is high Christology. The earlier Gospels may articulate in different ways the idea that Jesus was God incarnate, but they do seem to express this belief. And their various expressions are not different in kind from that expressed in the Gospel of John. They are different in degree. They leave implicit what John makes explicit.

See also CHRISTOLOGY; GOD; JOHN, GOSPEL OF; LOGOS; LORD.

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INFANCY GOSPEL OF THOMAS. See GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL.

ISAAC. See ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB.

ISRAEL

In the first century A.D. Israel no longer existed as a

geopolitical entity, although hope for an independent state was never extinguished. In the pre- and post-A.D. 70 contexts, however, the term "Israel" continued to be primarily used either as an ethnic designation for people of Jewish descent or as a religious designation of the elect who were in a covenantal relationship with their God. Only in the former sense is the term interchangeable with terms such as "Jews" and "Judeans," which regularly appear on the lips of non-Jews. All three meanings—geopolitical, ethnic, religious—are recognizable in the usages of the term "Israel" in the Gospels. The name "Israel" in Luke 4:25-27 refers to the northern kingdom of Israel that eventually was destroyed by Assyria. The expressions "the land of Israel" (Mt 2:20-21) and "the towns of Israel" (Mt 10:23) carry clear geopolitical nuances. The phrase "the twelve tribes of Israel" (Mt 19:28; Lk 22:30) appears in the description of the eschatological vision of the restored Israel (see Exile and Restoration). The interchangeability of the titles "the King of Israel" (Mt 27:42; Mk 15:32; Jn 1:49; 12:13) and "the King of the Jews" (Mt 2:2; 27:11, 29, 37; Mk 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26; Lk 23:3, 37, 38; Jn 18:33, 39; 19:3, 19, 21) indicates that Israel represents here an ethnic designation even though the title itself has definite political overtones. But most of the references to Israel in the Gospels function primarily as religious terms that allude to the Jewish people's special status before God and God's commitment to them (Mt 2:6; 8:10; 10:6; 15:24, 31; 27:9; Mk 12:29; Lk 1:16, 54-55, 68, 80; 2:25-35; 9:33; Jn 1:31).

It would be misleading, however, to limit the study of Israel in the Gospels to its terminological usage, since the entire story of Jesus' ministry, portrayed in a distinctive way in each Gospel narrative, sheds light on Jesus' relation to Israel. This investigation involves two basic questions. The first concerns the content of Jesus' message vis-à-vis the variegated character of Second Temple Judaism. Did Jesus, like Qumran covenanters (see Essenes) and other Jewish groups that developed a sectarian mentality, claim that only those who respond positively to his message represent the remnant—the "true Israel"—or was his aim to reform Israel as a whole? The second question concerns the effect of the rejection of Jesus' message on the status of Israel as God's chosen people. Has God, in response to Jewish obstinacy, passed on the promises originally given to Israel to another people? This problem is closely related to the transformation of the early church from a Jewish sect into a predominantly Gentile movement and to the concept of the "new Israel." It should be noted that the terms "true Israel" and "new Israel" do not

appear in the Gospels. Many interpreters, however, find them helpful because they allow them to express, on the one hand, the concept of Israel that affirms the validity of Jewish ancestry but radicalizes other relevant criteria for membership in the people of God ("true Israel"), and, on the other hand, the concept of Israel that is based on a completely new set of criteria that minimize the ethnic component ("new Israel").

1. Israel in the Gospels
2. Jesus and Israel

1. Israel in the Gospels.

In the past two decades *form- and *redaction-critical studies of the Gospels have given way to literary studies of the Gospel narratives, which prioritize the final form of the text rather than its editorial layers (*see* Narrative Criticism). One of the consequences of this methodological shift is a de-emphasis on speculative reconstructions of specific historical circumstances of the evangelists' communities. This does not mean that scholars no longer pay attention to the evangelists' roles in modifying their sources and in shaping received traditions, but only that they are less willing to engage in various conjectures about the formation of the text and the particular settings of the authors and their audiences. There is a general agreement that, on the whole, the Gospel authors try to explain why Jesus' preaching achieved so little success among first-century Jews so that a movement that began as an exclusively Jewish endeavor became a predominantly Gentile phenomenon.

1.1. Mark. The plot of Mark's Gospel is dominated by the repeated misunderstandings of Jesus' words and deeds by the characters in the narrative, including Jesus' own *family (Mk 3:19-21, 31-35), his *disciples (Mk 4:10-13, 37-41; 6:48-52; 7:18; 8:17-18, 21, 31-33; 9:31-32) and his contemporaries (Mk 2:6, 16, 24; 6:2-3; 15:35). Within this context Mark paints a picture of a favorable disposition of the crowd that marks the greater part of Jesus' ministry (Mk 2:12-13, 15; 4:1-2; 5:24; 7:37; 12:37), which eventually turns into hostility under the influence of the conspiracy against Jesus by the religious leaders (Mk 3:6; 12:12; 14:1-2; 15:6-15) (*see* People, Crowd). The Markan narrative about Jewish obstinacy and the rejection of Jesus finds an unexpected resolution in the confession of Jesus' divine sonship by the Roman centurion (Mk 15:39).

Some scholars take this plot twist as an indication that Israel, either in part or as a whole, has been rejected by God in favor of the *Gentiles. A similar conclusion is reached by many redaction critics who

regard the parable of the tenants, with its climactic declaration that the owner of the vineyard will "give the vineyard to others" (Mk 12:1-11), as an expression of the early church's theology of the transferal of Israel's religious privileges to the church. This approach has been rightly questioned by A. Collins, who suggests that the parable of the tenants merely envisions the transferal of leadership to those who respond positively to Jesus as the Messiah.

1.2. Matthew. Matthew's narrative follows the basic contours of Mark's plot. What is novel is a programmatic focus on Jesus' earthly ministry to Israel. The Matthean Jesus and his disciples are sent only to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 10:6; 15:24). The amazed crowd exclaims, "Never has anything like this been seen in Israel" (Mt 9:33) and praises the God of Israel (Mt 15:31). And yet the narrative concludes with the instruction of the risen Jesus to his disciples to "go . . . and make disciples of all nations" (Mt 28:19). To this list of the distinctively Matthean features we can add a more repugnant portrayal of the Jewish leaders and a shift of the blame for Jesus' crucifixion to the Jewish people as a whole: "His blood be on us and on our children!" (Mt 27:25) Moreover, in Matthew 21:43 Jesus says to the chief priests and the Pharisees that the *kingdom of God will be taken away from them and "given to a people that produces the fruits of the kingdom." The list can be further expanded by a redactional remark in the parable of the wedding feast that the enraged king burned the city of the hostile invitees (Mt 22:7), which most scholars understand as an overt reference to the destruction of *Jerusalem in A.D. 70. What emerges is, in the opinion of many interpreters, an outline of Matthean salvation history that begins with Jesus' mission to Israel, moves toward Israel's rejection of Jesus, and concludes with the replacement of Israel with the *church.

Scholars have proposed different labels for Matthew's conception of the church. W. Trilling prefers the term "true Israel," although it no longer includes the ethnic component, while both D. Hare and G. Stanton argue that the church in Matthew is neither a "true Israel" nor a "new Israel" but rather a completely new entity that they call a "third race" vis-à-vis both Jews and Gentiles. While the relationship between the Matthean community and formative Judaism remains a controversial issue, B. Repschinski rightly warns against an identification of the Jewish leaders in Matthew with the whole of Israel and calls attention to the combination of the mission to Israel with the denunciation of its leaders that permeates Matthew's narrative. In a recent pub-

lication, M. Konradt emphasizes that Matthew nowhere speaks about the rejection of Israel, nor does he envision the church as the new people of God. Rather, the evangelist paints a picture of a gradual differentiation between the Jewish leaders and the crowd, on the one hand, and between Jerusalem and *Galilee, on the other hand. Jesus' criticism of his contemporaries (Mt 12:38-45; 16:1-4; 23:34-36) is directed not against the Jewish people as a whole but only against the Jewish authorities. The Great Commission (Mt 28:19-20) is therefore not a break in the Matthean soteriological scheme but instead represents the ultimate goal of salvation history, which began with *Abraham's election and God's commitment to Israel.

1.3. Luke. Luke's narrative of Jesus' ministry begins with various hints at an enthusiastic response of the people to Jesus' preaching (Lk 4:36-37; 5:26; 6:17-18; 7:11) and ends with an account of their collaboration with the religious leaders in the plot against Jesus (Lk 23:13-23). At the same time, the evangelist takes pains to minimize the guilt of the crowd by emphasizing that it was the chief *priests and the leaders who delivered Jesus to *death (Lk 24:20), that only the leaders mocked Jesus on the cross while "the people stood by, watching" (Lk 23:35), and that, after Jesus died, the people returned home "beating their breasts" (Lk 23:48). The goal of such efforts is to prepare the way for the people's repentance in Acts 2:37-39, who are retrospectively described as acting in ignorance (Acts 3:17). Yet, the sequel of Luke's Gospel concludes with a description of a failed mission to the Jews and Paul's ominous words: "Let it be known to you then that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles; they will listen" (Acts 28:28).

This narrative development has been variously interpreted. There is a scholarly consensus that Luke wants to demonstrate that God's promises to Israel remain valid despite the fact that most Jews rejected God's offer of salvation through Jesus. Differences of opinion remain, however, with regard to the question of whether God's saving purposes have been transferred from Israel as a people of God to the church as a "new Israel." H. Conzelmann, R. Maddox, J. Sanders, J. Jervell and H. Räisänen, for example, answer this question in the affirmative and argue that in Luke's soteriological scheme Israel has been replaced by the new entity composed of those who believe in Jesus. In this reconstruction only the believing Jews belong to the "new Israel." A more nuanced version of this view is offered by M. Wolter, who contends that Luke's primary aim is to reassure the largely Gentile Christian congregations that they

stand in continuity with the salvific promises originally given to Israel. He further insists that the non-believing Jews can claim membership in Israel as long as they have not irrevocably rejected the Christ proclamation. Other scholars, by contrast, believe that Luke's portrayal of Israel's obduracy is not his final word on the subject. R. Tannehill speaks for many when he contends that the salvation of a remnant is not an adequate solution to the theological problem created by the negative response of so many Jews. In his view, the tragic ending of Luke-Acts does not provide the ultimate answer to God's saving purposes, which will not be completed until Israel as a people accepts *salvation through Jesus Christ.

1.4. John. The plot of the Fourth Gospel is characterized by a strong Jewish opposition to Jesus, which begins very early in his ministry (Jn 2:18-20) and rapidly develops into a murderous conspiracy that leads to Jesus' arrest and crucifixion (Jn 7:1, 13, 44; 8:40-44; 9:22; 10:31; 11:47-53, 57; 18:28-31). The typical term that the author uses for Jesus' opponents is "the Jews." This does not mean, however, that this label always carries its usual ethnic and religious connotations, as R. Brown convincingly demonstrated. He has shown that it is erroneous to read the Johannine polemical passages as references to the Jewish people in general. In these texts the term "Jews" refers to Jewish religious authorities that are opposed to Jesus and primarily functions as a stereotype of rejection. In other passages the term serves as a religious (Jn 4:22) or geographic designation (Jn 11:19, 31, 33, 36). The name "Israel" always has a positive connotation (Jn 1:31, 49; 3:10; 12:13). The Fourth Evangelist also mentions some Jews who believed in Jesus (Jn 8:31; 11:45; 12:11). The major plot line in the Fourth Gospel is therefore not much different from the general plot line of the Synoptic Gospels. Jesus' ministry is only moderately successful among the Jews, but the main opposition comes from the religious leaders and not the Jewish people in general. J. Martyn has offered one of the best-known and most widely accepted explanations of the increased tension between Jesus and his Jewish adversaries. In his view, John's narrative reflects the history of the Johannine community, whose members suffered excommunication from the synagogue. The Fourth Gospel thus points to an inner-Jewish dispute that fostered the development of the sectarian mentality of John's community and contributed to its self-understanding as "the true Israel," as recently argued by J. Dennis.

2. Jesus and Israel.

The main question raised in historical-Jesus research

with regard to Jesus' relationship to Israel concerns the content of his message. Scholarly views on this subject can be classified into two major groups. The first group includes those who believe that Jesus wanted to reform Israel as a whole. Among them, E. P. Sanders is the best-known proponent of the idea that Jesus' selection of the twelve *disciples functions as a symbolic representation of the restored Israel. In his view, Jesus expected the eschatological recovery of the twelve tribes of Israel, which is visible not only in his preaching about the kingdom of God but also in his *miracles of *healing as the signs of God's final victory over evil. Sanders points out that Jesus affirmed the permanent character of God's covenant with Israel and promised *sinners a place in the kingdom without demanding their repentance. A similar reconstruction of Jesus' aims is proposed by J. Meier, who accentuates the symbolic meaning of the twelve disciples for the divine restoration of all Israel. N. T. Wright, who also advocates Jewish restoration *eschatology, takes a different approach. He interprets Jesus' message to his contemporaries, who still viewed themselves as living in *exile, as a call to adopt a radically new way of living, which Wright metaphorically describes as being the light of the world. This means, in practical terms, abandoning nationalistic aspirations and replacing adherence to the *temple and the Torah with allegiance to Jesus.

The second group includes scholars, such as B. Meyer, who situate Jesus' message within the context of the Second Temple sectarian dispute of who constitutes the true Israel. The central concept in this discussion is the idea of a remnant, which presupposes a distinction between ethnic and religious Israel. This view has been recently advanced by S. Bryan, who argues that by calling sinners to *repentance, *John the Baptist established a faithful remnant, which Jesus, by selecting the twelve disciples, transformed into the eschatological remnant. The twelve disciples thus do not symbolize the future restoration of the twelve tribes of Israel but rather represent an already accomplished restoration of a remnant, which nevertheless remains open for new adherents until the final judgment of disobedient Israel.

Which of these two approaches is more persuasive depends, for the most part, on one's perspective. If we consider the limited scope of Jesus' ministry, his call to repentance, and the announcement of God's judgment on unrepentant Israel, Jesus can be described as a proponent of a remnant theology. But if we consider the open character of the Jesus group

and the portrayal of the reconstituted Israel in the eschatological discourses, the far-reaching character of Jesus' message will carry more weight.

See also ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB; ANTI-SEMITISM; EXILE AND RESTORATION; GENTILES; JUDAISM, COMMON; PEOPLE, CROWD.

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JACOB. See ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB.

JERICHO. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

JERUSALEM

The city of Jerusalem has been inhabited for over five thousand years, and it was the largest and most significant city in Israel at the time of Jesus. Here stood the *temple, center of Judaism; here King David had his court; here the Jewish people expected the Messiah to appear; here the last days of Jesus, his death and resurrection took place; and here the church began. The importance of Jerusalem in Jesus' day can scarcely be overestimated.

1. History, Geography and Economics
2. The Significance of the City
3. The Jewish Revolt and the Destruction of the City
4. Locations in the City Found in the Gospels
5. Significance of the City and Its Destruction for the Gospels and Jesus

1. History, Geography and Economics.

The name "Jerusalem" is found in Egyptian texts dating to 1900–1800 B.C. and perhaps in Ebla tablets dating to 2600–2300 B.C. The origins of the name are obscure, but it is frequently understood to mean "foundation of peace." The name has two Greek spellings in the NT and elsewhere: *Hierosolyma* and *Ierousalēm*; there is no widely recognized reason for using one spelling over the other (BDAG 471).

Evidence from pottery found in the city suggests the site was occupied in the Chalcolithic period (ca. 3500 B.C.). It was taken by the Israelites under King David (2 Sam 5:6–9) from the Jebusites (ca. 1000 B.C.) and grew considerably. After the return from Babylonian exile (sixth century B.C.), the city and the temple were reconstructed. By Jesus' day, the city covered some 93 ha (230 acres) and had an estimated population of twenty-five thousand to eighty thousand (Jer-

emias; Wilkinson; Broshi). The population swelled enormously with visitors at the time of the pilgrim festivals (Jeremias estimates six- or sevenfold).

The city stands on two ridges, the Temple Mount (or Ophel) and the Western Hill (or Mount Zion; see 2 Sam 5:7; Pss 9:11, 14; 48:2, 11), themselves on a limestone plateau about 800 m above sea level (cf. Ps 48:2). These ridges are surrounded by steep valleys on three sides; in between them is the shallower Tyropoeon Valley (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.140: *hē tōn tyropoion pharanx*, meaning "the valley of the cheesemakers" [see LSJ, s.v.]). The Mount of Olives is the highest point in the city, to the east of the Temple Mount across the Kidron Valley (Zech 14:4; Mk 13:3; Lk 19:37).

Herod the Great (d. 4 B.C.) (see Herodian Dynasty) significantly altered the face of the city by a huge building program that included the rebuilding and expansion of the temple (begun 19/18 B.C. [Josephus, *J.W.* 1.401]), a massive task that was not many years completed when the temple was destroyed in the Jewish revolt in A.D. 70 (note the disciple's admiration for the size of the temple in Mk 13:1; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 15.412). Herod also built a palace for himself (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.402), a market enclosed by a wall, a major aqueduct about 44.5 km long (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.175), the Antonia fortress, which overlooked the temple (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.91 [referred to as "the barracks" in Acts 21:31–40]), a theater and a hippodrome. Herod's use of the *qorbān* temple tax for building works caused protest by the Jewish population, which Herod put down with force (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.176–77). Herod also seems to have introduced a grid system of streets at right angles to each other in the city (Wilkinson). This was the city of Jesus' day.

The city's *economy was varied. Sheep farming, olive oil and fruit were significant, and the "valley of the cheesemakers" also suggests a dairy industry. The temple generated income and commerce by the need for building stone, by the need for artisans to

build and maintain its structures, by the pilgrims who visited three times each year, and by the temple tax paid by every Jew in the land and the Diaspora.

2. The Significance of the City.

God's ancient promise of the land to Abraham (Gen 12:1; 15:18-21), renewed at the time of the exodus (Ex 3:8), was central to Jewish belief and action. Jerusalem was seen as the heart of the land, and the temple, where God had placed his "name," as the heart of the city (Is 18:7). This was why the Babylonian exile of 587 B.C. had been so devastating for the Israelites; since both city and temple were razed to the ground, it seemed that God had abandoned them (1 Kings 8:48; 9:3; Ps 137; Mt 23:21).

Jerusalem was a contested place in Jesus' day, for it was occupied by the Romans, and this, in combination with the collaboration of priestly and *Sadducean groups with the occupying forces, caused it to be defiled in the eyes of some Jews. In particular, the Essene sect at Qumran regarded the city and the temple as corrupt, and therefore they withdrew to the Dead Sea to practice their faith in greater purity (see Josephus, *Ant.* 18.19). However, the large majority of Jews, both in the land and the Diaspora, aspired to go to the three major pilgrim festivals in Jerusalem (Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles) at least on some occasions (see Feasts). Most also paid the annual temple tax (cf. Mt 17:24). Jesus and his first followers, all of whom were Jews, would have shared this view.

3. The Jewish Revolt and the Destruction of the City.

In the years following Jesus, Jewish resentment against the occupying *Romans grew, culminating in the Jewish revolt of A.D. 66-73, for which *Josephus is our main source (esp. *J. W.* 2-7) (see Revolutionary Movements). Florus's policies as Roman procurator

(A.D. 64-66) precipitated the revolt: he took the Greeks' side against the Jews in civil rights conflicts in Caesarea and then took seventeen talents of gold from the temple treasury to pay Roman government expenses (Josephus, *J. W.* 2.293). Florus used military force to suppress protests (Josephus, *J. W.* 2.296-308), increasing the offense that he had caused. In response, the Jews stopped offering the twice-daily sacrifices for the emperor's health (Josephus, *J. W.* 2.409), which were a Roman concession to Jewish sensibilities about emperor worship: the Romans accepted the Jews praying to their God for the emperor, even if they would not pray to the emperor (Josephus, *J. W.* 2.415-416). The revolt spread, beginning in Jerusalem with the capture of the Antonia fortress and the slaughter of its Roman garrison in August of A.D. 66 (Josephus, *J. W.* 2.430-440) and then throughout the land (Josephus, *J. W.* 2.408, 484-486).

The Romans responded with large military force to this revolt, although with some inexplicable mistakes early in the campaign and understandable delays later because of the uncertainties of the year of the three emperors in A.D. 69 (see *DNTB*, Destruction of Jerusalem). Vespasian, who had been overseeing the Roman forces in the war, was declared emperor in July of A.D. 69 (Josephus, *J. W.* 4.601, 616-621). In turn, he appointed his son Titus to oversee the taking of Jerusalem (Josephus, *J. W.* 4.658-659).

While the Romans were in the years of some uncertainty, there was also division among the Jewish people, torn between extremists (who themselves were not united) and moderates. After the Romans' first failed campaign in November of A.D. 66, led by Cestius Gallus (Josephus, *J. W.* 2.510-558), Jewish moderates took control, led by the former high priest Ananus (Josephus, *J. W.* 2.563, 648, 651). However, by late A.D. 67 extremists led by Eleazar and the "Zealots" (Josephus, *J. W.* 2.651; 4.160) attacked the

Table 1. Chronology of Events Leading to the Destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 66-70)

66 August	Jewish insurgents capture the Antonia fortress; Cestius, Syrian legate, attacks Jerusalem and retreats.
67 spring-fall	Roman army under Vespasian subdues Galilee.
67-68 winter	Zealot party formed under Eleazar controls Jerusalem.
68 spring	Vespasian subdues Judea.
June	Nero's death and ensuing turmoil in leadership delay siege of Jerusalem.
69 spring	Turmoil goes on within Jerusalem with three parties vying for power.
June	Vespasian resumes campaign.
July	Vespasian proclaimed emperor and departs.
70 spring	Command is given to Titus, Vespasian's son.
May	Titus breaches Agrippa's wall.
August	Titus takes and burns the temple.
September	Jerusalem is sacked and burned.

moderates and seized the temple, putting in place a high priest chosen by lot (Josephus, *J.W.* 4.138-150, 155). A bloody battle ensued, with the outcome that the extremists, in alliance with John of Gischala and a large force of Idumeans, took the city (Josephus, *J.W.* 4.158-161, 193-355).

In the following year, John and Eleazar divided because both wanted absolute power (Josephus, *J.W.* 4.389; 5.5-8). This division eventually opened the way for Simon bar Giora from Gerasa to enter the city with the support of the moderates and finally become "master of Jerusalem" (Josephus, *J.W.* 4.503-577) in A.D. 69. Simon's army of fifteen thousand controlled most of the city; John's six thousand soldiers held the outer temple courts and parts of the lower city; and 2,400 Zealots under the command of Eleazar held the inner temple courts (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.248-254). This internal conflict divided those defending the city against Titus, with the divided defenders destroying vital grain stores that would have allowed them to resist the Roman siege for longer (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.22-28). Subsequent famine resulted in a large number of deaths (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.569).

Titus laid siege at Passover (April) A.D. 70 and initially attacked from the north, breaking through the wall after two weeks, using a combination of siege engines and towers (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.275-302). Titus established a cordon 7.85 km in length around the city to prevent anyone leaving or entering (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.491-511). In July Titus broke through the inner wall (Agrippa's wall) and the Antonia fortress, and in August took the inner temple courts. His troops took the temple's treasures and set fire to it, apparently against his orders (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.249-285). The Romans desecrated the temple by offering sacrifice to their standards there (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.316). In September the rest of the city was burned and sacked (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.354). Titus went in triumph to Rome in A.D. 71 with almost one hundred thousand prisoners, including Simon and John, and many treasures from the temple (Josephus, *J.W.* 7.116-157).

Although Jewish resistance outside Jerusalem continued for some time, the fall of the city was the decisive battle. The fall of the last outpost at Masada in A.D. 73 by mass suicide of its Jewish defenders was the final act of the drama (Josephus, *J.W.* 7.304-406).

4. Locations in the City Found in the Gospels.

Several places in Jerusalem are named in the Gospels (Murphy-O'Connor 2008; Mackowski; Wilkinson), although it is interesting how little description the evangelists provide for their stories' settings. They give readers the bare minimum to understand the

events and words that are the focus of the Gospel stories; we would not even know there were tables in the *temple had not Jesus overturned them (Mk 11:15)!

John 5:2 mentions Bethesda as having five porches. This location has been identified by ancient pilgrims and modern archeologists. It consists of two pools divided by a wall, and it lies north of the temple platform, near to the Sheep Gate; thus, the pools may have been used for washing sheep for use in sacrifice in the temple. The *Copper Scroll* from the Dead Sea mentions a place called "Beth Eshdaitain" as a pool, which appears to be the same place (3Q15 XI, 12).

John 9:7, 11 mention the Pool of Siloam, where Jesus sent the blind man to wash, and excavations in 1880 led to its identification. It was fed by the Gihon spring. Its water was poured out in the temple at the Feast of Tabernacles, and the rabbis saw this outpouring as celebrating eschatological hopes (Str-B 2:799-805).

The upper room where the *Last Supper took place (Mk 14:15; Lk 22:12) seems to be identified by Luke as also the gathering place of the earliest believers (Acts 1:13). This location may be the cenacle on Mount Zion (Murphy-O'Connor 1995), and it appears to be a large room near to a probable Essene quarter in the city (Capper; Riesner; cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 5.145). If so, Essene influence on Jesus and his followers is possible.

The Mount of Olives was understood, on the basis of Zechariah 14:4-5, to be where God would intervene in battle with Gentiles. It lay across the steep Kidron Valley from the Temple Mount and was visited by Jesus and his followers (Lk 21:37). Jesus' entry to the city began there (Mk 11:1 par.), and his *ascension took place there (Acts 1:12). The Bethany home of Lazarus, Martha and Mary probably was near there (Mt 21:17; Mk 11:11; Jn 11:1, 18; 12:1).

*Gethsemane (the name means "oil press"), the garden where Jesus prayed (Mt 26:36; Mk 14:32; Lk 22:39; Jn 18:1-2), was located on the western slopes of the Mount of Olives, although its location cannot be identified with certainty. It is interesting that if Jesus had wished to do so, he could have fled from his potential captors in Gethsemane in ten minutes' rapid walking over the Mount of Olives.

The high priest's house, where the first hearings of Jesus' Jewish trial took place (Mt 26:58; Mk 14:54; Lk 22:54; Jn 18:13), may have been west of the city on Mount Zion. Josephus locates the house of Ananus, high priest in A.D. 47-55, there (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.426). It is unlikely to be on the site of the modern Church of St. Peter in Gallicantu. The Sanhedrin itself met

close to the temple in a place called the “Xystus” (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.144).

The praetorium where *Pilate saw Jesus (Mt 27:27; Mk 15:16; Jn 18:28, 33; 19:9) was the governor’s headquarters, and it could have been the Antonia fortress or Herod’s palace. Some identify a pavement found in the fortress as Gabbatha, where Pilate gave judgment (Jn 19:13). However, it seems more likely that Jesus was taken to Herod’s palace, for that was where Pilate came to reside during Jewish feasts to ensure that good order was kept (cf. Philo, *Legat.* 38.299). The hearing before Pilate seems to have taken place outdoors (cf. Mt 27:19; Lk 23:4) and on a hill (for the crowds “came up” to it [Mk 15:8]). Herod’s palace had been built from 20 B.C. onward (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.156-183) and was in an elevated western part of Jerusalem.

Hakeldama, the site of Judas’ death (Acts 1:19), identified as “the potter’s field” or the “field of blood” (Mt 27:7-10), probably was located at the end of the Hinnom Valley, to the south of the city. Tradition since the fourth century A.D. consistently places it in the grounds of the Monastery of St. Onuphrius.

The Hinnom Valley itself, called “Gehenna” (Gk. *geenna*) by Jesus (Mt 5:22, 29-30; Mk 9:43, 45, 47; Luke 12:5), was a ravine to the south of the city, where, (probably later) popular Judaism believed, final judgment was to take place (*Sib. Or.* 1:100-103; 2:283-312; *Ascen. Isa.* 4:14-18). Jesus spoke of this place as a metaphor for a place of punishment.

Golgotha (the name means “place of a skull”), the place of Jesus’ crucifixion (Mt 27:33; Mk 15:22; Jn 19:7) (see Death of Jesus), was a rock formation and is likely to be on the site of today’s Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Archeologists have found remains of a temple to Aphrodite there, built in A.D. 135 to replace a Christian place of worship. This site is much more likely than that above the modern Garden Tomb north of the Damascus Gate. John records that Golgotha was close to the city (Jn 19:20), and that Jesus’ burial place was nearby in a garden (Jn 19:41-42).

The earliest Christian communities preserved knowledge of these sites, although they do not seem to have become sites of pilgrimage until a few centuries later.

5. Significance of the City and Its Destruction for the Gospels and Jesus.

5.1. Mark. Mark opens his Gospel with quotations from Isaiah 40:3 and Malachi 3:1 (Mk 1:2-3), both drawn from OT passages about the Lord coming to Jerusalem, and his whole story is strongly fo-

cused on Jesus going to Jerusalem, where he will die and be raised, for Jesus is “the Lord” coming to the city (Mk 11:3). He is also the Davidic king (see Son of David), recognized by the divine voice at his *baptism as God’s “Son” (Mk 1:11), a kingly designation drawn from Psalm 2:7, itself a coronation Psalm focused on Zion (Ps 2:6) (see Son of God). He enters Jerusalem to cries recognizing his kingly status (Mk 11:9-10) (see Triumphal Entry), a status ironically underlined by Pilate’s inscription and the taunts of the crowd at Jesus’ crucifixion (Mk 15:26, 32).

While the focus of Mark 1—8, set in the north of the land, is on Jesus’ identity, leading up to Peter’s recognition of him near Caesarea Philippi (Mk 8:29), the second half drives the story south toward Jerusalem and focuses on Jesus’ death (Mk 10:32; 11:1, 15, 27). Three times Jesus predicts his coming arrest, death and resurrection, on the last occasion explicitly saying that the events will happen in Jerusalem (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:33-34). Mark 11—16 is set in Jerusalem, a city divided in its reaction to Jesus: he is welcomed as king (Mk 11:8-10), and the crowd listen attentively to his teaching (Mk 11:18b; 12:37), but the leaders plot against him and question him critically (Mk 11:18a, 27-33; 12:12a, 13-17) (note that opponents earlier came from Jerusalem [Mk 3:22; 7:1]). Ultimately, Jesus is alone, with the crowd, probably a mob of the leaders’ supporters, calling for his death and mocking him on the cross (Mk 15:11, 14, 29).

And yet, ironically, it is there, at the place of his death, that a Gentile recognizes him (Mk 15:39; cf. Mk 1:1) as the temple curtain is torn, showing that Yahweh is not confined to the temple but rather is moving in the world to draw people to himself through the broken body of Jesus (Mk 15:38). In raising Jesus, God overturns the city’s verdict on Jesus (the passive “he has been raised” [*ēgerthē*] implies that God raised Jesus [Mk 16:6]). Mark’s brief account of Jesus’ resurrection focuses on *Galilee, not Jerusalem, as the place where Jesus will meet his disciples (Mk 16:7); the privileged status of the city is over, for it failed to recognize its king when he visited.

We should consider the predictions of the *apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13 in this wider setting. Here Jesus warns of the city and the temple’s destruction in graphic terms, including the Danielic “desolating sacrilege” (Mk 13:14; cf. Dan 9:27; 12:11) being set up in the temple. Interpreters debate how much of this chapter relates specifically to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and how much is about a future return of Jesus. One view sees Mark 13:24-27 focusing on Jesus’ vindication in his *resurrection (as the *“Son of Man” who goes to Yahweh to be vindicated

[see Dan 7:13-14]) and the fall of the city; the cosmic language thus speaks of “earthshaking” events (Wright 1996). Another approach sees the chapter partly referring to the fall of the city, but Mark 13:24-27 as referring to future events including Jesus’ return to earth (Adams) (see 5.5 below).

5.2. Matthew. Matthew is the most positive and most negative of the evangelists in his presentation of Jerusalem. He names Jerusalem positively as “the holy city” (Mt 4:5; 27:53) and the temple as “the holy place” (Mt 24:15 [contrast Mk 13:14]). The city is “the city of the great king” (Mt 5:35), meaning Yahweh, and God dwells in the temple (Mt 23:21). The standing of the city begins high.

However, Jesus is greater than the temple (Mt 12:6 [in Matthew only]); the king in the parable will burn down the “city” of those who reject his wedding invitation (Mt 22:7 [in Matthew only]), hinting at Jerusalem’s destruction; Jerusalem is a city that kills the prophets and those sent to it, and its house is left desolate (Mt 23:37-39); and Matthew includes and expands Mark’s apocalyptic discourse predicting the city’s downfall (Mt 24).

Jesus divides the city’s people. The Passover crowds welcome Jesus as king (Mt 21:1-9; cf. Zech 9:9, cited in Mt 21:5) and as a prophet (Mt 21:11). However, the city is thrown into turmoil by him (Mt 21:10); this is the same city that was fearful and joined with Herod in trying to kill the infant Jesus (Mt 2:2-3, 16). It is the Jerusalem leaders who plot Jesus’ death (Mt 26:3-4).

There are other hints at Jerusalem’s role in opposing Jesus, leading to the city’s rejection. In a parable, the owner’s son is first ejected from the vineyard and then killed (Mt 21:39 [contrast Mk 12:8]), which may connote Jesus’ crucifixion outside the city. Jesus is compared to Jeremiah (Mt 16:14), a prophet mentioned by Matthew alone, whose message condemned Jerusalem (e.g., Jer 4; 7; 36:31) and who was imprisoned (e.g., Jer 33:1; 32:2) and rejected by the city (e.g., the destruction of the scroll of his words [Jer 36]). The Great Commission is set in Galilee (Mt 28:16; cf. Mt 28:10), identifies Jesus’ universal power (Mt 28:18), and specifies that Jesus’ disciples are to make disciples of “all nations” (Mt 28:19) (*see Mission*). The only role in the story for Jerusalem after Jesus’ resurrection is as a place where rumors and lies are spread (Mt 28:11-15).

5.3. Luke. Luke has most references to Jerusalem among the Synoptic Gospels (about 60 percent of them). His story begins (Lk 1:8-22) and ends (Lk 24:53) in the temple. Jesus visits the temple twice as a child (Lk 2:22-24, 41-51) and is recognized on both

occasions as remarkable (Lk 2:25-38, 47). Luke accentuates Jesus’ journey to Jerusalem compared to Mark, both in its length (from Lk 9:51 to Lk 19:29) and in repeated statements that Jesus was traveling to the city (Lk 9:53; 13:22, 33; 17:11; 18:31; 19:28). As he travels, Jesus is reshaping the people of God around himself, warning of the division that he brings (Lk 12:49-53) and yet offering assurance that God provides for those who follow and confess Jesus (Lk 12:11-12). As Jesus nears the city, he clarifies that his arrival will not precipitate the kingdom’s immediate visible arrival (Lk 17:20-37; 19:11-27), but that he will suffer, die and rise again (Lk 18:31-34) as Israel’s Messiah, ironically recognized as such (“son of David”) by a blind man (Lk 18:35-43).

Luke initially presents the city sympathetically: those in Luke 1—2 hope for its redemption (Lk 1:46-55, 67-79; 2:25-32, 36-38). However, he also includes four oracles against Jerusalem, only one (Lk 13:32-35) shared with Matthew (the others are Lk 19:41-44; 21:20-24; 23:27-31), thus highlighting that judgment will come on the city. Jerusalem is the city that kills the prophets, whose children can find protection under Jesus’ wings alone, not in the city; and yet the city will reject him and be left desolate (Lk 13:32-35). Jerusalem faces God’s judgment: the temple (the “house” of Lk 13:35) will be abandoned; the city’s enemies will crush it because it did not recognize God visiting in Jesus (Lk 19:42-44); Gentiles will desolate the city (Lk 21:20, 24); Jerusalem’s people will call on the mountains to fall on them (Lk 23:30); God will bring vengeance and wrath on the city (Lk 21:22, 23); and believers are called to flee the city (Lk 21:21). Why so? Most importantly, it is because the city rejects Jesus: Jesus cryptically speaks of what “they”—the Romans—are doing and compares himself being crucified by the Romans to fresh green wood and Jerusalem to dry wood that is ready for burning and destruction (Lk 23:27-31, echoing OT warnings to the city [Jer 9:17-21; Hos 10:8; cf. Lk. 19:42-44]). Jesus’ death is both consequence of the city’s rejection of him and foretaste of what the city itself will face.

Luke’s apocalyptic discourse (Lk 21) has sometimes been understood to betray signs of being written after the cataclysmic events of A.D. 70. Luke does not include Jesus instructing his disciples to pray that the events will not happen in winter (cf. Mk 13:18; Mt 24:20); if Luke were writing after A.D. 70, he would know that the siege of the city took place in the spring and summer. However, C. H. Dodd argues cogently that Luke’s presentation consciously echoes the city’s fall to Babylon in 587 B.C., and that “there is no single trait of the forecast which cannot

be documented directly out of the Old Testament” (Dodd, 79). Thus, this chapter alone does not provide a case for Luke writing post-A.D. 70.

However, Luke also presents Jerusalem as a city of a new beginning, for all of Jesus’ resurrection appearances occur in the city’s vicinity (Lk 24:13-53), and Luke’s Gospel ends with the disciples being told to stay in Jerusalem and wait (Lk 24:49). The Spirit comes in the city (*see* Holy Spirit), and the first proclamation of gospel and the first believing community are there (Acts 2). However, Acts’ ending in Rome (Acts 28) after multiple return visits to Jerusalem (Acts 1—7; 8:25; 9:26; 22:2, 22, 30; 15:2; 18:22; 19:21; 21:17) shows that the center of God’s activity is no longer geographical, focused in Jerusalem, but rather in the person of Jesus (Walton).

5.4. John. John’s presentation is rather different from that found in the Synoptics, for Jesus visits Jerusalem three times as an adult (Jn 2:13, 23; 5:1; 12:12). Much of John is set in the city (perhaps 80 percent), with considerably less stress than in the Synoptics on Jesus’ Galilean ministry (e.g., 30 percent of Matthew’s narrative is set in Jerusalem). John has a heightened focus on the city and the temple, but he portrays Jesus as replacing the temple as the means of access to God (e.g., Jn 2:18-22; 14:6-7); hence, John lacks any endorsement of the city as “holy” (contrast Matthew).

As in the Synoptics, Jerusalem divides in response to Jesus. Some believe (Jn 2:23; 7:40-41; 8:31; 9:36-38; 11:45; 12:11), even among the authorities (Jn 11:42; 19:38-39), although their faith can be of the wrong kind (Jn 2:24; 8:31-59), insufficient (Jn 7:40-41) or fickle (Jn 11:45; 12:11). However, the Jerusalem-based Jewish authorities oppose Jesus and his associates (Jn 7:13, 25, 32, 45-52; 8:13; 9:13-34 [esp. v. 22]; 11:42, 47-53; 12:10), and ultimately their plans bear fruit in the arrest, trial and death of Jesus (Jn 18—19). Jesus dies finally recognized (ironically) as the king of the Jews (Jn 19:19; cf. Jn 18:33, 37; 19:3, 12, 21) at the same time as the chief priests are secularizing the Jewish state by averring that their only king is Caesar (Jn 19:14-15)—an amazing admission for leaders in a nation claimed to be the people of God. “Jerusalem became for John a window into the heart of Judaism” (Walker) as a steppingstone to the universal saving ministry of Jesus. Yet Jesus’ kingship of Israel is identified early in John as a key theme by Nathanael’s response to him (Jn 1:49), and by the response of the Passover pilgrims (Jn 12:12-15, quoting Zech 9:9). Thus John, in a vein similar to the Synoptics, presents Jesus as coming as king to the royal city of Jerusalem and being rejected, which means that Jerusalem itself is merely a secular city on a par with others (Walker).

This assessment of the city and its leaders should not lead to the hasty conclusion that John is *anti-Semitic; rather, John, himself probably a Jew and perhaps a Jerusalemite, addresses the world, including the Jewish people, inviting them to respond to Jesus, who is the fulfillment of all that Jerusalem and its temple stand for as the means of access to the one true God. John is clear that there can be no going back to the way the world was before the coming of Jesus; his coming has now changed the universe irrevocably, and thereby it has relativized both city and temple.

How does John’s picture fit with that in the Synoptics? In brief, just as Mark and Matthew do not report some of Jesus’ visits as a child to the city narrated by Luke, so the Synoptics do not report some of Jesus’ visits as an adult mentioned by John. John, though, provides the explanation for Jesus’ final visit to the city that the Synoptics lack: the death of Lazarus (Jn 11). Dodd and others have argued cogently for a historical tradition in John independent of that in the Synoptics, and thus there is thus no *prima facie* reason to reject events in John simply because they are not found in the Synoptics (*see* Synoptics and John).

5.5. Jesus and Jerusalem. Jesus was not alone in warning against the temple and the city. Before him, Jeremiah had criticized unthinking reliance on the temple (Jer 7:1-15; note Jer 7:11, quoted by Jesus in the temple [Mk 11:17 par.]), and Ezekiel had portrayed Yahweh’s glory leaving the temple (Ezek 10). A few years after Jesus, his namesake Jesus ben Ananus warned of the city’s destruction (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.300-309), as did Josephus (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.361-420). M. J. Borg identifies the “threat tradition” in Jesus’ teaching in sixty-seven distinct sayings in the Synoptics, spread throughout different literary forms and putative sources. To suggest that all of this was postdiction, composed after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and in the light of that event, seems highly unlikely; underneath this much smoke, there is likely to be the fire of words from Jesus himself.

The coming judgment on Jerusalem announced by Jesus fits well with Jesus’ actions on entering the city on his final visit. In riding into the city, Jesus is presented as Jerusalem’s true king (Mk 11:10 par.). However, rather than riding a warhorse, he enters on a donkey; the allusion to Zechariah 9:9 (Mt 21:5; Jn 12:15) interprets the donkey as symbolizing Jesus’ entry as humble: he is a different kind of king. Each of the Synoptic Gospels then presents Jesus as visiting the temple (Mt 21:12-13; Mk 11:11, 15-17; Lk 19:45-46) on what looks like a “tour of inspection” in which he finds the temple inadequate (this is the symbolism of the withering of the fig tree [Mk 11:12-14]). The

claims against Jesus at his trial that he had threatened to destroy the temple (Mt 26:61; Mk 14:58) fit well with this nexus of themes, for they reflect a misunderstanding of his statement that the temple would be destroyed, perhaps in conjunction with his riddle about his body as the true temple (Jn 2:19-22).

Confidence about these central themes—Jesus as Jerusalem's true king coming to inspect the city, and his warnings of disaster because the city had turned from Yahweh's chosen path for her—leads us to greater confidence that other themes concerning Jesus and the city in the Gospels originate in the life, ministry and teaching of Jesus.

See also ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY; ECONOMICS; FEASTS; HELLENISM; HERODIAN DYNASTY; JUDAISM, COMMON; PONTIUS PILATE; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS; ROME; SADDUCEES; SCRIBES; TEMPLE; TEMPLE ACT.

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S. Walton

JESUS IN NON-CHRISTIAN SOURCES

Traditions about Jesus appear in ancient non-Christian literature. These traditions have value principally because they offer data from those generally opposed to Christianity that corroborate or occasionally clarify the historical witness of the Gospels.

1. Josephus
2. Roman Historians and Other Writers
3. Rabbinic and Other Jewish Writings
4. The Qur'an

1. Josephus.

Flavius *Josephus (ca. A.D. 37-100) was a military leader in Israel's catastrophic war with *Rome (A.D. 66-70), in which he went over to the Roman side. Under Roman imperial patronage, he wrote an account of the conflict entitled *Jewish War*. He also wrote *Jewish Antiquities* and other works. These were written in Greek but later were translated into other languages, including Slavonic.

1.1. Greek. Twice in *Jewish Antiquities* Josephus refers to Jesus. "And so he [Ananus the high priest, son of Annas; cf. Lk 3:2] convened the judges of the Sanhedrin and brought before them a man called James [cf. Acts 15:13], the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ, and certain others. He accused them of having transgressed the law and delivered

them up to be stoned" (*Ant.* 20.200-203).

The authenticity of this passage is widely accepted because of its wording that is neutral to Jesus. A longer passage, known as the *Testimonium Flavianum* (or *Flavium*), is disputed: "About this time there lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one ought to call him a man. For he was one who wrought surprising feats and was a teacher of such people as accept the truth gladly. He won over many Jews and many of the Greeks. He was the Messiah. When Pilate, upon hearing him accused by men of the highest standing among us, had condemned him to be crucified, those who had in the first place come to love him did not give up their affection for him. On the third day he appeared to them restored to life, for the prophets of God had prophesied these and countless other marvelous things about him. And the tribe of Christians, so called after him, has still to this day not disappeared" (*Ant.* 18.63-64). The authenticity of this passage as a whole is doubted because nowhere else does Josephus discuss Jesus, which would be very hard to explain if he believed him to be the Messiah (*see* Christ). Moreover, Josephus regarded Vespasian as the messiah of Judah (*J.W.* 3.392-408), an interpretation probably based on Genesis 49:10, and one that also cohered with the views of Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.13) and Suetonius (*Vesp.* 4).

Although some scholars view the *Testimonium Flavianum* in its entirety as a Christian interpolation, most regard it as a Christian embellishment of a passage that was either originally critical of Jesus and his following or neutral to them, depending on how they reconstruct its hypothetical original form. The fact that this passage apparently was unknown to most of the early church fathers, although an argument from silence, persuades many scholars of the inauthenticity of its present form. Had this form existed at the end of the first century A.D., it is quite likely that Christian apologists would have cited it often. Although Eusebius (fourth century) knows of this passage (*see Hist. eccl.* 1.11.7-8; *Dem. ev.* 3.5), according to Origen (third century), Josephus did not regard Jesus as the Messiah (*see Comm. Matt.* 10.50.17; *Cels.* 1.47). This suggests that the passage, as we now have it, arose between the times of Origen and Eusebius.

The Arabic version of the *Testimonium Flavianum* (taken from Agapius, *Book of the Title*) reads as follows: "Similarly Josephus the Hebrew. For he says in the treatises that he has written concerning . . . the Jews: 'At this time there was a wise man who was called Jesus. And his conduct was good, and [he] was known to be virtuous. And many people from among the Jews and the other nations became

his disciples. Pilate condemned him to be crucified and to die. And those who had become his disciples did not abandon his discipleship. They reported that he had appeared to them three days after his crucifixion and that he was alive; accordingly he was perhaps the Messiah concerning whom the prophets have recounted wonders'" (Pines, 16) (Klausner, 55-56, restores the passage along similar lines). The Arabic version may very well preserve a form of the passage that is closer to the original than the one we now find in the Greek manuscripts, but it too is unlikely to represent Josephus's point of view.

It is the context of the *Testimonium Flavianum* that argues against any positive, or even neutral, form of the passage. The *Testimonium Flavianum* falls in the middle of *Jewish Antiquities* 18.35-95 (from the appointment of Caiaphas to the dismissal of Caiaphas and Pilate), a section that is highly negative and critical of Roman severity and insensitivity and of the foolish and reckless behavior of various Jewish groups in Palestine. It is much more likely that the original form of the passage described Jesus and his following as yet one more "disturbance" brought on by misguided messianic aspirations (*see* *Revolutionary Movements*).

Nevertheless, the *Testimonium Flavianum* is not without significance. Even if the original form of the passage was negative, the fact that Josephus apparently viewed Jesus as a messianic claimant is suggestive. This may tell us something about the nature of Jesus' ministry, possibly something of his self-understanding, and something about the political factors that led to his arrest and crucifixion.

1.2. Slavonic. In the Slavonic (or Old Russian) version of Josephus's *Jewish War* there appear several passages that make reference to *John the Baptist, Jesus and early Christians (passages without parallel in the Greek manuscripts). A lengthy passage describes Jesus as "more than a man," yet not "an angel," one who "wrought amazing and wonderful deeds" by his "word and command" (*J.W.* 2.9.3, between §174 and §175, according to the chapter divisions of the Greek tradition). The passage goes on to say that many urged him to lead an uprising against the Romans, and that out of fear that such a thing might happen the Jewish leaders bribed Pilate to have Jesus executed.

Of interest is the passage (within *J.W.* 5.5.2 §195) that reports the wording of a tablet, written in Greek, Roman and Jewish characters, that hung at one of the gates leading into the temple: "Jesus has not reigned as king. He has been crucified by the Jews because he proclaimed the destruction of the city

and the laying waste of the Temple.” This statement evidently reflects the charge that the Jews (but apparently not the Romans) brought against Jesus when he was accused of having threatened to destroy the temple (cf. Mk 14:58; Acts 6:14).

Scholarly opinion varies widely on the question of the authenticity and value of these additions. The lack of overt sympathy for Jesus and his followers favors authenticity, for it is hard to understand why a Christian would add so many passages that do not promote Christian views. It is equally hard to imagine why a non-Christian would add passages that concerned a figure who otherwise plays no role in *Jewish War* and for whom Jesus’ life is of little or no importance. Of course, the absence of these passages in the Greek manuscripts tells against their authenticity. Even if these Slavonic passages are accepted as authentic, their historical value is another question.

2. Roman Historians and Other Writers.

Pagan writers said little about Jesus, and what they did say varies in its historical value and interest. In a letter to his son, Mara bar Serapion (ca. A.D. 73) asks, “For what advantage did . . . the Jews [gain] by the death of their wise king?” This oblique reference to Jesus may be the only positive reference to him in classical authors. Tacitus (ca. A.D. 110) tells us that the name “Christian” “originates from ‘Christus’ who was sentenced to death by the governor, Pontius Pilate, during the reign of Tiberius” (*Ann.* 15.44). In a letter to Trajan, Pliny the Younger (A.D. 110) explains that Christians regularly assemble to recite “a hymn antiphonally to Christ as God” and to “partake of a meal” (*Ep.* 10.96).

In his *Life of Emperor Claudius*, Suetonius (ca. A.D. 120) reports, “Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome [A.D. 49; cf. Acts 18:2] who, instigated by Chrestus, never ceased to cause unrest” (*Claud.* 25.4). Apparently, Suetonius and probably his sources have confused “Chrestus,” a name commonly held by slaves, with “Christus,” a title with which he probably was unfamiliar.

Celsus (ca. A.D. 179), according to Origen (ca. A.D. 248), claimed that Jesus was the illegitimate son of a Roman soldier (*Cels.* 1.32-33) and that he performed miracles through the power of magic: “He was brought up in secret and hired himself out as a workman in Egypt, and after having tried his hand at certain magical powers he returned from there, and on account of those powers gave himself the title of God” (*Cels.* 1.38; cf. *Cels.* 1.6, 68, 71).

According to Julius Africanus (ca. A.D. 230), the Samaritan chronicler Thallus suggested that the

darkness at the time of Jesus’ death was caused by an eclipse of the sun (*Frag.* 18).

Taken together, Roman witnesses to the historical Jesus see him through the lens of their knowledge of Christianity. They are much more interested in Christianity than in its Christ. The depth of treatment that Jesus receives is quite shallow, and in the main they label him a troublemaker who founded and led a superstitious and possibly seditious movement.

3. Rabbinic and Other Jewish Writings.

There are relatively few references to Jesus in the Talmud (see Rabbinic Traditions and Writings) and midrashim. Although the name “Yeshu,” or “Yeshu ha Notzri” (“the Nazarene”), sometimes does occur, some of the relevant passages refer to him as “Balaam,” “ben Pandira,” “ben Pantera,” “a certain person” and possibly “ben Stada” (although the majority of the references to Balaam and ben Stada are not to Jesus). In the Middle Ages many of these traditions were further developed and compiled into a small anti-Gospel known as the *Toledot Yeshu* (“Story of Jesus”) (earliest references to this writing date from the ninth century; for an edited version, see Goldstein, 148-54).

3.1. On the Parents and Birth of Jesus. In what may be a reference to the Gospels’ claim of Jesus’ virginal conception, we are told that Mary, “who was the descendant of princes and governors, played the harlot with carpenters” (*b. Sanh.* 106a). “Princes and governors” probably alludes to some of the names in Luke’s genealogy, which some church fathers thought was Mary’s. The second part of the statement is an obvious allusion to Joseph the carpenter. “Was not . . . his mother Stada? His mother was Miriam, a women’s hairdresser [*megaddela*]. As they say . . . ‘*Stath da* [i.e., ‘this one strayed’] from her husband” (*b. Šabb.* 104b) (Mary “the *megaddela*” is sometimes confused with Mary Magdalene [cf. *b. Hag.* 4b]). Elsewhere we are told that “Jesus . . . was near to kingship” (*b. Sanh.* 43a) (or “near to the kingdom,” possibly as satire on Jesus’ proclamation that “the kingdom of God is near” [Mk 1:15]). Rabbi Simeon ben Azzai (late first to early second century) claims that he “found a scroll of genealogical record in Jerusalem, in which was written: ‘A certain person was illegitimately born of a married woman”’ (*m. Yebam.* 4:13 [cf. *b. Yebam.* 49a]).

3.2. On the Life of Jesus. Stories are told of Jesus being rejected by various rabbis: “When King Janneus [104-78 B.C.] slew our Rabbis [ca. 87 B.C.], Rabbi Joshua [ben Perahiah] and Jesus fled to Alexandria of Egypt,” where Jesus was later excommuni-

cated and condemned for worshiping an idol (*b. Sanh.* 107b [cf. *b. Soṭah* 47a; cf. *y. Hag.* 2:2; *y. Sanh.* 6:6]). The association of Jesus with a flight to Egypt may have been suggested by Matthew 2:13-15. The chronological displacement of Jesus in this tradition is obvious, but there is good reason to identify this “Jesus” with Jesus of Nazareth.

3.3. On the Ministry of Jesus. We are told that “Jesus had five disciples: Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Buni and Todah” (*b. Sanh.* 107b). Although the first name does resemble “Matthew,” and the last possibly “Thaddeus,” these names are only meant to serve as a basis for word plays. This is seen in the subsequent paragraph of the tractate *Sanhedrin*, where aspersions are cast against Jesus and his disciples, and their deaths are justified. The rabbinic view of Jesus’ ministry of *miracles is similar to that of Celsus already noted: “Jesus the Nazarene practiced magic and led Israel astray” (*b. Sanh.* 107b [cf. *t. Šabb.* 11:15; *b. Sanh.* 43a; *b. Šabb.* 104b; *b. Soṭah* 47a]). The charge of practicing magic parallels the accusation found in the Gospels that Jesus cast out demons by the power of Satan (cf. Mk 3:22).

3.4. On the Teaching of Jesus. The rabbis hope that they do “not have a son or a disciple who burns his food in public [i.e., teaches heresy], like Jesus the Nazarene” (*b. Sanh.* 103a [cf. *b. Ber.* 17b]). “One of the disciples of Jesus . . . told me, ‘Thus did Jesus the Nazarene teach me: For of the hire of a harlot has she gathered them, and to the hire of a harlot shall they return’ [cf. Deut 23:18]” (*b. ‘Abod. Zar.* 16b-17a [cf. *t. Hul.* 2:24: “Jesus ben Pantera”; *Eccles. Rab.* 1:8 §3; *Yalqut Shimoni* on Mic 1; Prov 5:8]). “The disciples of Balaam the wicked shall inherit Gehenna and go down to the pit of destruction” (*m. ‘Abot* 5:19). “He [a judge] said to them: ‘I looked at the end of the book, in which it is written, “I am not come to take away the Law of Moses and I am not come to add to the Law of Moses” [cf. Mt 5:17], and it is written, “Where there is a son, a daughter does not inherit” [cf. Num 27:8].’ She said to him: ‘Let your light shine forth as a lamp’ [cf. Mt 5:16]. Rabbi Gamaliel said to her: ‘The ass came and kicked the lamp over”’ (*b. Šabb.* 116b).

From the same tradition we find a proverbial statement that probably sums up very well the rabbinic view of Jesus’ teaching: “Since the day that you were exiled from your land [i.e., the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70] the Law of Moses has been abrogated, and the law of the *euangelion* has been given” (*b. Šabb.* 116b). In fact, by playing on the Greek word *euangelion*, the Rabbis sometimes referred to it as the *‘awen gillayon* (“falsehood of the scroll”) or the *‘awon gillayon* (“perversion of the scroll”).

Most offensive to the rabbis was the Gospel claim that Jesus was *God and *Son of Man (cf. Mk 14:61-62; Jn 19:7), who would ascend to heaven (cf. Jn 20:17). Rabbi Abahu (third century) is reported to have said: “If a man says to you, ‘I am God,’ he is a liar; [or] ‘I am the son of man,’ in the end he will regret it; [or] ‘I will go up to heaven,’ he that says it will not perform it” (*y. Ta’an.* 2:1). Again from Abahu: “[God] says . . . ‘I am the first’—I have no father; ‘I am the last’—I have no son” (*Exod. Rab.* 29:5 on Ex 20:2). Similarly, Rabbi Aha (fourth century) declares: “There is One that is alone, and he has not a second; indeed, he has neither son nor brother—but: ‘Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One”’ (*Deut. Rab.* 2:33 on Deut 6:4). “There was a man, the son of a woman, who would rise up and seek to make himself God, and cause the entire world to err. . . . If he says that he is God, he lies; and in the future he will cause to err—that he departs and returns in the end. He says, but will not do. . . . Alas, who shall live of that people that listens to that man who makes himself God?” (*Yalqut Shimoni* on Num 23:7).

Elsewhere we are told that Moses warns Israel not to expect “another Moses” who will “arise and bring another Law from heaven” (*Deut. Rab.* 8:6 on Deut 30:11-12). The rabbis predict that “the ‘servant’ [i.e., Jesus] will bow down to the [real] Messiah” (*b. Sanh.* 61b). Lying behind this statement is the Christian view of Jesus as the Lord’s servant.

3.5. On the Crucifixion of Jesus. “On the eve of Passover they hanged Jesus the Nazarene. And a herald went out before him for forty days, saying: ‘He is going to be stoned, because he practiced sorcery and enticed and led Israel astray. Anyone who knows anything in his favor, let him come and plead in his behalf. But, not having found anything in his favor, they hanged him on the eve of Passover”’ (*b. Sanh.* 43a [cf. *t. Sanh.* 10:11; *y. Sanh.* 7:12; *Tg. Esth.* 7:9]). “They brought him to the Beth Din [i.e., House of Judgment, perhaps the Sanhedrin] and stoned him . . . and they hanged him on the eve of Passover” (*b. Sanh.* 67a [cf. *y. Sanh.* 7:16]). Jesus’ execution “on the eve of Passover” coheres with Johannine chronology (cf. Jn 18—19). “Balaam the lame was thirty-three years (old) when Phineas the brigand killed him” (*b. Sanh.* 106b). Although it is disputed, “Phineas the brigand” may refer to Pontius Pilate. If this is correct, then the thirty-three-year-old “Balaam” must be Jesus. “The robber was caught and they hanged him on the gallows, and all passersby say: ‘It seems that the ruler is hanged.’ Thus, it is said, ‘He that is hanged is a reproach to God’ [cf. Deut 21:23]” (*t. Sanh.* 9:7). Excluded from the “world to

come" (*m. Sanh.* 10:2), Jesus will be boiled in filth in Gehenna (*b. Git.* 56b-57a).

3.6. On the Resurrection of Jesus. "He then went and raised Jesus by incantation" (*b. Git.* 57a, MS M). "Woe to him who makes himself alive by the name of God" (*b. Sanh.* 106a). These statements belong to the general accusation that Jesus was a magician. The Jewish charge recorded in Matthew 28:11-15, that Jesus' disciples stole his dead body from the tomb and then proclaimed Jesus as alive, is not recorded in rabbinic writings, although Matthew reports it as being widespread in Jewish circles at the time of the Gospel's writing ("still told among the Jews to this day" [Mt 28:15]).

3.7. On Healing in the Name of Jesus. "It once happened that [Eliezer] ben Dama, the son of Rabbi Ishmael's sister, was bitten by a snake; and Jacob [James?], a native of Kefar Sekaniah, came to him in the name of Jesus ben Pantera. But Rabbi Ishmael did not permit him." Ishmael goes on to say that it is better to die in peace than to be healed in the name of Jesus (*t. Hul.* 2:22-23 [cf. *y. Šabb.* 14:4; *y. Abod. Zar.* 2:2; *b. Abod. Zar.* 27b; *Eccles. Rab.* 10:5 §1]).

In general, Jewish traditions about Jesus have some limited historical value for our knowledge of Jesus, particularly in documenting opposition to Jesus during his ministry that was based on charges that he was a magician, in league with Satan, and/or was a deceiver of Israel. They shed more light on ancient Jewish attitudes toward Christianity than on Jesus himself. The rabbis were concerned to warn Jews away from Christianity, which they viewed as a continuing threat. To that end, they constructed an anti-Christian polemic that parodies the NT narratives.

4. The Qur'an.

Jesus, his mother Mary, and his disciples are frequently mentioned in the Qur'an (ca. A.D. 620-630?). The Arabic tradition appears to be dependent on the NT Gospels, especially Luke (cf. Qur'an 3:37-41 with Lk 1:5-25, 57-79), and possibly some of the ideas that came to expression in the rabbinic writings. One Qur'anic passage relates to the virginal conception and birth of Jesus: "And mention Mary in the Book when she drew aside from her family to an eastern place, taking a veil (to screen herself) from them. Then We sent to her Our spirit, and there appeared to her a well-made man. . . . She said: 'When shall I have a boy and no mortal has yet touched me, nor have I been unchaste?' . . . So she conceived him; then withdrew herself with him to a remote place. And the throes (of childbirth) compelled her to go to the trunk of a palm tree. She said: 'Oh, would that

I had died before this, and had become something utterly forgotten!' Then (the child) called out to her from beneath her: 'Grieve not. . .'" (Qur'an 19:16-17, 20, 22-24 [see also 66:12]).

Another passage refers to the feeding of the five thousand: "When the disciples said: 'O Jesus son of Mary, will your Lord consent to send down to us food from heaven?' He said: 'Be careful of (your duty to) Allah, if you are believers.' They said: 'We desire that we should eat of it and that our hearts should be at rest, and that we may know that you have indeed spoken the truth to us that we may be of the witnesses to it.' Jesus the son of Mary said: 'O Allah, our Lord! Send down to us food from heaven which should be to us an ever-recurrent happiness, to the first of us and to the last of us, and a sign from You, and grant us means of subsistence, and You are the best of the Providers.' Allah said: 'Surely I will send it down to you, but whoever shall disbelieve afterwards from among you, surely I will chastise him with a chastisement with which I shall not chastise anyone among the nations'" (Qur'an 5:112-115 [cf. Jn 6:31-65]).

Elsewhere Jesus denies divine sonship: "And when Allah will say: 'O Jesus son of Mary! Did you say to men, "Take me and my mother for two gods besides Allah?"' He will say: 'Glory be to You, it did not befit me that I should say what I had no right to (say). If I had said it, You would indeed have known it. You know what is in my mind, and I do not know what is in Your mind. Surely You are the great Knower of the unseen things'" (Qur'an 5:116 [see also 4:171; 5:71, 75]).

Finally, the Qur'an describes the death and ascension of Jesus: "Allah set a seal upon them owing to their unbelief, so they shall not believe except a few for their saying: 'Surely we have killed the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, the apostle of Allah.' They did not kill him, nor did they crucify him, but it appeared to them (like Jesus). . . . No! Allah took him up to Himself" (Qur'an 4:155-58). A similar idea is credited to Basilides, according to Irenaeus: "He [Christ] appeared, then, on earth as a man, to the nations of these powers, and worked miracles. Wherefore he did not himself suffer death, but Simon, a certain man of Cyrene, being compelled, bore the cross in his stead; so that this latter being transfigured by him, that he might be thought to be Jesus, was crucified, through ignorance and error, while Jesus himself received the form of Simon, and, standing by, laughed at them" (*Haer.* 1.24.4). In sum, the Qur'an is important for understanding the early Muslim attitude toward Christianity, but due to its

temporal distance from Jesus and its aim of fitting Jesus into the line of Muslim prophets culminating in Muhammad, it has little or no value for our knowledge of the historical Jesus.

In sum, the ancient literary references to Jesus by non-Christian writers in general serve to corroborate, but not supplement, key parts of the portrait of him in the canonical Gospels. They are also important in evaluating the nonhistoricity hypothesis, a radical opinion emerging in the 1800s that posits that Jesus did not exist. This hypothesis is not dealt with in mainstream scholarship, but it is widespread in popular books and on the internet, and it forms a significant part of anti-Christian polemic today. The witnesses to Jesus by ancient non-Christian writers indicate that Jesus did in fact exist, founded a movement that continues, had a ministry that resulted in his crucifixion, and is proclaimed by the church as raised from the dead.

See also GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL; JOSEPHUS; QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS; RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS.

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JEWISH QUEST FOR JESUS. See QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS.

JEWISH REVOLT. See JERUSALEM; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

JOHANNINE THEOLOGY. See JOHN, GOSPEL OF.

JOHN AND THE SYNOPTICS. See SYNOPTICS AND JOHN.

JOHN, GOSPEL OF

Although each of the four extant first-century Gospels makes a distinctive contribution, the Fourth Gospel offers a portrait of Jesus most distinct from the others. Most of its prominent themes, such as Jesus' deity, appear in the others, but John's Gospel underlines these in a unique way. This article addresses introductory literary, historical, and theological issues in the study of this Gospel.

1. Literary Questions
2. Historical Questions
3. Johannine Theology
4. Conclusion

1. Literary Questions.

Although scholars differ on details of the structure of the Gospel of John, the basic elements command wide consensus. Also inviting comment, John has distinctive literary features that often differ from the Synoptics. Particularly important from a literary

perspective is this Gospel's narrative unity, which lays the groundwork for the third main section of this article, on Johannine theology.

1.1. The Structure of John's Gospel. John's Gospel as a whole functions as a narrative unity, with new elements building on earlier ones toward the climax of Jesus' resurrection appearances. In contrast to the shorter pericopes and sayings that dominate much of the Synoptics, John has numerous lengthy scenes and speeches. On a more detailed level, John contains a number of long narratives divisible into shorter pericopes (e.g., the scenes in Jn 6:1-71; or, longer, Jesus at the Festival of Tabernacles in Jn 7:1-10:21), whereas other narratives are brief (e.g., Jn 4:46-54) and may be read in connection with surrounding narratives (e.g., Jn 4:1-45). Often speeches and dialogues correspond to the narratives that they follow (e.g., Jn 5:17-47 with Jn 5:1-16). Most scholars agree on the following general structure of this Gospel.

1.1.1. Prologue (Jn 1:1-18). Although some scholars recently have made a case for a shorter preface (Jn 1:1-5), most scholars recognize John 1:1-18 as the prologue, with material about *John the Baptist (Jn 1:6-8, 15) anticipating the beginning of the actual narrative. (If one omits these passages about John, the prologue could be divided into three stanzas of twelve lines each. Though the prologue lacks the precise rhythm of a Greek hymn, in rhetorical terms it is at least exalted prose.) Recognition of Jesus' deity and unity with the Father frame the prologue (Jn 1:1, 18).

1.1.2. Body of the Gospel (Jn 1:19-20:31). The largest bulk of narrative action transpires between John 1:19 and John 12:50 (or possibly somewhere in Jn 13). Much of this section is structured temporally around festivals (see Feasts), and it includes far more scenes in Judea than the Synoptics include. Scholars sometimes call it the "Book of Signs" because much of the action surrounds Jesus' signs. Because the first of these signs turns water to wine and the last involves the raising of *Lazarus, some suggest a sort of inverted echo of *Moses' signs in Exodus (from water turned to blood to the death of the firstborn). In terms of plot development, hostility toward Jesus builds from the Jerusalem authorities as the narrative progresses and Jesus unveils more about his identity. As conclusions of sections often did, John 12:44-50 recalls many features of the preceding narratives.

In John 13:1 through John 17:26 Jesus prepares his disciples for his departure. Here Jesus washes his disciples' feet and instructs them about the coming of the Spirit and how they must carry on after his departure from the world.

In John 18:1 through John 20:31 John recounts the

story of Jesus' *passion and *resurrection, with which early Christians in general were familiar; at many points, however, he goes his own way. Even here, however, he sometimes includes features that incidentally explain details in the Synoptics or that cohere more closely with what we know of his milieu (e.g., Jesus carrying his own cross).

1.1.3. Epilogue. John 21 is an epilogue, following the climactic conclusion of John 20:30-31.

1.2. Some Literary Features of John's Gospel. Some features of John's language, such as connecting sentences with conjunctions like "and" and "therefore," perhaps suggest a Semitic style, but this connective practice was widespread in common Greek by this period. John's Greek style is relatively simple and straightforward, although some have compared elements of his christological language (like that of other NT authors) to "grand rhetoric" often applied to sublime subjects.

On a purely narrative level, John builds suspense toward the passion narrative with conflicts from John 2:18-20 onward. One feature of this suspense appears in John's use of Jesus' "hour" or "time," referring to his impending death (Jn 2:4; 7:6, 30; 8:20; 12:23-24; 13:1; 16:32). Nevertheless, the vast majority of John's audience would know of Jesus' death and resurrection before hearing his story, and John could expect not only first-time hearers but also those who were hearing the story multiple times.

Characters include "round" (multifaceted) characters such as Peter, who nevertheless acts very much in character with the way we find him in the Synoptic Gospels. By contrast, the composite character "the Jews" are "flatter," usually consistently confused or hostile. They stand not for all Jewish people (indeed, John presents Jesus and his followers as ideal Israelites), but especially for the Judean elite (see 2.3.2 below).

John's Gospel is full of irony (see Duke; O'Day). Thus, for example, Jesus' enemies admit that they "know nothing at all" (Jn 11:49) and do not "do anything good" (Jn 12:19). Wordplays are frequent (e.g., Jn 3:3, 8). This Gospel contains many narrative asides, guiding the hearer in how to interpret the narrative. For example, John explains terms (e.g., Jn 1:38, 41), customs (e.g., Jn 2:6) and the relevance of Scripture (e.g., Jn 2:17; 6:31, 45).

To a far more significant degree than the other canonical Gospels, John employs narrative symbolism. While John does not do so to the extent that would warrant wholesale allegorical interpretation (*pace* Origen), often there are illustrative connections between his narrative and the discourse sections. For

two obvious examples, Jesus' feeding of the five thousand points to him as the *bread of life (Jn 6:35, 48), and as the "light of the world" (Jn 8:12; 9:5), Jesus opens blind eyes. Likewise, Jesus dies on Passover as the *lamb who takes away the world's sins (Jn 1:29).

Less obvious examples are also fairly likely. Thus, it probably is significant that John specifies Judas's departure as being "at night" (Jn 13:30; cf. Jn 9:4 and John's other light/darkness symbolism) (on John's symbolism, see Koester). Very possibly even the disciples' asking where Jesus is "staying" (employing the Greek verb *menō* [Jn 1:38]) and following him home illustrates the later principle in which Jesus and the Spirit come to "dwell" (*menō*) with believers and make his home in them (Jn 14:17, 23; 15:5).

John may also adapt material in the widely familiar passion narrative. Compare the following features in Table 1. Such features do not mean that John has invented all the differences, some of which could be reconcilable with the Synoptic version. They do suggest John's emphasis: no one takes Jesus' life from him, but rather he lays it down willingly (Jn 10:18).

A major literary feature of this Gospel is its repetition and development of themes.

1.3. Narrative Unity. In the heyday of *redaction criticism scholars offered speculative reconstructions of how the Johannine community developed, based on ingenious readings of the Johannine Gospel and Epistles. The most influential of these was R. Brown's *Community of the Beloved Disciple* (abandoning his earlier defense of the apostle John as the work's author), which proposed four stages in the community's development. Today, when detailed historical reconstructions behind texts have waned in biblical studies more generally, few scholars continue to maintain Brown's detailed approach, despite continuing respect for his commentary. (Toward the end of his life, Brown himself doubted that scholars could always discern which details belonged to which stage.) Even a work by a single ancient author could experience multiple stages in editing and postpublication revisions, but identifying these stages from a single version of the work is (apart

from perhaps some individual elements) virtually impossible. This is all the more the case in the Fourth Gospel, where most scholars find the style fairly consistent throughout the work (often even in Jn 21).

In 1983 R. Culpepper's *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel* drew attention to the pervasive stylistic unity of this Gospel, shifting the focus from often futile attempts to distinguish sources to understanding how John has constructed his narrative for the purpose of communicating his theology. Interest in John's cohesive narrative dominates studies of John's Gospel today, proving profitable and less speculative than much traditional interest in John's sources.

At some points, questions of sources or literary disunity remain prevalent. Many scholars, for example, find a break in the "final discourses" at John 14:31 ("Arise, let us go from here"), which they believe can be accounted for only by a careless meshing of sources. A growing minority of scholars allow that Jesus simply continues speaking after signaling this action, or that it performs a figurative narrative function.

Johannine scholarship also maintains a strong tradition of viewing John 21 as an appendix added by a later hand, despite the lack of manuscripts without it. Many recognize that the style and vocabulary (apart from terms distinctive to the context) are Johannine; one also may identify key literary connections with the rest of the Gospel. Nevertheless, until recently most scholars have considered the narrative too anticlimactic after John essentially concludes the Gospel with his statement of purpose in John 20:30-31. By contrast, an increasing number of commentators (e.g., Keener 2003, 1219-24; Brant 2011, 278) contend for literary unity even here, influenced by the increased emphasis on narrative unity today (most continue to view Jn 21:24-25 as a later addition). Ancient writings and speeches often did continue beyond a concluding climax (see, e.g., book 24 of Homer's *Iliad*). (However, nearly all scholars recognize Jn 7:53-8:11 as a later interpolation; it not only interrupts the narrative but also lacks the best textual support.)

The tendency today is to read John's Gospel (or

Table 1. Features of John's Passion Narrative Compared with Mark

Mark 14-15	John 13-19
Jesus' prayer of anguish and submission in Gethsemane (14:36)	Jesus' prayer of anguish and submission (12:27-28)
Judas and Jesus dip bread in the bowl (14:20-21)	Jesus gives Judas the morsel (13:26)
The Last Supper interprets Jesus' death in light of Passover (14:12, 22-26)	Jesus dies as the Paschal lamb (19:31, 36)
Simon of Cyrene carries Jesus' cross (15:21)	Jesus carries his own cross (19:17)

nearly all of it) as a whole, whatever its sources; stylistically and thematically it is a unity. Narrative unity proves an especially helpful premise for tracing themes throughout the book.

1.4. Genre. Scholars have offered various proposals for the genre of the canonical Gospels, including John (see Gospel: Genre). Some have argued that they are “unique”; while this is in a sense true (because the individual they portray is unique), this description is not very helpful because it defeats the purpose of placing works in larger genre categories. Some have compared dramas or epics, but in antiquity these were poetic genres quite different from the Gospels, even if they may have exerted influence on some elements of the Gospels. Later apocryphal Gospels bear all the marks of novels, and they flourished in the heyday of novels (the late second through the third centuries A.D.). Our first-century A.D. Gospels, by contrast, reveal clear indications of historical traditions.

Some have compared them with the gnostic Gospels, but the latter title is a misnomer (see Gospels: Apocryphal). These works are mainly collections of sayings, and while sayings collections surely circulated in the time of the Gospels (perhaps *Q; earlier, e.g., Proverbs), our extant first-century A.D. Gospels are narratives, not mere collections of sayings. John’s genre, then, is not comparable to that of gnostic Gospels.

The likeliest genre for the Gospel of John is ancient biography, which resembles the view held until the early twentieth century. Early twentieth-century scholars noted differences between the Gospels and modern biography, but more recently scholars have observed that the Gospels fit with ancient biography, which did not need to adhere to chronological sequence (e.g., Talbert; Shuler). R. Burridge has argued this most decisively (for both the Synoptics and John), showing that ancients would have read as biographies works about a single individual and within this range of length. This conclusion has implications for questions of history in John.

2. Historical Questions.

This section addresses John’s date and setting, provenance, proposed backgrounds, authorship and historical value.

2.1. Date and Setting. Although it once was fashionable for critical scholars to date John to the late second century, a fragment of the Gospel dating to the early second century (P⁵², discovered in 1935) has laid that speculation to rest. The strong majority of scholars now date John to the last decade of the

first century, the very period specified by early Christian tradition.

Domitian was emperor at this time, and increasingly he demanded worship toward the end of his reign (see Rome). Many scholars today believe that ancient sources unfairly slander Domitian, but these sources are virtually unanimous in their negative appraisal of him and should be given due consideration. In any case, cities in the Roman province of Asia had long taken the imperial cult very seriously; if enemies of Christians in some cities (perhaps Smyrna and Philadelphia [see 2.2 below]) accused them to the authorities of rejecting Roman authority on the grounds of nonparticipation, the consequences might be grave. Jews were exempt from participation, but Christians, if expelled from synagogues, could lose that exemption. Later Christians believed that persecution occurred during this period (Tertullian, *Apol.* 5.4; cf. Rev 2:10, 13), though it did not affect all locations (cf. Rev 3:17). Many scholars suggest that in their emphasis on Jesus’ deity, John and Revelation might counter imperial claims as well as those in the *synagogue who might tolerate less exalted views of Jesus.

2.2. Provenance. Proposals about this Gospel’s provenance vary. Some propose an Alexandrian origin. A more significant minority of scholars have proposed a Palestinian, especially Galilean, provenance; still others suggest that John’s Semitic environment and Greek language fit best with a setting in urban Syria. None of these conclusions need follow, although they are possible. Most accept that John’s content reflects a Palestinian milieu (e.g., his intimate knowledge of pre-A.D. 70 *Jerusalem’s topography), but it need not follow that his target audience or place of writing also was Palestinian. After the war in A.D. 66–73 devastated Judea, large numbers of Palestinian Jews settled in Asia Minor (see Josephus, *Ant.* 20.256). John takes for granted his implied audience’s knowledge of some sites, but many of those so assumed appear already in Synoptic traditions that they may have known.

In the absence of firm evidence to the contrary, the largest number of scholars continue to situate John in Ephesus, following early Christian tradition regarding where the apostle John settled late in his life (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.1.1; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.23.6–19), presumably along with other Judean emigrants. Most scholars associate this work with other Johannine works, one of which, the book of Revelation (see Rev 1:1), clearly circulated in the Roman province of Asia, of which Ephesus was the most prominent city (Rev 1:11; 2:1). Others suggest that John

composed his Gospel (or at least was preaching its contents) in Palestine but circulated a more finished form from Ephesus.

While Ephesus was traditionally a center of Johannine tradition, and much of John can fit this context (van Tilborg), two of the Johannine churches in Revelation closely fit the very setting that contemporary scholarship has most often reconstructed for this Gospel. Apparently, synagogues in Smyrna and Philadelphia had expelled Jewish followers of Jesus, inciting conflict over the question of who genuinely constituted the heirs of God's covenant promises (Rev 2:9; 3:9). In the early second century John's disciple Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna; reportedly accused by members of the Jewish community there, he was executed by Roman officials. (Archeology shows that Palestinian émigrés settled in Asia Minor, including in Smyrna.)

Because of the confluence of Palestinian Jewish background and a Diaspora audience of Jesus' followers who had belonged to synagogues, it is helpful to draw on a range of ancient Mediterranean background to illumine this Gospel. Whereas Palestinian Judaism particularly illumines the traditions behind it, Diaspora Judaism also helps illumine John's Gospel as it was addressed to and would be heard by its first audiences.

2.3. Background. Today scholars usually see the Fourth Gospel's background as primarily Jewish and involving conflict with synagogues. While this seems by far the most plausible view, it is helpful to first survey some of the alternatives.

2.3.1. Proposed Backgrounds. Only a few scholars think that *Samaritans influenced the final shape of John's Gospel (and virtually none see them to be the primary audience). By contrast, the view that John addressed gnosticism has had many supporters, not least the second-century A.D. church father Irenaeus (who sought to deliver John's Gospel from gnostics who were exploiting it in support of their theology). Most of the proposed parallels, however, appear outside gnosticism. For example, Johannine dualism (life/death; light/darkness; above/below; etc.) fits apocalyptic and Qumran thought (see Dead Sea Scrolls). The supposed gnostic redeemer myth is a composite constructed from different, unrelated elements. R. Bultmann's Mandaean parallels to John, which heavily influenced his reading of this Gospel, derive from centuries after it became widely circulated and probably reflect the influence of Johannine language rather than the reverse. (On the lack of evidence for full-blown gnosticism in the first century A.D., see Yamauchi.)

2.3.2. Judaism. Early twentieth-century scholars tended to view the Fourth Gospel's milieu as predominantly Greek. Discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, revealed that John's supposed Greek elements in fact reflect stronger Jewish than Greek parallels (e.g., his light/darkness symbolism and other moral dualism), yielding today a strong consensus that John's milieu is Jewish.

This case can be overstated. Diaspora churches in Asia Minor undoubtedly included *Gentiles, though these Gentiles would have viewed themselves as converts to a form of Judaism (e.g., 3 Jn 7; Rev 1:20; 2:9). Although some scholars view John's "Greeks" (Jn 7:35; 12:20) as Diaspora Jews, they more likely are to be identified as Gentiles who could be grafted into the Christian movement, which itself was Jewish (cf. Jn 10:16). Claims that Greek translations of "messiah" and "rabbi" imply many Gentiles in John's audience, however, are misplaced; Diaspora Jews usually spoke Greek, and John is noteworthy not for including the Greek translation but rather for including the Semitic terms that are translated.

Since the mid-twentieth century, recognition of the Jewish milieu of the Fourth Gospel has grown into a very strong consensus. Greek culture influenced even Palestinian Judaism, so some Greek elements are to be expected everywhere in the NT; but many elements are non-Greek and specifically Jewish. Much of this Gospel is barely intelligible to those unfamiliar with Jewish customs, such as purification (Jn 2:6), Passover (Jn 2:13, 23) or current understandings of circumcision on the Sabbath (Jn 7:22-23). Jesus is greater than the *Sabbath (Jn 5:18-29), *Abraham (Jn 8:53), Jacob (Jn 4:12) and the prophets (Jn 8:53); he is eschatological manna (Jn 6:32, 35 [emphasized in Jewish tradition]); he is the fulfillment of Ezekiel's new temple river (Jn 7:37-39), Jacob's ladder (Jn 1:51), Moses' serpent (Jn 3:14); and so forth. Whether the dominant leaders of his own people accepted the claim or not, John argues that Jesus is "King of the Judeans" (Jn 19:19-22). Many Gentiles had heard of the Jewish Sabbath, but Jesus fulfills aspirations for the Feasts of Passover (as the lamb), Tabernacles (Jn 7:2, 37-39; possibly "light" in 8:12) and possibly Hanukkah (Jn 10:22, 36 [as one consecrated]). These connections would make little sense to Gentiles (except for God-fearers attending local synagogues).

We should recognize that first-century A.D. *Judaism was very diverse, perhaps even more so in the Diaspora than in Palestine. Scholars often have used later *rabbinic literature to illumine John's Gospel, and this use seems justified in that rabbinic sources

provide the largest corpus of ancient Jewish material and sometimes the only source detailing particular information (such as conflicts between Jewish Christians and members of the Judean elite). Nevertheless, given John's probable Diaspora setting, we do well to draw from the widest possible range of sources (including sometimes those elements of broader Mediterranean culture that also influenced early Judaism).

2.3.3. *Conflict with Synagogues*. Ancient preachers, like modern ones, focused on material most relevant to their audience's situation. Most scholars recognize that the polemical tone toward the Pharisees in the Fourth Gospel reflects a higher level of conflict with them than in Mark or even Matthew. While all our early sources are clear that Jesus had conflict with *Pharisees, they also are clear (even in John) that it was Jerusalem's *priestly elite that engineered his execution. After A.D. 70, however, heirs of Pharisaism became an increasingly dominant voice in Judea; the temple's destruction ended *Sadducean, priestly hegemony. Jewish believers in Jesus and non-Christian Pharisees came increasingly into conflict in the following decades, a conflict reflected both in early rabbinic sources and in Matthew and John.

In 1968 J. Martyn argued that a critical breaking point between Jesus' Jewish followers and synagogue authorities was the *Birkat ha-Minim*. Synagogue leaders added this curse against schismatics to daily prayers, and many think that it targeted especially Jewish Christians. Despite subsequent debates about its nature, it does seem probable that Jewish Christians, given their numbers, were the "schismatics" most affected by this malediction. It also seems plausible, despite objections, to date the curse to around A.D. 85 (the time of Samuel the Small). The Qumran Scrolls further demonstrate that the practice of expulsion from the community existed by this period; reluctant to pronounce a curse against themselves, however, those viewed as schismatics might have voluntarily withdrawn without expulsion.

Nevertheless, there is little reason to believe that a change in prayer liturgy in Palestine would be immediately adopted by Greek-speaking synagogues throughout the Mediterranean Diaspora. It may be better to understand this curse as illustrating more generally the sorts of tensions between Jewish authorities and Jewish followers of Jesus that arose in some locations. Synagogues were well networked, and events in Palestine influenced events elsewhere, but we need not assume a universal expulsion of Christians from all synagogues. That they were expelled from some, however, seems likely. Today

most scholars, even those who do not follow Martyn's thesis fully, recognize that conflict with the synagogue is a major issue in John's setting (cf. Rev 2:9; 3:9, noted above). John repeatedly addresses this issue (Jn 9:22; 12:42), including as a warning for what is to come (Jn 16:2). At the same time, that John has reason to emphasize a point need not mean that he invented it; the warning is consistent with other extant Jesus tradition (cf. Mk 13:9; Lk 6:22).

Despite its later abuse by anti-Semites, the Fourth Gospel is not anti-Jewish; John and his target audience were Jewish followers of Jesus, a Jewish movement that actually predates the later rabbinic movement (see Anti-Semitism). The polemic in this Gospel is conventional intra-Jewish polemic (the DSS, for example, more harshly denounce the rest of Israel as the "congregation of Satan" [1QH^a X, 22]). A key issue that scholars raise in this regard is what John means by "the Jews," a label that he sometimes uses positively or in a neutral way, but often negatively. Jesus himself is recognized as a "Jew," but only by outsiders (Jn 4:9; 18:35), suggesting rejection by the leaders of his own people. John usually applies the term to Judeans (often as distinguished from Galileans), an observation that is also consistent with the seat of Pharisaic power in John's day. Moreover, the term often applies to the Judean elite, distinct from the "common people" (cf. Jn 7:49; 12:19). Theologically, John also uses these "Jews" as the local illustration of the larger principle "the world," of which they are only a part.

Beyond these observations, the title served another polemical function. One key issue in the polemic would have been the true identity of the heirs of Israel's remnant (in rabbinic sources, see *b. Yebam.* 102b; *b. Sanh.* 39ab; *Pesiq. Rab.* 5:1; Herford, 247-51, 290-91). By expelling Jesus' followers, synagogue leaders set themselves up as arbiters of Jewish identity; John, however, counters that Jesus defines his own people, applying biblical images for Israel to Jesus' followers (Jn 10:11-16, in the context of 9:34-41; 15:1-6).

As noted above, John's Gospel is full of irony. If Jewish leaders claimed to be the true arbiters of Jewish identity, John may grant them the title "Jews" ironically, while undermining their genuine right to that claim throughout his narrative (see Keener 2003, 214-27), and indeed meaning the opposite (Rev 2:9; 3:9). This would resemble the ironic suggestion that the law is "their law" (Jn 8:17; 10:34; 15:25), when the narrative's point is the opposite.

2.4. *Value for Study of the Historical Jesus*. The biographic genre of John's Gospel both suggests sig-

nificant historical content and allows for the sort of freedom apparently found in the Johannine style of the speeches. Historical investigation also invites discussion of John's sources.

2.4.1. *John's Narratives.* A work's genre, defined within a culture-specific range of options, shapes how authors could expect their original audiences to approach their work. Some genres included the expectation of historical elements, although even historiography was written with some conventions differing from how historians normally write today (see *Historicisms and Historiography*). Ancient biographies varied in subject and method, so while John addresses Jesus as an individual as the Synoptics do, he is not bound to follow their approach. While biographies differed from multivolume histories, however, they were essentially historical works; good biographers did not invent events, though they selected traditions most useful to them and could reshape them. Biographies of recent characters (in the past century or so, as in Tacitus or Suetonius) tended to be more reliable than those concerning characters of the distant past (as often in Cornelius Nepos or Plutarch). This observation suggests that the first-century Gospel writers preserve substantial information about the historical Jesus (see Keener 2009a).

The question of history in John remains an issue of debate (see esp. Anderson, Just and Thatcher). Many scholars believe that John had access to considerable information not preserved in the Synoptics; he does claim eyewitness tradition through the Beloved Disciple (Jn 19:35), whom most scholars see as a source for John's tradition (cf. Jn 21:24) (see 2.5 below). In ancient biographies and histories (as opposed to apocalypses and novels) claims to be present for events were nearly always intended as historical claims.

Moreover, John frequently displays knowledge of Palestinian topography (e.g., Jn 3:23; 5:2; 9:7) and customs (e.g., Jn 7:37-38; 8:12, 58) that may have eluded much of his Diaspora audience, and these usually are held to reflect historical information behind his account. Such features rarely appear in novels (in which even characters usually are fictitious). Sometimes his portrayals match our expectations from ancient sources better than do the Synoptics (such as Jesus carrying his own cross), or they provide particularly plausible explanations for events that appear in the Synoptics, such as the conspiracy against Jesus (Jn 11:47-53) or Pilate's reticence to charge him with treason (Jesus fits the image of a harmless sage in Jn 18:36-38 [see Keener 2003, 1109-14]).

2.4.2. *Discourses and Dialogues.* Whereas John's

narratives resemble the Synoptics, his speeches (as opposed to collections of sayings) generally run much longer. Virtually all scholars recognize that John's distinctive style (also largely found in the Johannine Epistles) pervades the speeches. While early sources reveal that Jesus sometimes spoke this way in private (Mt 11:27 // Lk 10:22; Mk 13:32), and such teaching may have shaped John's own idiom, John has developed Jesus' speech in his own words throughout the work. That observation should not surprise us; even elementary students regularly paraphrased sayings of famous sages.

Perhaps more surprising is the length of many speeches, dialogues and debates that occur in this Gospel, as well as their often distinctively Johannine content (especially in terms of Johannine Christology). John seems to have exercised more literary freedom than the Synoptics did, although John was not violating the expectations of the ancient biographic genre in doing so. Historians in fact regularly developed speeches from briefer sources (or, where necessary, even inferences), trying to flesh out more compact information into fuller scenes appropriate for ancient narratives. Although this approach to narration differs from the way we write history today, it was acceptable practice in the first century (although again the range of liberties taken varied considerably from one writer to the next). R. Bauckham, pointing to the speeches in John, even compares John's genre with ancient historiography (Bauckham, 106-12).

Historians who developed speeches and dialogues, however, ideally sought to reconstruct this material in keeping with what was known of the speakers, insofar as possible. Often this reconstruction included even elements of the speaker's known style, but most importantly it included the substance of what such speakers would be thought to have offered on such occasions (based on any available information), and what was consistent with the speakers' values and ideas. From this practice we may surmise that, at the very least, John, who has eyewitness material (see 2.5 below), believed that these speeches accurately represented the message of Jesus and the sorts of ideas that Jesus would have communicated on the occasions in question. Given his speeches' content, John plainly does not feel constrained by the emphases known to early Christians from Mark (John has a sort of "messianic secret" of his own, but it is far less discreet than in Mark's Gospel, though as in Mark, the denseness of Jesus' dialogue partners contributes to it).

Lest we overestimate John's creativity in the

speeches, however, we should note the presence of some sayings that the Synoptics also attest, yet in Johannine idiom (e.g., Jn 1:26-33; 12:25; 13:16). Some of Jesus' arguments (like the halakic argument in Jn 7:22-23) resemble the style of Jesus' argumentation in the Synoptics. That speech is in John's distinctive style does not mean that John does not reflect earlier material. It simply means that we cannot readily distinguish his sources based on style (on John's discourses, see Keener 2003, 53-80).

2.4.3. Sources. Although scholars today emphasize the Fourth Gospel's literary unity (see 1.3 above), historical questions invite consideration of possible sources. Other source theories and authorship questions are surveyed below, but our best "test case" is where John overlaps with the Synoptics (e.g., Jn 1:26-32; 6:10-13, 19-20; 12:3-8, 14). Scholars differ as to whether John used one or more of the Synoptics (most often Mark), the most common position being that he did not (see Smith 2001; those favoring John's use of the Synoptics include notably the Leuven school). I concur with this dominant position, but it can hardly follow that John (who uses the Gospel form) did not know of such works. Whether or not John knew the accounts in the Synoptics, however, the points where he overlaps with them reveal that John is not simply composing freely without respect to prior historical information. Even if John used the Synoptics at some points rather than simply events or traditions behind them, can we possibly suppose that John selected only sources that happened to remain now extant, and elsewhere he simply composed freely? We know that many accounts about Jesus circulated (Lk 1:1). It therefore is reasonable to suppose that John preserves significant historical tradition not found in the Synoptics. In any case, it appears that John's relation to the Synoptics or their tradition may be complex (see Synoptics and John).

The range of ancient biographies allows for considerable adaptation on the freer end of the spectrum. Thus, for example, Philo allegorizes some of his accounts of biblical characters. John is considerably more conservative than Philo, yet all commentators concur that John is more directly interpretive than the Synoptics. How far does John push the interpretive element? Scholars generally note that his narratives are mostly Synoptic-like; questions about John's reliability center more on the speeches than his narratives (see 2.4.2 above).

In view of John's fairly consistent style, it is difficult to reconstruct particular sources that do not remain extant. Some scholars (e.g., R. Fortna) have sought to distinguish sources in John, though few

other scholars have been persuaded by his detailed reconstruction. (The signs narratives, often called the "Book of Glory," do differ in texture from Jesus' final discourses, a contrast often attributed to different sources. Miracle accounts and speeches could circulate in different sources in antiquity; they did not always do so, however, and even here we lack certainty that different sources must be involved.)

More influentially, J. Martyn argued for two levels in John: the level of John's historical tradition and the level of his theological exposition for the Johannine community. More recently, U. von Wahlde has taken Martyn's basic approach to a particularly sophisticated level, seeking to identify both tradition and redaction in John's Gospel. He employs archeological data and literary analysis, noting not only the elements that fit John's deliberate literary design, but also those that do not. While most scholars regard such a detailed reconstruction of layers as too hypothetical, von Wahlde at least has identified points of likely historical tradition in the Fourth Gospel.

Despite these secondary questions, scholars recognize the literary unity of most of the Fourth Gospel. In view of the book's stylistic unity, the question of John's use of earlier material must be decided on grounds other than style; some ancient writers put all their material into their own style. More relevant for evaluating this Gospel's historical claims, therefore, is the possibility that the author himself is or depends on an eyewitness source.

2.5. Authorship. When asking questions of authorship, we must consider what we mean by that term. Many have argued that the Johannine Gospel and Epistles reflect a community project, created by a circle around John. In its most sophisticated form, this thesis has been developed by R. Culpepper, who notes that ancient schools often collected and edited the teachings of their founders (Culpepper 1975). Establishing this possibility does not prove that a "community" rather than an author composed the work, but it does show the plausibility of such an approach. Even on this approach, however, a particular Johannine figure, the source of tradition, stands behind the community that speaks in his name.

Few people in antiquity wrote their books by hand; usually they dictated to scribes. Furthermore, many composed works that used or incorporated earlier sources or traditions (in the way some believe that John's Gospel utilized the testimony of the Beloved Disciple). Final works could be reedited by the authors or others (in the way some find in John levels of redaction). John's Gospel is a cohesive whole; hence, by "authorship" I mean responsibility for the story as

a whole (at least in the form of the witness's sermonic material). That it was further shaped or edited by this author's followers (perhaps a "circle" or "school"), however, remains possible (many so interpret Jn 21:24, although "we know" is a frequent Johannine idiom). As we noted earlier, the form of John's Gospel as we have it is a narrative unity; any other readings must indulge some degree of speculation.

Scholars propose various views of the Fourth Gospel's authorship, most often John the elder; John the apostle; a disciple, circle or school surrounding either of these persons; or others whom we cannot reconstruct from tradition. Although only a minority of scholars today regard the author as the apostle John (the traditional view, defended briefly below), a large number (e.g., Kysar; O'Day; Smith) accept eyewitness tradition in this Gospel (a tradition that in some respects might bring this Gospel closer to the eyewitness level than does Mark or Luke, though they could preserve others' eyewitness tradition accurately). Yet, as F. F. Bruce asked, if the author (or source) was an eyewitness, why could it not be John son of Zebedee? (J. Charlesworth has made a reasonable case for Thomas as author, though this has not generated wide assent; a few have suggested that the Beloved Disciple was Lazarus, offering a reasonable argument but from very limited internal evidence.)

Many today maintain that the *Beloved Disciple must not have been one of the Twelve, but arguments for this position are hardly decisive. For example, some argue that he was not one of the Twelve because this Gospel's tradition differs from the Synoptics or this disciple competes with Peter. Yet, in this period who but one of the Twelve could compete with Peter or radically supplement widely circulated traditions now dominant? (Against some reconstructions of the Johannine community, one should also note that ancient rhetoric allowed for friendly as well as hostile forms of rivalry.) Mark's doubt that Jesus' male disciples were at the cross (Mk 14:50) is a general statement that (in view of Mark's emphasis on discipleship failure) need not genuinely exclude every individual historically (Jn 19:26). Some complain that the Fourth Gospel omits scenes where the Synoptics attest the son of Zebedee's presence; if John was present for nearly all of Jesus' ministry, however, he would hardly feel compulsion to focus his narration simply on scenes where Mark specifically noted his presence. Although his anonymity may well serve a literary function (Beck), the Johannine community knew who this literal figure was and respected him highly (Jn 21:20-25). The Beloved Disciple appears ex-

tremely prominent in Jesus' circle (Jn 13:23), which normally would suggest one of the Twelve.

What is the relationship of the Beloved Disciple to the author? Some distinguish the actual author from the Beloved Disciple as the implied narrator, but the texts on which this distinction rests (Jn 19:35; 21:24) do not make that case clear. Moreover, such distinctions are rare in ancient biography and historiography (as opposed to, say, some novelistic works).

Although many scholars disallow the minority scholarly view that the apostle John authored the Fourth Gospel, the views that he authored it or that it rests on his tradition together comprise more adherents than any other single proposal regarding authorship. Internal evidence points largely to the apostle John, as argued already by B. F. Westcott in the nineteenth century; critics have more often neglected than sought to refute his argument. In summary: the only possibly surviving figure in the Synoptics accorded as prominent a role as the Beloved Disciple has in the Fourth Gospel (Jn 13:23), yet unnamed in this Gospel (cf. Jn 21:2), is the apostle John. John's age would not be a problem; since disciples typically were in their teens, John could be in his 80s in the last decade of the first century. We do know of some other ancient (and modern) figures whose minds remained sharp at this age. Ancients sometimes pseudonymously appropriated the names of earlier figures to lend authority to their works; but this work does not name its author, and we know of no convention of implicit pseudonymity.

More plainly, external evidence favors John the apostle as the author. Classical studies weigh heavily external evidence for other ancient documents; if NT scholars followed suit for their own discipline, they might well treat this apostle as the probable author. Gnostic and mainstream Christian authors alike regarded the son of Zebedee as the author. Some later writers (Eusebius and Dionysius) distinguished John the apostle from John the elder (a distinction less clear in Eusebius's own early source, Papias). On this basis, some scholars today argue that John the elder (i.e., a "different John") composed this Gospel. This view, however, still differs from the ancient tradition, which occasionally attributed the authorship of Revelation to the elder but always credited the authorship of this Gospel to the apostle.

The most difficult problem for apostolic authorship is that the earliest orthodox writers, unlike early gnostics, neglect it (though clearly it is part of the established four-Gospel canon throughout the orthodox churches by about A.D. 170 to 180, as attested by Tatian in Syria and Irenaeus in France). It may

have enjoyed at first a narrow circulation in Asia Minor, not immediately comparable to established earlier works. This slow reception would seem unusual for a prominent apostle's status. Nevertheless, the appearance of an early second-century A.D. manuscript as far away as Egypt, and allusions to Johannine language in Polycarp, suggest that Johannine works were in circulation more widely than our randomly preserved corpus of early second-century A.D. orthodox sources (particularly Ignatius) might imply.

Although it has become fashionable to highlight the differences between the Johannine Gospel and Epistles in order to postulate different authors for each, the differences are too minor, and the similarities too great, to have suggested different authors to classicists studying comparable ancient documents. Indeed, one finds some of the same differences in style or theological emphasis in varying undisputed letters of Paul (say, 1 Thessalonians and Galatians); how much more would one expect differences between a Gospel (a finished and carefully edited literary work) and a sermonistic epistle or brief letters? In any case, all scholars attribute these works to the same circle, recognizing comparable style and the likelihood that 1 John assumes its audience's knowledge of the Fourth Gospel.

3. Johannine Theology.

A key preliminary question is that of John's purpose(s). Some read John's own statement of purpose in John 20:30-31 as evangelistic: he has recorded Jesus' signs (often calculated as seven in number) so "that you may believe" and "have life" (Jn 20:31). A larger number of scholars, however, read this passage as a call for believers to persevere in faith (regardless of the textual variant chosen here). Throughout the Fourth Gospel signs call forth a basic level of faith, but only as an invitation to a deeper, persevering faith (cf. Jn 2:23-25; 8:30-32).

Moreover, the content of this faith is crucial for John. The immediate context involves the climactic confession of faith in this Gospel: not only is Jesus God's lamb (Jn 1:29) and holy one (Jn 6:69), king of Israel (Jn 1:49; 12:13) and the world's savior (Jn 4:42; cf. 1 Jn 4:14); he is "my Lord and my God" (Jn 20:28). John commends this confession, especially for those who believe on others' testimony (Jn 20:29), as he now summons his audience to do (Jn 20:30-31). Regardless of opposition from the synagogue (and perhaps the state), John's audience must persevere in trusting Jesus as divine.

From start to finish this biography of Jesus communicates theology (ancient historical and biographic works, unlike most novels, sought to com-

municate moral, political and/or theological perspectives). Christology, soteriology and pneumatology are among the central features of his message.

3.1. Christology. John frames both his prologue (Jn 1:1, 18) and the main body of his Gospel (Jn 1:18; 20:28) with confessions of Jesus' deity; therefore we should expect high *Christology to figure prominently in this Gospel. Jesus' exalted status is explicit already in the prologue, which most scholars today accept as an original part of this Gospel. In this passage Jesus is the **logos*, usually translated as the "Word." In John's day this title was rich in nuances, from Greek philosophy as well as Jewish tradition; some, like the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher Philo, combined both kinds of elements. The most important background that John shared with his audience, however, was the Greek translation of earlier Scripture, in which God's "word" involved especially prophetic revelation and Scripture itself, most notably the Torah. In Jewish tradition the image of Torah also coalesced with God's *Wisdom (e.g., Bar 3:36—4:1).

John's image moves beyond Wisdom or Torah; rather than being "created" in the beginning (like Wisdom [Prov 8:22]), the Word "was." Nevertheless, he clearly plays on this line of Jewish tradition, which often personified Wisdom as God's agent; Wisdom was the closest Jewish image available to John for an entity divine yet distinct from the Father (see Jn 1:1-2, 18, which also emphasize the distinction). Like Wisdom and Torah, Jesus was creation's agent in the beginning (Jn 1:1-3), as well as life and light (Jn 1:4-9; cf. Jn 8:12; 12:35-36, 46). Like Wisdom, Jesus is the perfect image of the Father (Jn 1:18; 14:9; cf. Wis 7:26). Other details of John's portrayal of the Word also fit Jewish traditions about Wisdom and Torah (such as its rejection among the nations [Jn 1:10]), although his observation about Israel's rejection is more distinctive (Jn 1:11).

The comparison becomes most relevant, however, in John 1:17-18. Although grace and truth were present in the law (Ex 34:6), Jesus explicitly reveals these aspects of God's character in a fuller manner than Moses' law had (Jn 1:17). This was because Moses' revelation of God's *glory was partial hence incomplete; even Moses could not see God's face (Ex 33:20-23). Thus, John says, no one has ever beheld God (Jn 1:18; cf. Jn 6:46); but now the unique God, who is with the Father, has fully revealed the Father (Jn 1:18). The law revealed God's character partially; Jesus has revealed it completely. The ensuing narrative of this Gospel describes how Jesus revealed this glory of God's character in various beneficial acts (e.g., Jn 2:11; 11:4), but especially in the cross (Jn 12:23-24).

Following the prologue, the narrative continues to develop christological themes. Thus, for example, John prepares the way for Yahweh (Jn 1:23) and proclaims Jesus' preexistence (Jn 1:30). Jesus descends from heaven like divine Wisdom (Jn 3:13, 31); he is the bread of life (Jn 6:48), an image also applied to divine Wisdom. Jesus perfectly reveals the Father (Jn 14:8-10), and he shared the Father's glory before creation (Jn 17:5, 24). Jesus raises and judges the dead eschatologically, a divine prerogative (Jn 5:17-29 [though emphasizing his submission to the Father]).

At significant length, Jesus is shown to be the Father's commissioned "agent," one "sent" by him (e.g., Jn 3:17, 34; 4:34; 5:23-24, 30, 36-38). Scholars often compare the Jewish institution of the *šāliah* (an "agent"); beyond this comparison, the agency principle that the *šāliah* embodies was pervasive in the ancient Mediterranean world. Agents carried the full authority of their senders, to the extent that they accurately represented their commission; one's response to recipients revealed one's attitude to the sender (cf. Jn 5:38; 6:29). Jewish people understood biblical prophets as God's agents; the Synoptics also portrayed Jesus in this light, though not as elaborately as John (Mk 12:2-6; Mt 10:40 // Lk 10:16).

John exegetes Jesus in light of earlier biblical revelation. Jesus is Jacob's ladder (Jn 1:51) and the new *temple (Jn 2:19-22; cf. Jn 14:2-6). Against some, Jesus is not in this Gospel simply a new Adam, a new Jacob or a new Moses, but the God who breathed into Adam (20:22) or revealed glory to Moses and others (1:14). He is greater than Jacob (Jn 4:12), Abraham and the prophets (Jn 8:52-53), and, most critically, *Moses (cf. Jn 3:13 [against Jewish tradition about Moses]; 9:28-29). The disciples behold his glory like Moses beheld God's (Jn 1:14); Jesus also parallels what Moses gave (Jn 3:14; 6:32). Moses produced water from the rock, but Jesus is the rock itself, the foundation of the new temple (Jn 7:37-39). Jesus is the one of whom Moses wrote (Jn 5:45-47). Jesus' first sign, transforming water into wine (Jn 2:11), inverts Moses' first plague of water to blood, and his climactic sign, raising Lazarus, may invert the final plague of the death of the firstborn.

Throughout John's Gospel others confess Jesus' identity. John proclaims him as God's *lamb (Jn 1:29, 36) and Son (or "chosen one," depending on the variant in 1:34); Nathanael confesses him as God's Son and Israel's king (Jn 1:49); Peter confesses him as God's "holy one" (Jn 6:69); the Samaritans confess him as the world's savior (Jn 4:42); Martha confesses him as *Christ and *Son of God (Jn 11:27). The climactic confession in this Gospel, however, belongs

to Thomas, who addresses Jesus as "my Lord and my God" (Jn 20:28).

Not only do others confess Jesus' identity; he confesses his own. In a series of "I am" statements Jesus claims to be the *bread of life (Jn 6:35, 48, 51); *light for the world (Jn 8:12); the passageway for the sheep (Jn 10:9) and way to the Father (Jn 14:6); the good *shepherd (Jn 10:11, 14); the resurrection and the *life (Jn 11:25); and the authentic vine (Jn 15:1, 5). Most of these claims evoke biblical images: Moses' bread, Isaiah's light, Ezekiel's (and/or Jeremiah's) shepherd, and God's people as a vine (see Bell). Some images invite responses, such as sheep following the shepherd, or people seeing because of light or passing through gates. Some are more organic: one must feed on Jesus as bread and imbibe him as if drinking; one must depend on him for life, as if a branch deriving its life from the vine. Jesus is one's very life now as well as guarantee of resurrection at the last day. Because John also emphasizes the Spirit and intimate relationship with God, he may also think in terms of believers' *experience* of Jesus as the vine, life and bread (see, e.g., Jn 15:4-5).

Further, Jesus' "I am" statements without a predicate (most clearly in Jn 8:58) evoke biblical self-revelations of Yahweh's deity (in the common Greek version of the OT, esp. Is 43:10). (John is not the first Gospel to use this declaration to evoke Jesus' deity [cf. Mk 6:50], but it seems interesting that, according to a later-recorded Jewish tradition, priests recited Isaiah's "I am" at the very festival [tabernacles] where John reports Jesus speaking these words.) Jesus' declaration "I am" even prostrates his enemies in John 18:6 (in one earlier Jewish tradition Pharaoh is struck prostrate when Moses pronounces the divine name).

Although John's Christology is distinctive, it is not altogether unique. Against those who think that early Christians articulated Jesus' deity only toward the end of the first century, we find indications of Jesus' exalted status already in Q (Mt 3:11-12 // Lk 3:16-17; Mt 7:21-23 // Lk 13:25-27) and each of the Synoptic writers (e.g., Mt 1:23; 18:20; 28:20; Mk 1:2-3, 8; Acts 2:20 with 2:38). Most clearly, Paul uses divine imagery and titles (such as "Lord") for Christ (e.g., Rom 9:5; 10:9-13; 1 Cor 8:5-6; 2 Cor 5:10; Phil 2:6; 1 Thess 3:13), invokes him in prayers (e.g., Rom 1:7; 2 Cor 12:8), and applies to him biblical texts about God (Rom 10:9-13; Phil 2:10-11). John's Gospel and Revelation, however, emphasize and develop this theme more elaborately.

3.2. Revelation and Salvation. In John's theology revelation and salvation involve divine initiative, but also they demand human response. Jesus is the only

way to the Father (Jn 14:6), and he must be embraced through persevering faith.

3.2.1. *Vision and Knowledge.* Divine vision is a key theme running through John's Gospel (e.g., Jn 1:18, 34, 51; 5:37; 6:46; 14:7-9), and in key passages John grounds this theme in Scripture. Both Abraham (Jn 8:56) and Isaiah (Jn 12:41) saw Christ's glory in advance; at the beginning of his Gospel John uses Moses' vision of God's glory as a grid for understanding the disciples' experience of Jesus' glory (Jn 1:14-18). Scholars often note the parallels with Moses in John's prologue, as seen in Table 2. Because Isaiah's and Moses' experiences involved theophanies, we may recognize that John grounds his motif of divine vision in the biblical narrative of theophanies. Yet unlike the Synoptics, John depicts no specific transfiguration of Jesus; theologically, Jesus' entire ministry was a transfiguration, a revelation of God's glory.

Table 2. Parallels with Moses in John's Prologue

Exodus 33–34	John 1:14–18
"The Law"	"The Word"
Moses pled for God's continued presence (Ex 33:15–16).	The Word "tabernacled" among us (Jn 1:14).
Moses beheld God's glory (Ex 33:18–19).	"We [the eyewitnesses] beheld his glory" (Jn 1:14).
The glory was "abounding in covenant love and truth" (Ex 34:6).	The glory was "full of grace and truth" (Jn 1:14).
Grace and truth were present at the giving of the law (Ex 34:6), but Moses' revelation was partial (Ex 33:20, 23).	The law came through Moses, but "grace and truth" through Jesus Christ (Jn 1:17).
No one can see God, so Moses saw only part of God's glory (Ex 33:20, 23).	No one has seen God, but God the unique Son has revealed him (Jn 1:18).

Greek philosophers sought to envision the divine by meditating on the static divine nature; Jewish mystics sought to inculcate visions of the throne chariot (contrast Jn 3:13). By contrast, for John, God can be seen in divine self-revelation in the enfleshed Christ. The climax of this glorious enfleshed revelation is Jesus' death (Jn 12:23–24); here grace and truth are fully revealed (Keener 2003, 247–51, 405–6, 421–23; 2009b).

Just as some philosophers emphasized a vision of the divine, they also emphasized knowledge of the divine. John's language, however, is closer to (and sometimes echoes) biblical language of knowledge, often evoking covenant relationship with God (e.g., Ex 6:7; Jer 24:7; 31:34; Hos 2:20; cf. Jn 8:54–55; the language also appears in the DSS). As in earlier Scripture (e.g., Ex 6:7; 7:5, 17), knowledge of God rests on his prior self-revelation. John employs two Greek terms for knowledge interchangeably (he often uses synonyms for literary variation). According to John, Jesus has established a relationship with his follow-

ers as secure as his own relationship with his Father (Jn 10:14–15), and they recognize his voice (Jn 10:3–4). In practice, the Spirit enables Jesus' subsequent followers to remain as intimate with him as the first disciples were (Jn 15:15; 16:13–15). If leaders of their people claimed superior knowledge of the Torah and denounced Jesus' followers as ignorant, they could respond that they knew God personally and knew the Word made flesh (see Keener 2003, 234–47, 805–8, 817–18, 1038).

3.2.2. *Faith, Eternal Life and the Cross.* In earlier Scripture God is the primary object of *faith; Jesus shares this role throughout John's Gospel. That faith leads to eternal life is a key feature of this Gospel (Jn 3:15–16, 36; 5:24; 6:35, 40, 47; 11:25–26; 20:31), but there is a characteristic ambiguity in how John expresses this promise. Not every level of faith proves adequate for salvation. Signs often lead to faith in

this Gospel (Jn 1:50; 2:11, 23; 4:39; 10:41–42; 11:15, 42; 12:11; 13:19; 14:29; 17:21; 20:8, 25, 27). But while faith in response to signs is better than no faith (Jn 10:37–38; 12:37; 13:19; 14:10–11, 29), it must mature, if given time or testing, to full faith (Jn 4:41–42, 48, 50, 53; 6:30, 36; 16:30–31; 20:29–31). Genuine, saving faith must both recognize Jesus' divine identity (Jn 20:28–31) and persevere to the end (Jn 8:30–32).

John speaks often of "eternal life" and usually refers to this even when he uses the shorthand form "life." Beginning from Daniel 12:2, Judaism applied the phrase to the life of the coming age that would begin at the future resurrection; the Synoptics usually apply the term in this standard Jewish sense. John, however, often speaks of eternal life as a present possession (e.g., Jn 3:15–16, 36; 5:24; 6:47, 54; 20:31). Whereas the Synoptics tend to emphasize future eschatology (and the Johannine work Revelation emphasizes that almost exclusively), the Fourth Gospel emphasizes the present realization of escha-

tology. There is, of course, some future eschatology in John (see esp. Jn 5:28-29; 6:39-40, 44, 54; 12:48), but his emphasis lies on the reality already established by the promised Christ. As life begins with birth, so believers enter the life of the coming age through being born “from above” (Jn 3:3)—from the Spirit (Jn 3:5-8), from God (Jn 1:13). Until being recreated, people remain children of the devil (Jn 8:44); once born from God, they become his children (Jn 1:12-13).

Just as Paul paradoxically finds God’s power and wisdom in the cross (1 Cor 1:18-24), so John finds Jesus’ “glory” not only in his exaltation (Jn 17:5; cf. Jn 12:16) but also in his death as a seed that would bear much fruit (Jn 12:23-24). At the cross Jesus’ mission is “finished” (Jn 19:30; cf. Jn 4:34); although after his resurrection Jesus imparts the Spirit directly (Jn 20:22), there is a sense in which he “gave the Spirit” at his death (the probable wordplay in Jn 19:30; cf. Jn 7:39) (see Holy Spirit). John portrays Jesus’ death in multiple other ways. Combatting predators against his sheep, Jesus lays down his life, but he is authorized to take it again (Jn 10:11, 15-18); on a narrative level, John articulates this theme by Jesus’ control of events in the *passion narrative.

In the Fourth Gospel Jesus’ death is sacrificial (see Death of Jesus). As God’s *lamb (Jn 1:29), Jesus dies sacrificially. This remains true whether the lamb is viewed as a normal sacrifice or as a Passover lamb (cf. Jn 19:36 with Ex 12:46), Passover lambs being understood sacrificially in this period (e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 3.248, 294; 11.110; *J.W.* 6.423). Language from the Isaianic servant also suggests that John concurs with the common early Christian application of this passage to Jesus’ vicarious death; in Jn 12:23-24, 32-33 Jesus is “glorified” and “lifted up” like Isaiah’s *servant (LXX Is 52:13), and in John 12:38 John quotes Isaiah 53:1. In the following chapter Jesus models suffering servanthood by washing his disciples’ feet in the context of his betrayal, and he offers a model for laying down one’s life for one’s friends (Jn 13:14-16, 34-35; 15:13-15). Ironically, even some of Jesus’ enemies envision him dying in place of the people, although they intend a different sense (Jn 11:50-52).

3.2.3. *People of God.* Whereas “his own [people]” did not receive Jesus (Jn 1:11), whoever did receive him became God’s *children (Jn 1:12-13). Traditionally, Jewish people understood themselves as God’s children (Ex 4:22; Is 43:6) and children of Abraham (Jn 8:33), but in John (as elsewhere in our early sources [e.g., Mt 3:9 // Lk 3:8; Rom 4:1-16; Gal 3:6-18]), such titles apply to Jesus’ followers. That is, saving covenant relationship with God is determined

not by ethnicity but rather by covenant loyalty to Israel’s God and to the king he appointed. Israel sometimes was portrayed as a vine (Ps 80:8-16; Jer 2:21; Ezek 15:2-6; 17:5-10; 19:10-14) or vineyard (Is 5:1-7); in John’s Gospel believers’ status as branches is determined by their connection to Jesus as the vine (Jn 15:2-6).

This emphasis becomes clearest in John 9–10. In John 9 Jesus heals a blind man, and leaders of the synagogue put him out because of his loyalty to Jesus. This man contrasts starkly with the man healed in John 5:2-9, not only in the cause of his affliction (Jn 5:14; 9:2-3) but also in his response (Jn 5:12-15; 9:35-38). He also offers a positive paradigm for John’s audience, who probably likewise have faced expulsion from the synagogue by those who claim to “know” more than they do but lack their spiritual experience with Israel’s God (“know” is a key term [Jn 9:12, 20-21, 24-25, 29-31]; cf. the continuing theme, sometimes with a synonym, in Jn 10:4-6, 14-15, 27). By expelling the man, the leaders act as arbiters of Jewish identity.

By contrast, Jesus defends the healed man against these leaders, showing that he does indeed belong to God’s people (Jn 9:40–10:21). Jesus is the good shepherd (Jn 10:11, 14), filling a role most commonly assigned to the Lord himself in earlier Scripture (e.g., Ezek 34:11-16). This healed man, who has heeded Jesus’ voice, is truly one of his sheep (Jn 10:3-5), an image applied to Israel in earlier Scripture (e.g., Ps 100:3). By contrast, those who have abused him are not Israel’s rightful leaders but rather are predators (thieves, robbers, wolves) who do not have the sheep’s best interests in view (Jn 10:1, 5, 8, 10, 12); they resemble the false shepherds of Israel denounced in the prophets (Jer 23:1-4; Ezek 34:1-10). Jesus lays down his life to protect the sheep against these predators (Jn 10:11-18), and the sheep know and heed him (Jn 10:4-5, 14, 16, 27)—earlier biblical language for a covenant relationship with him. They belong to God’s people.

Ultimately, Jesus’ sheep would include those scattered beyond the Holy Land (Jn 11:52); they would become one flock with one shepherd (Jn 10:16). Although this could indicate Diaspora Jews, “Greeks” in John 7:35; 12:20 likely refers to Hellenized Gentiles, who traditionally had often been in conflict with Jewish people. (Gentile God-fearers could visit a festival, and the “Greeks” whom Jesus would teach in Jn 7:35 must be the same “Greeks” among whom Jewish people are dispersed in the same verse.) This mission beyond *Israel is prefigured in Jesus’ ministry to the *Samaritans, who rec-

ognize him as the “savior of the world” (Jn 4:42). Thus, Jesus welcomes into God’s people even non-Jews; his “one flock” is to be in unity, including ethnically and cross-culturally. This ideal unity reflects the unity of the Father and the Son (Jn 17:21-23).

3.3. The Spirit. Early Judaism as a whole tended to stress the prophetic dimension of the Spirit (already found in Scripture) in its general sense (prophecy, revealed insight, works like the biblical prophets [e.g., Sir 48:24; 1 En. 91:1; 1QS VIII, 16; CD-A II, 12; Philo, *Fug.* 186; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.166]). Nevertheless, some (most commonly those who produced the DSS) also drew on Ezekiel’s association of the Spirit with eschatological purification from *sin (Ezek 36:25-27; cf. *Jub.* 1:21, 23; 1QS III, 7; IV, 21) (see Keener 1997, 6-48). John emphasizes both of these dimensions of the Spirit, possibly among others.

3.3.1. The Spirit and Purification. The theme of purification is prominent in John’s Gospel (cf. Jn 2:6; 3:25; 11:55) (see Keener 1997, 135-89). Thus, for example, Jesus turns water into wine in pots that were consecrated for ritual purposes (Jn 2:6), thus revealing that he valued the host’s honor above the demands associated with ritual purification. Less clearly, Jesus is greater than water in some other passages: he, rather than the waters of special Jerusalem pools, brings healing (Jn 5:2-9), though he uses such a pool in John 9:7. Greater than a well sacred to the Samaritans, Jesus offers living water springing up within believers (Jn 4:12-14).

In some passages Jesus’ rival purification is associated with the Spirit (Jn 1:31-33; 3:3-5). Although John’s *baptism in water is positive, it cannot prove comparable to Jesus’ baptism in the Spirit (Jn 1:31-33). What this Gospel means by “baptism in the Spirit” (as opposed to the possibly narrower sense in Luke-Acts) probably is explicated in John 3:3-5. In John 3:3 Nicodemus must be born “from above” (the normal sense of the term *anōthen* in John, reflecting this Gospel’s vertical dualism); this was an acceptable Jewish way of saying “from God.” In John 3:5 Jesus further explains birth from God as birth “from water and the Spirit” or, if we read it as a hendiadys, “from the water of the Spirit.” Later rabbinic sources portray Gentile converts to Judaism as being as new as newborn children; one important demarcation of this new status was proselyte baptism, a washing from one’s former Gentile impurities. Here, however, we seem to read of a spiritual proselyte baptism, a baptism in the Spirit. Jesus is greater than this form of Jewish ritual purification as well.

Most importantly, John explicitly uses water as a

symbol for the Spirit in John 7:37-39. At the Feast of Tabernacles (Jn 7:2) priests carried water each day from the Pool of Siloam (cf. Jn 9:7) into the temple. This ritual was meant to symbolize the future time when rivers would flow from the temple in Jerusalem to bring life to the earth, recalling Ezekiel 47:1-12; Zechariah 14:8 (cf. Zech 14:16; *t. Sukkah* 3:3-10). Recalling these very texts that probably were read at this festival in Jerusalem, Jesus announces “rivers of living water,” “as the Scripture said” (Jn 7:38). Scholars debate the punctuation of the text in John 7:37-38, hence whether the water flows from the belly of believers or from that of Jesus, but in either case the Spirit comes ultimately from Jesus to believers (Jn 7:39). Believers may be part of the new temple, but Jesus is its foundation stone (cf. Jn 2:21), and the waters will flow from him (Jn 19:34; cf. Rev 22:1).

John also suggests, however, that Jesus’ gift of spiritual purification came at a great price. Jesus washes his disciples’ feet, taking the posture of a servant, in a context pervaded by warnings of the betrayal and Jesus’ imminent execution (Jn 13:12-33). This water motif climaxes at the cross. Of the four Gospels, only John mentions that water flowed with blood from Jesus’ broken heart (Jn 19:34). Scholars sometimes cite plausible medical reasons for this watery substance, but John’s reason for emphasizing this detail may be its function in his larger narrative. When Jesus finally was glorified, the Spirit became available (Jn 7:39).

3.3.2. The Prophetic Paraclete and Divine Presence. The prophetic aspect of the Spirit’s work is also clear in John’s pneumatology, especially in the “Paraclete” (*paraklētos*) sayings, although these extend beyond most Jewish traditions about prophetism (on the Paraclete material, see Keener 2003, 951-82, 1021-25, 1030-43). In these passages (Jn 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7) the Spirit appears as a distinct person, as Jesus’ successor. Judaism rarely personified God’s Spirit, but sometimes it connected the Spirit with personified *Wisdom; the primary backgrounds of the Spirit’s personhood here in John, however, are likely the careful way that John parallels the Spirit’s activity with that of Jesus earlier in the book, as well as earlier Christian understanding (e.g., Mt 28:19 [see Fee, 839-42]) and experience of the Spirit as a person.

Judaism connected the divine Spirit to the Father, but early Christians associated the Spirit also with the divine Son (Acts 16:7; Rom 8:9). (Although “spirit” [*pneuma*] is neuter in Greek, *paraklētos* is masculine, hence masculine pronouns for the Spirit in this section.) Given the common sense of *paraklētos* as mediator, helper or intercessor, and given the po-

tentially forensic role of the Spirit as *witness (Jn 15:26) and prosecutor (Jn 16:8-11), some see the Spirit here as a sort of defense attorney or advocate for believers (just as Jesus defended the healed man in Jn 9:40-10:21).

The Spirit would continue Jesus' presence, both to his followers and to the world. The Spirit would guide disciples in truth (Jn 16:13), embodied especially in Jesus (Jn 14:6). The Spirit does not speak from himself (Jn 16:13), just as Jesus did not (Jn 5:30; 8:28, 42; 12:49; 14:10); instead, he speaks what he hears from Jesus (Jn 16:13), as Jesus spoke what he heard from the Father (Jn 15:15). Jesus revealed the Father's matters, glorifying the Father; now the Spirit does the same with Jesus (Jn 16:14-15). The Spirit thus continues disciples' experience with Jesus. Many scholars believe that John implies his own inspiration by the Paraclete, empowering his development of Jesus' story and his witness for Christ in this book. In any case, John does not intend the promise of this experience of the Spirit to be limited to the first disciples (cf. Jn 7:39; 17:20; 1 Jn 2:20, 27; 3:24; 4:13).

The Spirit also continues Jesus' presence to the world, convicting it of sin, righteousness and *judgment (Jn 16:8-11), just as Jesus had (Jn 3:19-20; 8:46; 9:39-41; 15:22, 24). This passage does not, however, emphasize the Spirit's direct activity on the world, but rather the Spirit's witness of Jesus through believers (Jn 15:26-27), for the Spirit comes not directly to the world but to believers (Jn 16:7). As Jesus' followers prophetically proclaimed him, inspired by the Spirit, the Spirit would continue to confront the world with Jesus' actual presence.

Jesus' continuing presence is a major emphasis of Jesus' climactic message to his disciples in John 13:31-17:26, especially in John 14:2-15:17. In John 15:4-7 Jesus speaks of remaining with the disciples, and the disciples remaining in him; the verb *menō* in John can imply more than merely "remaining," suggesting also something more intimate, like "dwelling" (e.g., Jn 1:38-39). The Spirit, who currently was with them through Jesus, would be in them (Jn 14:17). Jesus would not leave them abandoned; he would come to them (Jn 14:18) to give resurrection life (Jn 14:19-20) and make his dwelling in them (Jn 14:23). Later, Jesus does come to them to impart his continuing presence through the Spirit (Jn 20:19-23).

A number of scholars argue that this is the point even of the controversial passage in John 14:2-3. Although John does include some future eschatology (and might think in part of Jesus' eschatological discourse known to us from the Synoptics), John 14:2-3

appears in a context of mostly realized eschatology. The "Father's house" (Jn 14:2) refers not to heaven *per se*, but rather to the Father's dwelling place (cf. Jn 2:16-21) or household (cf. Jn 8:35). The "dwelling places" in it (Jn 14:2) reflect a Greek term (*monē*) used nowhere else in the NT but this same context—the Father and Son residing in believers through the Spirit (Jn 14:23). (The cognate verb *menō* applies to believers dwelling in Jesus, and him dwelling in them, as we noted above.) Jesus promises to "come again" and take them to the Father's presence (Jn 14:3), but his "coming" again in the context refers to his return after the resurrection to impart his presence (Jn 14:16-23; cf. Jn 15:26; 16:8, 13). The "place prepared" (Jn 14:2-3) is in the Father's presence, but it need not belong to the distant future (cf. Rev 12:6; though cf. the implication of death in Jn 13:36).

Although scholars continue to debate the matter, context suggests that John 14:2-3 involves Jesus' presence even in the current age; what Jesus meant was obscure even for the earliest disciples, but he goes on to clarify it for them. Thomas protests that the disciples do not know where Jesus is going or how to get there (Jn 14:5); Jesus explains that where he is going is to the Father and how they will get there is through him (Jn 14:6). He is not saying that disciples come to the Father's house when he returns at the end of the age; he is saying that they enter the Father's presence when they become his followers (see also Jn 14:7-9).

The Spirit, rather than any particular holy site, becomes the true location of God's presence for believers. Samaritans had worshiped on Mount Gerizim before a Judean king destroyed their temple there; Jews worshiped in the Jerusalem temple (Jn 4:20). Yet Jesus explains that the true site of worship will be "neither this mountain, nor Jerusalem" (Jn 4:21), but rather "in Spirit and in truth" (Jn 4:23-24 [or if we read it as a hendiadys, "the Spirit of truth"]). Jesus is Jacob's ladder connecting heaven and earth (Jn 1:51) and is the new temple (Jn 2:21); God's presence is available through him and by the Spirit.

This Gospel, like Matthew (Mt 28:19-20) and Luke (Lk 24:47-49), includes a closing commission (Jn 20:21-23). And as elsewhere in reported sayings of Jesus (Mk 13:11; Acts 1:8; cf. Mt 10:20), it is the Spirit who empowers believers to carry on Jesus' work (Jn 20:22). When imparting the Spirit, Jesus breathed on them (Jn 20:22) as God had breathed into human-kind the breath of life (Gen 2:7). Jesus had also promised that disciples would witness in conjunction with the Spirit (Jn 15:26-27). In John's Gospel John the Baptist is the prototypical witness (Jn 1:7-8, 15, 19;

3:26; 5:33) (on the witness motif, see Trites, esp. 78-127). As the Father's commissioned agent, Jesus also bore witness (Jn 3:11; 18:37); now he sends his followers as the Father had sent him (Jn 17:18; 20:21; cf. Jn 13:20). They carry on his witness by the Spirit (Jn 15:26-27), thus depending on the continuing experience of Jesus to transform some of their hearers. Thus, for example, Philip testifies to Nathanael from his own experience of Jesus and the witness of Scripture, but ultimately he invites Nathanael to "come and see" for himself (Jn 1:45-46). The Samaritan woman likewise testifies to her people en masse from her experience of Jesus, but ultimately she invites them to "come and see" (Jn 4:29, 41-42).

3.4. Johannine Ethics. John does not disclaim Jesus' historical emphasis on loving neighbors (Mk 12:31) and enemies (Mt 5:44 // Lk 6:27, 35), but his focus is on loving fellow believers. Jesus took a servant's role in washing the disciples' feet, while speaking especially about his impending death (Jn 13) (on the footwashing, see Thomas). In this setting Jesus calls on his followers to follow his example by serving one another (Jn 13:14-15) and loving one another (Jn 13:34-35) as he had (Jesus in turn took Mary as a model for the footwashing [Jn 12:3]). The command to "love one another was hardly "new" (Jn 13:34; cf. Lev 19:18; 2 Jn 5); what was "new" was the new standard: "as I have loved you" (Jn 13:34). To love as he had done meant loving even to the point of laying down their lives for one another (cf. 1 Jn 3:16).

The ancient Mediterranean world highly valued friendship that was so close that friends would die for one another; Jesus demonstrates this friendship (Jn 15:13-14), as well as the friendship ideal of intimacy and sharing confidences (Jn 15:15) (see Keener 2003, 1004-15). Loving in this way characterizes Jesus' disciples, who share his character (Jn 13:35). Believers' love and unity reflect the love and unity between the Father and the Son (Jn 17:21-23), a model emphasized throughout this Gospel. The Father and Son are distinct persons, yet in unity (Jn 10:30); the Gospel opens with their mutual intimacy (Jn 1:1-2, 18) and reiterates the Father's love for Jesus (Jn 3:35; 5:20; 10:17; 15:9; 17:23-24, 26), as well as Jesus' love for the Father (Jn 14:31). The Father (Jn 16:27; 17:23) and Son (Jn 11:3, 5, 36; 13:1, 23, 34; 15:9, 12; 19:26; 20:2; 21:7, 20) love believers, and believers must love Jesus (Jn 8:42; 14:15, 21, 23-24, 28; 16:27; 21:15-17). (Contrary to the view of some, I would argue that John essentially uses both his Greek terms for "love" in most of the above categories, hence interchangeable, most obviously in Jn 21:15-17.) Nevertheless, the Johannine Epistles show that the truth about Jesus divides not only ethnic Israel (Jn 7:43; 9:16; 10:19),

but also those who claim to be his followers (1 Jn 2:19; 2 Jn 9; 3 Jn 9-11; cf. Rev 2:14, 20).

While disciples were to love one another, they were separated from the world by being consecrated for God (Jn 15:18-25; 17:16-20; cf. 1 Jn 2:15-17). The world would hate them, as it had hated Jesus (Jn 15:18-19, 23-25; 17:14; cf. Jn 7:7; 1 Jn 3:13). Believers never are instructed to reciprocate the hatred of the world's people—they remain the object of God's love (Jn 3:16)—but they must not be shaped by the world's values, recognizing that those values are inimical to the values that Jesus represents. (John and Revelation address a more hostile situation and thus advance a more separatist vision than does Luke-Acts or Paul.)

Politically, although Jesus is Israel's true king (Jn 1:49; 12:13, 15), he is mocked as "king of the Judeans" (Jn 18:33-39; 19:3, 19). His *kingdom is not "from this world" (Jn 6:15; 18:36), and it cannot even be seen, much less entered, apart from divine birth (Jn 3:3, 5) (*see* New Birth). It is a kingdom advanced by proclaiming truth, not by violence (Jn 18:36-37). This observation does not suggest that John's understanding of Roman political power is neutral; Pilate remains complicit in Jesus' execution, out of fear of the imperial system that Jesus' kingship can appear to challenge (Jn 19:12, 15-16) (on this topic, see Carter, 289-314). Nevertheless, the greater guilt lies with those who have usurped rule over God's own people (Jn 19:11), who should have recognized Jesus from the Scriptures (Jn 1:11; 5:38-40, 45-47).

4. Conclusion.

The Fourth Gospel is an ancient biography, although it is more theologically interpretive than are the Synoptic Gospels, especially in Jesus' speeches. Its central theological emphasis is Christology. This emphasis is compatible with the chief objectives of the biographic genre, narrating a person's life and providing a sense of their character. John probably addressed especially Jewish believers who faced rejection from their people as unfaithful to God and the law for following Jesus as divine. Encouraging them to remain in the faith, John emphasized that by following Jesus through the Spirit, they knew God personally and knew the Word made flesh.

See also ABIDING; BLINDNESS AND DEAFNESS; BREAD; CHRISTOLOGY; GLORY; GOD; "I AM" SAYINGS; INCARNATION; LAMB OF GOD; LAZARUS; LIGHT AND DARKNESS; LOGOS; NEW BIRTH; SHEPHERD, SHEEP; SYNOPTICS AND JOHN; WATER, WINE; WITNESS.

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C. S. Keener

JOHN THE BAPTIST

John the Baptist occupies a programmatic role as *prophet, baptizer and precursor to Jesus. This article begins with initial remarks regarding sources and studies, followed by a discussion of the Jewish context of John. It then offers an analysis of John as presented in the canonical Gospels, complemented at points by *Josephus's brief account in *Jewish Antiquities* 18.116-19.

1. Sources and Studies
2. The Jewish Context and John
3. John in Matthew, Mark and Luke: Texts, Topics, Trajectory
4. John in the Fourth Gospel: Witness to the Word

1. Sources and Studies.

The principal sources on John are the canonical Gospels, Acts and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (Ant. 18.116-19). There are a few brief and secondary references in extracanonical apocryphal works (e.g., the second-century *Gospel of Thomas*, *Gospel of the Ebionites*, *Gospel of the Nazareans* and *Protevangelium of James*). John is mentioned in the writings of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen and other early church fathers, who follow the Gospel accounts. There are brief references in the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions* (no later than fourth century) and in later traditions in the Man-

daean literature. (In citing biblical sources, this article follows the NRSV.)

Scholars typically regard the principal texts and traditions as generally reliable, while variously noting and proposing certain developments, tendencies and tensions. Some suggest that at points the early church may have modified the materials to subordinate John to Jesus, indeed to "Christianize" him, to counter awkward and embarrassing evidence that his ministry and that of his disciples were more extensive and independent than the Gospels wish to allow (Tatum, 148-49). (For a helpful chart of all references to John in the primary sources of the first and second centuries, see Webb 1994, 185-86; among relatively succinct discussions of the sources, see Scobie, 13-31; Hollenbach, *ABD* 3:887-90; Murphy, 3-13.) Yet it has been noted that the Synoptic Gospels' respective portrayals of John show no obvious evidence of being an early church construct. The accounts fit well within a Second Temple Jewish context, receive corroboration from Josephus's brief account, and are drawn from traditions that were verifiable or conversely falsifiable by those who were attracted to John's ministry (see Webb 1991b, 87-88). By common consensus, the Fourth Gospel's portrayal of John is quite distinctive, not least in its being more theologically developed; yet its historical value is important, offering its own notable use of traditions regarding John.

Over the past twenty years the scholarly literature on John has continued to grow at a considerable pace, as is well attested in the notes and bibliographies of the select list of entries in the bibliography to this article. One finds variegated and often overlapping studies on the historical John (Ernst, 265-346; Meier, 17-233; Tatum 105-68; Webb 1991b, 1994, 2000; Theissen and Merz, 196-213; Keener 2009, 165-77, 482-88), aspects of John's Jewish context (Webb 1991b; Chilton 1997, 2002; Taylor) and detailed analyses of John in the Gospels and other sources (Wink; Ernst, 1-263; Webb 1991b, 29-91; Lupieri; Tatum, 25-104; Müller, 100-197; Murphy). G. Yamasaki offers a brief history of research (Yamasaki, 12-32).

2. The Jewish Context and John.

2.1. Jewish Immersion and John's Baptism. John preached and practiced water *baptism upon *repentance. Comparisons have usefully been made with Jewish ablutions (washings), including immersions, and among the most comprehensive and helpful works remains R. L. Webb's 1991 monograph *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study*. He indicates that in the Second Temple Jewish pe-

riod self-administered and recurring ablutions such as handwashing, footwashing and bathing functioned primarily to cleanse and restore from impurity, and also to maintain purity, and were variously important to the Jerusalem temple priesthood, Pharisees, Essenes and the followers of the prophetic figure Bannus (see Clean and Unclean). Immersion especially could be connected with repentance, forgiveness and conversion; it could take place in rivers (e.g., *Sib Or.* 4:162-70), including the Jordan, and in some instances may connote criticism of the *temple cult and authorities (e.g., by the Essenes) (Webb 1991b, 108-32). At Qumran immersion was undertaken first to purify from defilement due to *sin, rendered efficacious by virtuous living, and second as initiation into and maintenance within a true/pure *Israel (Webb 1991b, 133-62). (Further on Jewish immersions and John, see Ferguson, 84-89, including proselyte baptism, whose existence prior to A.D. 70 is uncertain.)

John's baptism (see 3.3 below) involved immersion by John himself (rather than being self-administered) in the river Jordan. In view is repentance associated with (1) God's forgiveness mediated via John's baptism (which perhaps carried an implicit critique of the temple sacrificial system and establishment); (2) purification from uncleanness; (3) a new, righteous life before God; and (4) initiation into a distinctive group gathered around John whose practices included *fasting, *prayer and baptism (Mk 2:18; Lk 11:1; cf. Acts 18:24-28; 19:1-7). John's baptism also prefigured and prepared for the greater baptism of a powerful figure who would complete the Baptizer's rite by baptism "with the Holy Spirit and fire" (Mt 3:11; Lk 3:16). John's baptism divided the repentant from the unrepentant; and the former, ready to receive the figure's ministry of restoration, comprise the true Israel (on the above, see Webb 1991b, 163-216; 1994, 187-97; 2000; Ferguson, 89-96). Thus, while in continuity with Jewish ablutions, John's baptism invited corporate repentance and readiness to enter the coming new kingdom and community.

Not everyone follows this view of John's baptism as prophetic, initiatory and eschatological. B. Chilton (1997; 2002, 26-39) is one who rejects various aspects of this assessment—such as that John's baptism was for conversion or permanent purification—and contends that it was a repeatable ritual immersion for purity upon returning to righteousness (see Josephus, *Ant.* 18.117) (see also Taylor, 49-100). A middle position is outlined by C. Evans, arguing that John's baptismal practice could have been

eschatological and prophetic and also included purificatory ablutions without such dimensions.

2.2. Jewish Prophets, Figures of Restoration and Judgment, and John. Central to John's popular profile as a prophet (e.g., Mt 21:26; Mk 11:32; Lk 20:6) is a sociopolitical and religious aspect, in particular the proclamation of an imminent figure, and these elements may be seen in relation to his wider Jewish context. Drawing largely from Josephus, Webb suggests there were three main types of prophetic figures in Second Temple Judaism: (1) clerical prophets, who were priestly and from the upper class; (2) sapiential prophets, from among the intelligentsia (e.g., Essenes, perhaps also Pharisees); (3) popular eschatologically orientated prophets, whether (a) leadership prophets at the head of movements, often recalling Israel's past (e.g., a wilderness-based invocation of the exodus and conquest), offering a sociopolitical critique and predicting imminent divine deliverance, or (b) more solitary popular prophets, often associated with demonstrations against Jerusalem and its temple and predicting a more military liberation (Webb 1991b, 307-48) (see *Revolutionary Movements*).

That Josephus describes the popular prophets as "commanding," "persuading" and "promising" their followers and uses "commanding" in his brief account of John the Baptist suggests to Webb that John could be classified with this group, and specifically among the leadership prophets (Webb 1991b, 349-78; but cf. Meier, 98-99n188; Chilton 2002, 26-39). Moreover, various aspects of John's baptismal activities—for example, the wilderness location, crowds, initiatory rite into a pure/true Israel, hopes of Israel's purification and restoration and disciples—carried live sociopolitical implications. Indeed, John incurred concerted opposition from Herod Antipas (Mt 14:3-12; Mk 6:17-29), likely the temple establishment and, by implication, their Roman overseers. (On John's prophetic profile, see also the typological and scriptural antecedents examined in Evans, 46-61.)

Additionally, the Synoptic Gospels indicate that the focus of John's preaching concerned one who would follow him and bring restoration and judgment. The precise identity, activity and John's understanding of this figure have received much scholarly scrutiny. Antecedent OT and Second Temple Jewish figures with whom he could be correlated include Yahweh, the Davidic messiah, the Aaronic messiah, Michael/Melchizedek, the son of man, and Elijah *redivivus* (Webb 1991b, 219-60) (see Christ; Son of David).

2.3. The Essenes/Qumran and John. Much has

been made of possible connections between John and the *Essene community at Qumran (see Dead Sea Scrolls). It has even been suggested that John was at one time an Essene novice (Steinmann, 58-61); but this is speculative and unlikely. To some extent, comparisons may be made on the basis of certain broad similarities—for example, the wider context of Second Temple Jewish sectarianism; proximity in the wilderness and Jordan location; eschatological outlook, such as a vision of divine judgment and a division of the righteous and unrighteous. Other commonalities include Isaiah 40:3 as a text informing identity and destiny (cf. Mt 3:3; Mk 1:2-3; Lk 3:4; and 1QS VIII, 14); the practice of immersion; perhaps a shared asceticism (CD-A XII, 12-14 mentions honey and locusts); and possibly ties to and critique of the Jerusalem temple cult and priesthood. But in many of these cases closer scrutiny reveals considerable differences in the details. Moreover, in various substantial respects John can be differentiated from the Qumran community. For example, he occupied a very public profile as a prophetic figure, and his baptism had dimensions different from immersions at Qumran. (See further the critical assessments in Kazmierski, 25-30; Taylor, 15-48; Stegemann, 221-25; McDonald, 54-61.)

2.4. Josephus and John. It is generally agreed that *Josephus's brief account of John's activities and fate under Herod Antipas, tetrarch of *Galilee and Perea (*Ant.* 18:116-19), is authentic and reliable (Webb 1991b, 31-45, 165-68; Lupieri, 449-55; Meier, 56-62) (see Herodian Dynasty). John is, though, depicted as more of "a popular moral philosopher in the Greco-Roman mode" (Meier, 61) than the Jewish prophetic figure of the Gospels, consistent with Josephus's downplaying of apocalyptic and sociopolitical elements in his presentation of Jewish matters to Rome. Nor is John ever connected with Jesus, whom Josephus mentions briefly in an earlier disputed passage (*Ant.* 18.63-64). The account is connected to a wider conflict between the Nabatean King Aretas IV and Herod Antipas (*Ant.* 18.109-15), precipitated in part by a boundary dispute and Herod's decision to dismiss his wife, who was Aretas's daughter, in order to marry his brother's wife, Herodias (cf. Mt 14:3-13; Mk 6:17-29) (see 3.7 below).

According to Josephus (*Ant.* 18.116-19), John, surnamed the Baptist, was "a good man" who charged the Jews to live a virtuous life, practice justice toward one another and piety toward God, and gather together in baptism. Baptism was acceptable to God, not as a seeking after pardon for sins, but as purification of the body after the soul is already

cleansed by responding to John's call for a righteous life. When others (identity unclear) joined the crowds with John, and the people were stirred by his words, Herod feared strife and so deemed it prudent to act preemptively before an uprising ensued. Thus, John was taken to Machaerus, Herod's fortress and residence east of the Dead Sea in southern Perea, and there put to death. Josephus tells us that the Jewish people viewed the later defeat of Herod's army by that of Aretas as God's vindication of John (*Ant.* 18.116), an indication of the regard with which they remembered him.

3. John in Matthew, Mark and Luke: Texts, Topics, Trajectory.

John figures prominently in Matthew, Mark and Luke (the Synoptic Gospels) in both common and distinctive ways. The aim of the following is to take account of the various aspects of John's representation in the Synoptic Gospels in terms of the texts, main topics and trajectory in view (cf. Murphy, 41-84).

3.1. John's Origins (Lk 1-2). Only Luke 1 narrates John's remarkable origins, including an angelic annunciation and his conception (Lk 1:8-25), birth, circumcision, naming, his father Zechariah's prophecy, and youth (Lk 1:57-80). This is paralleled in the recital of Jesus' own dramatic earthly origins (Lk 1:26-38; 2:1-52), and the two are connected by the meeting of their mothers and kinswomen, Elizabeth and Mary (Lk 1:39-56) (see Murphy, 42-49). The sequence, length and certain details of the respective accounts clearly signal that John will play a formative though supporting role in the unfolding, Jesus-centered divine drama. Thus, for example, John is from a *priestly family, Spirit-filled, and "the prophet of the Most High" (Lk 1:5, 15, 76); yet Jesus is of royal lineage, conceived by the *Holy Spirit, and "Son of the Most High" and *"Son of God" (Lk 1:32, 35).

The scenario in view encompasses and juxtaposes the heavenly sphere (e.g., Gabriel sent from "the presence of God" [Lk 1:19]) and earthly realm (e.g., a Jerusalem temple setting "in the days of King Herod of Judea" and the Roman emperor Augustus [Lk 1:5, 8-20; 2:1-2]), already intimating disruption of the political and religious status quo (Lk 1:51-53; 2:1-2). At the center stand a fearful Zechariah and barren Elizabeth, caught up in the enormity of it all (Lk 1:6-7). And emerging from their midst is an unexpected son to be named "John" (Lk 1:13, 59-63), forecast to be "great in the sight of the Lord," filled with "the spirit and power of Elijah" and fitted for his role as one who "will turn many of the people of Israel to the Lord their God . . . [and] make ready a

people prepared for the Lord" (Lk 1:15-17 [cf. Mal 2:6-7; 3:1; 4:5-6; Sir 48:1, 10]). John's depiction also evokes associations with the temple priesthood, the Nazirites, Samson and Samuel (Lk 1:15; 7:33; cf. Lev 10:8-9; Num 6:1-21; Judg 13:2-7; 1 Sam 1:11) and thus underscores his divinely sanctioned role in advancing the reign of God.

Responding to popular fear and speculation regarding John (Lk 1:65-66), Zechariah's prophecy (Lk 1:67-79) evokes exodus and other imagery in extolling God's promise-keeping, covenant faithfulness and redemption via a Davidic savior and reiterates his son's preparatory and supporting role therein (Lk 1:15-17, 31-38; 3:4-6; see Is 40:3-6; Mal 3:1). The child John, like Jesus, will continue to be strengthened by the Spirit for his vocation, and he is in the wilderness until the time of his public disclosure to Israel (Lk 1:80; cf. Lk 2:40-52; see also Gen 21:20-21; Judg 13:24-25; 1 Sam 2:26).

3.2. John's Appearance in the Wilderness (Mt 3:1-6; Mk 1:2-6; Lk 3:1-6). The Synoptic Gospels vividly recount John's arrival and activity "in the wilderness" (see Mountain and Wilderness). That Matthew can specify "wilderness of Judea" (Mt 3:1), Luke imply a wider area (Lk 3:1), and indeed the Fourth Gospel mention "Bethany across the Jordan" in Perea (Jn 1:28; cf. Jn 3:26; 10:40) and "Aenon near Salim" (Jn 3:23) together suggests that John was widely active in territory around the Jordan. (On sites associated with John, see Murphy-O'Connor.)

John is identified as "the Baptist" (Mt 3:1) or "the baptizer" (Mk 1:4) and also as "son of Zechariah" (Lk 3:2). Essentially, he is "proclaiming a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (so Mk 1:4; Lk 3:3) and urging the people, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven has come near [or 'is at hand']" (so Mt 3:2 [cf. Jesus' words in Mt 4:17]). As such, he is seen as the one anticipated by Isaiah, announcing, "Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight" (Mt 3:3; Mk 1:3; Lk 3:4; cf. Is 40:3).

Indeed, Mark's Gospel opens by dramatically declaring that with "The beginning of the good news of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" (Mk 1:1), that which Isaiah and, by extension, the entire OT (cf. Ex 23:20; Is 40:3; Mal 3:1) foresaw and John now announces, is fulfilled. Together, the OT associations, wilderness setting and ensuing events intimate that Israel's exodus and entrance, *exile and restoration, find their outworking in Jesus' ensuing life and ministry. Moreover, the impact includes the entire Roman Empire, as indicated by Luke's wider geopolitical setting and extended citation of Isaiah (Lk 3:1-6; cf. Is 40:3-5).

Both Matthew and Mark describe John's ascetic appearance and also indicate that the popular response is widespread (Mt 3:4-6; Mk 1:5-6). John's clothing of camel's hair and a leather belt evoke the distinctive dress of OT prophets (e.g., Zech 13:4; Heb 11:37), perhaps Elijah in particular (2 Kings 1:8), and further intimate prophetic rebuke of ungodly rule and a call for repentance and restoration.

The diet of locusts and wild honey likely underscores John's austerity and self-denial and perhaps bears comparison to the prophet Bannus (Josephus, *Life* 11) (Taylor, 34-35; on John's diet, see Kelhoffer). Some have suggested that John's wilderness asceticism connotes his alienation from and opposition to the temple establishment (see Kraeling, 15-27; Hollenbach 1979, 852-56). In any case, his appearance and activity in the wilderness are a theologically and politically charged event.

3.3. John's Preaching (Mt 3:7-12; Mk 1:7-8; Lk 3:7-18). John preaches baptism-repentance. In so doing, according to Matthew 3:7-10 and Luke 3:7-9, he identifies and rebukes a "brood of vipers"—that is, many *Pharisees and *Sadducees (Mt 3:7) and "the crowds" (Lk 3:7)—seeking baptism and deliverance from the coming wrath by virtue of being children of *Abraham. John warns that God can raise up others as children of Abraham, and that "even now the ax is lying at the root of the trees" (Mt 3:10; Lk 3:9 [cf. Is 10:33-34; 32:19; Wis 4:3-5; Sir 6:3]), and that they stand under imminent judgment (cf. Lk 13:6-9; also Mt 21:18-19; Mk 11:12-14). Heritage, ethnicity and even covenant status in themselves are insufficient.

Capturing the tension and confusion, and further delineating those involved, Luke alone recounts inquiries from the crowds, tax collectors and soldiers (Lk 3:10-14; cf. Lk 7:29). John's polemical response, demanding that they not abuse their possessions, privilege and power, anticipates the ethics and economics of Jesus' kingdom proclamation and provokes questions regarding whether John might be the Messiah (Lk 3:15). (J. Meier correlates this passage and Josephus, *Ant.* 18:118, in speculating that the tax collectors and soldiers may have been among "the others" mentioned by Josephus [Meier, 61-62].)

John's preaching centers on the imminent arrival of one "more powerful" than John himself, of whom he is unworthy, and who will baptize not with water but with the Holy Spirit (Mk 1:7-8) and fire (Mt 3:11-12; Lk 3:16). Matthew and Luke immediately add an evocative threshing floor illustration (Mt 3:12; Lk 3:17) As noted earlier (see 2.2 above), the identity and activity of this figure are much discussed in conjunction with various antecedent Jewish figures. Of

these, foremost is Yahweh, above and beyond all the others, yet working through them, not least the Davidic messiah and the *Son of Man, who receives and possibly bestows the Holy Spirit. This fits well with the fundamentally theocentric dimension of John's proclamation of a powerful yet human agent (as the image of the untying of the sandal suggests) who will baptize with the Holy Spirit and fire.

It is debated whether John envisions a single baptism that purifies and empowers or a twofold baptism of restoration on the repentant/righteous and judgment on the unrepentant/unrighteous (cf. Turner, 115-16; and Webb 1991a; 1991b, 289-300). In any event, John's preaching of the "good news" (Lk 3:18) urged repentance and pointed to an imminent figure whom the Gospels take to be Jesus, and whose own ensuing ministry divides destinies.

3.4. John's Baptism of Jesus (Mt 3:13-17; Mk 1:9-11; Lk 3:21-22). Mark and Matthew attest to John's momentous baptism of Jesus; in Luke his involvement must be inferred. Only Matthew indicates John's deferential attempt to reverse roles and be baptized by Jesus, and Jesus' insistence that his baptism by John is "to fulfill all righteousness" (Mt 3:15; cf. Mt 21:32). Some see here an awkward attempt from within the early church to address embarrassment at Jesus' subordination to John and any implication that Jesus needed to repent of sin (e.g., Tatum 148-49; Murphy, 59-60). Yet the account attests to their respective roles within the unfolding divine drama: God's covenant faithfulness (righteousness) finds focused expression in John's baptism, which is the divine anointing and initiation of Jesus' ministry of redemption and restoration.

That Luke reports John's arrest immediately prior to his account of Jesus' baptism (Lk 3:19-20), and then states that Jesus "had been baptized" without specifying John as the agent (Lk 3:21), is also sometimes taken as further evidence of the early church trying to offset its embarrassment by distancing Jesus from John (Tatum, 148-49). Yet Luke's baptismal account begins by relocating the reader to a scenario that itself precedes John's arrest, and from which it could reasonably be inferred that Jesus was included in a baptism administered by John.

Central to Jesus' baptism is the "revelatory experience" (Murphy, 27) that occurs upon his arising out of the water (Mt 3:16; Mk 1:10), as he "was praying" (Lk 3:21). With some subtle nuances, the Gospels attest to an open heaven ("torn apart" [Mk 1:10]), the Spirit descending and a heavenly voice affirming Jesus thus: "my Son, the Beloved, with you I am well pleased" (Mt 3:16-17; Mk 1:10-11; Lk 3:21-22) (alternatively,

"my beloved Son"; Mt 3:17 has "with whom"; cf. Mt 17:5; Mk 9:7; Lk 9:34-35; see also Ps 2:7; Is 42:1). That in Matthew 3:17 the voice states "this is" rather than "you are" may imply that not just Jesus, but also John and possibly others, heard the divine declaration. In view, then, is a divine disclosure and affirmation of Jesus' sonship; his anointing and commissioning; and the interaction of Father, Son and Spirit. Together, this signals the theopolitical enormity of Jesus' identity and forthcoming *mission.

3.5. John's Disciples, Jesus' Ministry (Mt 9:14-17; Mk 2:18-22; Lk 5:33-39). Both John and Jesus have disciples, and an issue arising during Jesus' Galilean ministry is why John's disciples fast—"frequently fast and pray" (Lk 5:33)—but Jesus' disciples do not. Subtle Synoptic variations in the participants and extent of the discussion intimate confusion as those involved try to determine and differentiate the respective identities and activities of John and Jesus.

In response, Jesus offers three brief illustrations involving a bridegroom, a garment, and wineskins. In this way, he intimates the abundant, irrepressible and celebratory nature of the *kingdom of God, which was announced by John and is now disclosed and activated in his own life and ministry. So viewed, the account need not be seen as a backdated warrant for a stark shift from Jewish (John) to early Christian piety and practice. Rather, in the movement from the old age to the new one, both John (the best man) and Jesus (the bridegroom) play important roles within the providence of a covenant-keeping and immeasurably beneficent God.

From this standpoint, it may be affirmed that John's ministry provided an important initial and overlapping context for that of Jesus. Yet, to say that Jesus was a disciple of John—inferring this from his acceptance of John's baptism, approval of his ministry (see 3.10 below) and interaction with John's baptizing activity (see 4.4 below)—and then later separated himself from the Baptist's movement (see Tatum, 151-53) requires careful and nuanced delineation of evolving terms and categories (e.g., "disciple" and "ministry") and risks constraining the dynamic divine economy within which John and Jesus are together located. (On the issue of Jesus as a disciple of John, see Badke; Meier, 116-30; on their relationship more broadly, see Meier, 100-233; Webb 1994; Dapaah; Allison, 205-20, including interaction with Theissen and Merz, 208-11.)

3.6. John's Question, Jesus' Witness and Their Generation (Mt 11:2-19; Lk 7:18-35). A substantial tripartite section in both Matthew and Luke opens with an imprisoned John responding to news of Jesus' re-

markable activities by sending his disciples to ask, “Are you the one who is to come, or are we to wait for another?” (Mt 11:3; twice in Lk 7:19–20; cf. Lk 3:15). In any interpretation of this question—for example, as poignant and agonized for John, or as awkward for the evangelists and the early church in suggesting a perplexed and/or more independent John—much depends on how one regards John’s situation, motivation and intonation, and also the question’s correlation with his earlier remarks on the wrath to come (Mt 3:7–10; Lk 3:7–9) and the imminent agent of God (Mt 3:11–12; Mk 1:7–8; Lk 3:15–18). A reasonable overall assessment is that John’s expectations of restoration and especially judgment require recalibration as the astonishing nature of Jesus’ hospitable and inclusive ministry of renewal unfolds (e.g., Lk 7:1–17).

This is corroborated by Jesus’ forceful response, which evokes Isaiah’s good news of Israel’s exilic rescue and restoration (see Is 29:18–19; 35:5–6; 42:7; 61:1–2; cf. Lk 4:16–20) in pointing to his own mighty deeds—for example, healing the *blind, lame and deaf and raising the dead—and preaching to the poor as evidence of his identity and role as Messiah (Mt 11:2). Jesus’ ensuing beatitude, stated in the singular and so suggesting that John may be particularly in view (Mt 11:6; Lk 7:23), presses for an evaluation that avoids stumbling over the radical new realities of his mission.

Jesus’ ensuing public witness to John is similarly thought-provoking (Mt 11:7–15; Lk 7:24–30). He acclaims John a prophet and more than a prophet. John is the one anticipated in Scripture as he who will prepare the way of Lord (cf. Ex 23:20; Mal 3:1), unsurpassed by any other human being; he is the endpoint of the law and the prophets and also the point of departure for the kingdom of heaven/God; and, adds Matthew, he is the *Elijah who is come (Mt 11:14; cf. Mal 3:1; 4:5).

John’s austere *witness in the wilderness stood in stark and polemical contrast to finely clothed kings living in self-serving luxury. Here the image of “a reed shaken by the wind” (Mt 11:7; Lk 7:24) is likely a thinly veiled critique of Herod Antipas, who used the reed as his symbol (Theissen, 26–42), imprisoned and executed John (see 3.7 below), and typified those violently and vainly seeking to seize God’s kingdom.

As Jesus’ succeeding provocative parable implies (Mt 11:16–19; Lk 7:31–35), this equivocal generation at once berates John’s austerity and demonizes the Son of Man’s purported profligacy, and thus they are in danger of blindly rejecting the wilderness announcement and its outworking in the unfolding kingdom of God.

3.7. *John’s Imprisonment and Execution (Mt*

14:1–12; Mk 6:14–29; Lk 9:7–9 [cf. Lk 3:19–20]). John’s imprisonment and death have been subject to extensive scholarly scrutiny from historical, tradition-critical, literary and other standpoints (e.g., Hoehner, 110–71; Meier, 171–76; Hartmann; Murphy, 69–73; Cummins). Many scholars affirm a common “historical core” centered on John’s public condemnation of Herod Antipas for his unlawful marriage to his brother’s wife, Herodias (Mt 14:3–4; Mk 6:17–18; Lk 3:19–20; cf. Lev 18:16; 20:21), while recognizing the irreducible theological and narrative dimensions in play.

In the accounts in Matthew and Mark (Mt 14:1–12; Mk 6:14–29) there is an ironic interplay between John, Jesus and Herod Antipas, a “king” in his own eyes (Mk 6:14), though technically only a “tetrarch” (Mt 14:1; Lk 9:7). Herod is among those who confuse the identities and roles of Jesus and John, the latter of whom he had earlier beheaded but now thinks is raised from the dead (Mt 14:1–2; Mk 6:14–16; Lk 9:7–9). In the ensuing account of John’s death at Herod’s birthday banquet, which in Mark is significantly shaped by kingship motifs drawn from the OT Elijah narratives (1 Kings 17—19; 21; 2 Kings 1—2) and Esther (Cummins, 41–45), the Baptist and “king” are contrasted with telling effect.

John is a holy and righteous prophet who confronts a conflicted ruler (Mt 14:5; Mk 6:19–20) and whose execution and burial (Mt 14:10–12; Mk 6:27–29) foreshadow Jesus’ subsequent fate. Herod is entrapped by an opportunistic wife, a dancing daughter and elite Galilean guests (Mt 14:6–9; Mk 6:21–26). That Herod is unable to manage his household, effectively govern Galilee or understand John is representative of the Jewish and Roman authorities’ inability to discern the Jesus-centered rule of God operative in their midst.

3.8. *John and Jesus: Identity and Mission (Mt 16:13–23; Mk 8:27–33; Lk 9:18–22).* Further evidence of ongoing confusion regarding the respective identities, roles and relationship between John and Jesus is found in Peter’s confession and Jesus’ telling response. Could Jesus be John, Elijah or another of the prophets? Jesus implicitly accepts Peter’s declaration that he is in fact the Messiah (and the Son of the living God [adds Mt 16:16]), but he immediately explicates this designation in terms of a suffering Son of Man (cf. Mt 16:21–23; Mk 8:31–33; Lk 9:22). He thus reinforces what had been prefigured in John’s death under Herod: the kingdom comes at considerable cost—for John, Jesus, his disciples—at the hands of those who are aligned against the redemptive rule of God. Such is the “adulterous and sinful generation”

(so Mk 8:38) that will be judged at the return of the Son of Man (Mt 16:27-28; Mk 8:38—9:1; Lk 9:26-27).

3.9. *John, Jesus and Elijah (Mt 17:10-13; Mk 9:11-13).* Various associations between John and *Elijah may be evoked or are explicit. Here, for example, one may think of the ascetic depiction of John at the Jordan (Mt 3:4; Mk 1:6; cf. 2 Kings 1:8); popular confusion in connecting John, Jesus and Elijah (Mt 14:1-2; Mk 6:14-16; Lk 9:7-9); and John's Elijah-like role in Mark's account of Herod's birthday banquet (Mk 6:17-29; cf. 1 Kings 17—19; 21; 2 Kings 1—2).

The correlation continues. After Jesus' transfiguration (Mt 17:1-9; Mk 9:2-10; Lk 9:28-36), which includes a divine affirmation of Jesus' sonship and also an appearance by Elijah, Jesus connects John the Baptist with the expected Elijah come to "restore all things" (Mt 17:10-13; Mk 9:11-13; cf. Mal 4:5-6). His remarks, somewhat oblique in Mark but clearer in Matthew, indicate that John is the precursor to Jesus the messianic Son of Man, and both of them suffer and die at the hands of those who do not recognize their respective roles as prophet and Savior within God's restoration of all things (on Elijah, John and Jesus, see further Öhler 1997, 31-100; 1999; and Joynes 1998; 2005).

3.10. *John, Jesus and God's Authority (Mt 21:23-27; Mk 11:27-33; Lk 20:1-8).* As Jesus' ministry culminates in Jerusalem, he again endorses John's divine commission and its crucial role in relation to his own. Jesus' sharp-edged question "Did the baptism of John come from heaven, or was it of human origin?" (Mt 21:25; Mk 11:29; Lk 20:4) presses the Jewish leaders either to acknowledge their failure to believe John (and hence Jesus himself) or to face popular resistance from those who view John as a prophet of God. Their awkward predicament and calculated response ("We do not know" [Mt 21:27; Mk 11:33]) aligns them with Herod Antipas, who likewise was unable to come to terms with John, and intimates their final action against Jesus.

All this is reinforced by Jesus' parable of the two sons (only in Mt 21:28-32), which condemns the leaders for not receiving John, who came "in the way of righteousness"; likewise the parable of the vineyard (Mt 21:33-46; Mk 12:1-12; Lk 20:9-19), which condemns the abuse and killing of successive slaves—the prophets, latterly John—and the owner's son, Jesus.

4. John in the Fourth Gospel: Witness to the Word.

In the Fourth Gospel John's actions as a prophet and baptizer are incorporated into his more fundamental role as a witness to the incarnate Word, Jesus,

who is the Messiah and the Son of God (cf. Jn 20:30-31). His wide-ranging ministry overlaps with Jesus' early activities and includes the ongoing involvement of his own disciples. Some surmise that the Fourth Gospel has tried to counter this by "Christianizing" and constraining John and his followers (construed as a "movement" or "sect") in order to safeguard its characteristic high *Christology. In addition, John's profile may reflect later tensions between the Jewish *synagogue and the early Johannine church regarding John and Jesus (see Webb 1991b, 76-77). Such historical reconstructions can be helpful, but sometimes they are overstated, requiring greater consideration of the narrative and theological dimensions of John's portrayal.

4.1. *John's Witness to the Word (Jn 1:1-18).* In passages integrated into the prologue (Jn 1:6-9, 15), John, who is never called "the Baptist" or "the baptizer" in this Gospel, is the one sent from God (Jn 1:6; cf. Jn 1:33; 3:28) as the first human witness to Jesus so that all might believe through him (Jn 1:6-7). John himself is not the light, but rather is a witness thereto (Jn 1:8). His role in relation to the incarnate Word is memorably confessed: "He who comes after me ranks ahead of me because he was before me" (Jn 1:15 [cf. Jn 1:30]). It is insufficient to suggest that John is here depicted as inferior (e.g., Scobie, 14); rather, he is represented as having a unique initial and supporting role in the Jesus-centered divine drama now under way.

4.2. *John's Witness to the Messiah (Jn 1:19-28).* John's public witness must contend with official inquiries from the "the Jews" (Jn 1:19), a cipher for the Jerusalem-based Jewish authorities (the Pharisees are specified at Jn 1:24), who send priests and Levites to inquire insistently after his identity in relation to certain expected eschatological figures. John attests emphatically, "I am not the Messiah" (intimating another who is), nor is he Elijah (compare the Synoptic stress on this association) or the prophet (Jn 1:20-22). Rather, he is "the voice" calling Israel in the wilderness to "make straight the way of the Lord" (Jn 1:23 [with John himself citing Is 40:3]).

Apparently missing much of what is implied, the delegation asks why John baptizes if he is none of the awaited figures (Jn 1:25). As in the Synoptic Gospels, in reply John deferentially delimits his supporting role in stating, "I baptize with water," and alluding to "the one who is coming after me," before whom he is unworthy (Jn 1:26-27). John notes that this one is even now standing unrecognized among them (Jn 1:26), perhaps reflecting the Jewish idea of the Messiah being hidden until divinely disclosed (cf. Jn

1:31-33) (see Brown, 1:53) or a thinly veiled critique of the authorities' unbelief (Wink, 90). All is taking place at "Bethany across the Jordan" (Jn 1:28 [cf. Jn 3:26; 10:40]), though this is but the present focal point of a cosmic scenario encompassing "all things" (Jn 1:3). It is an ironic scene in which anxious inquirers are sent by human authorities to a John sent by God to witness to the coming one, Jesus.

4.3. John's Baptism of Jesus (Jn 1:29-34); John's Disciples and Jesus (Jn 1:35-51). Here John's baptism of Jesus is implied but not explicitly described. The scenario is largely recounted from John's first-person perspective and role as a witness: "I said . . . I came . . . I saw . . . I myself have seen and have testified" (Jn 1:30-34). John's testimony is not on his own strength—"I myself did not know him" (Jn 1:31, 33)—but rather is a divine disclosure and directive that attests to Jesus's identity and vocation as "the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" (Jn 1:29 [cf. Ex 12:1-28]), the preexistent and superior one (Jn 1:30; cf. Jn 1:15) and the Spirit-anointed Son of God, who in turn baptizes with the Holy Spirit (Jn 1:33 [no mention is made of "with fire"]). As in the Synoptic accounts, John's baptizing attests to the dynamic interaction of Father, Son and Spirit. John's witness points at least two of his followers toward Jesus, followed by growing recognition of Jesus' remarkable identity (Jn 1:35-51).

4.4. John Decreases, Jesus Increases (Jn 3:22-30, 31-36 [cf. Jn 4:1-2]). Whereas the Synoptic Gospels suggest that Jesus began his ministry after John's arrest (Mt 4:12; Mk 1:14; Lk 4:14), the Fourth Gospel describes overlapping ministries, with Jesus, John and their disciples active in the Judean countryside and at Aenon near Salim respectively, both baptizing (Jn 3:22-23; cf. Jn 4:1-2 [see Keener 2003, 1:575-76, 587-88]). Although John still draws crowds, his role is receding even if increasingly at risk (cf. Jn 3:24), whereas Jesus' ministry is emerging. This development, perhaps together with discussions on purification in relation to baptism as administered by John and Jesus, required some careful processing by John's followers (Jn 3:26). Toward this end, John again differentiates his own supporting role vis-à-vis Jesus as the one sent ahead of the Messiah, and as the friend of the bridegroom who rejoices at his ministry (Jn 3:27-29). Whether the remarks at John 3:31-36 represent the final witness by John or reflections by the evangelist, they may be read in relation to the respective identities and roles of John and Jesus. Having fulfilled his commission, John gives way to the beloved and authorized Son, sent from above to testify to the heavenly sphere, speak God's words,

pour out the Spirit and bring eternal life to the faithful and judgment on the disobedient (cf. Jn 1:29-34).

4.5. John's Witness (Jn 5:31-35; 10:40-42). In summoning a series of witnesses regarding himself (Jn 5:30-47), Jesus notes that had the Jewish authorities heeded the truthful *witness of John—"a burning and shining lamp" (Jn 5:35)—they would have accepted the more extensive testimony of Jesus' own deeds, *Moses and the Scriptures, and indeed the Father himself. To the extent that they do not, it is they, not he, who stand on trial and under judgment. Later, following a heated exchange between Jesus and "the Jews" (Jn 10:22-39), Jesus withdraws across the Jordan to where John had baptized, and those who come to him affirm John's role as witness and believe in Jesus (Jn 10:40-42; cf. Jn 1:7; 20:30-31).

See also BAPTISM; ELIJAH AND ELISHA; ESSENES; EXILE AND RESTORATION; ISRAEL; JUDGMENT; REPENTANCE; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS; WITNESS.

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JONAH, SIGN OF. See SIGN OF JONAH.

JOSEPHUS

The importance of the writings of Josephus for the study of Jesus and the Gospels can hardly be overstated. Josephus (born A.D. 37) provides us with invaluable insights into institutions such as the temple, groups such as the *Pharisees, and key individuals such as *Herod the Great, *Pilate and Caiaphas. Indeed, much of what we know about the so-called background of the NT is gleaned from Josephus. His writings are also regularly consulted by students of archeology, Second Temple *Judaism, the Jewish War, and Roman history in the eastern empire. Nevertheless, the writings of Josephus are not without their challenges. Over the years scholars have questioned Josephus's trustworthiness as a historian partly because of his tendency to exaggerate, his apparent biases, and his morally dubious actions during the Jewish revolt against Rome; and the few passages in which he refers to figures associated with early Christianity (including Jesus) show signs of having been tampered with by later copyists.

1. Josephus the Man
2. Works
3. Reception

4. Scholarship
5. Relevance for Jesus and the Gospels

1. Josephus the Man.

While the importance of Josephus's works is undeniable, his character remains controversial for several reasons. His description of himself as a highly educated child prodigy growing up in aristocratic and priestly circles in *Jerusalem (*Life* 1-9) is perhaps only mildly off-putting to modern readers. His self-congratulatory account of his exploits as a military leader in *Galilee during the early phases of the rebellion against Rome (*Life* 284-286; *J.W.* 2.569-3.288; *Ag. Ap.* 1.48) might be taken for little more than machismo, except for the fact that he was later accused in print, apparently with good reason, of tyranny and brutality by a certain Justus of Tiberias. What is more disturbing is his account of how he came to surrender to the Romans at the Galilean town of Jotapata (*J.W.* 3.316-391) after allowing his men to fight to the death and then encouraging the last remaining aristocrats in the city to commit collective suicide under the pretext that he himself would immediately follow suit. He would later claim to have been given a divine commission to inform Vespasian, the Roman general against whom he was fighting, that he would soon be elevated to the rank of emperor (*J.W.* 3.400-402). Whether this is in fact what happened is debatable, but the Romans evidently were more than happy to put about the notion that an eastern prophet had predicted the rise of the Flavian house (e.g., Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5; Dio Cassius, *Hist.* 66.1).

Making things worse for his modern-day reputation, Josephus then agreed to work for the Romans as an interpreter and an informant (*J.W.* 5.325; 6.129; *Ag. Ap.* 1.49) and to try to persuade the Jewish insurgents in Jerusalem to give up the fight before it was too late (*J.W.* 5.114, 261, 361-419, 541; 6.94-110, 365). It was in this capacity that he would later present himself as coming to the view, based on the book of Daniel, that God had granted the power of empire to the Romans, and that in resisting them the rebels were in fact fighting against the divine will. In the aftermath of the war, when the vast majority of surviving Jews were forced to endure the most difficult of burdens, including slavery and heavy taxation, Josephus was rewarded with a tract of land in Judea (*Life* 422, 425), Roman citizenship (hence his name "Flavius" Josephus), Vespasian's former house in Rome to live in, and a pension (*Life* 422-423). He later also enjoyed the patronage of a certain Epaphroditus in Rome (*Ant.* 1.8-9; *Life* 430).

It was during this period that he authored the

four works for which he is now known and in which he was particularly concerned to explain Jewish history, religion and customs (what Josephus calls the Jewish *politeia*, or "constitution") in ways that would commend them to a Roman public who, especially after the First Jewish Revolt, tended to have rather narrow and prejudiced views of Judaism. It is impossible now to ascertain what, if any, contact Josephus may have had with elite literary and intellectual circles in Flavian *Rome, though it is interesting to note that Josephus's works were published during a period when imperial suspicion and antagonism toward such circles was at its highest (e.g. Suetonius, *Dom.* 10; Tacitus, *Agr.* 2). This was also a time of intense hostility from certain Jewish individuals in Rome who resented Josephus's conspicuous rise to prosperity (*Life* 423-425, 428-429). In this context it is possible to understand Josephus's work as a lifelong attempt both to answer his critics and to redefine his own identity as a Jew living in Rome. The date of Josephus's death is not known, though it must have been close to the end of the first century A.D.

2. Works.

2.1. *The Jewish War.* This work (completed mid-80s A.D.) is made up of seven books covering the buildup to the rebellion against Rome, starting as far back as the second century B.C., and the conduct of the war itself culminating in the destruction of Jerusalem, the burning of the *temple, and the suppression of final resistance at the desert fortress of Masada. In his account of the causes and course of the war Josephus shifts the blame away from the Jewish people as a whole and attempts to place it on the shoulders of a small and unrepresentative group of radicals (*J.W.* 1.9-12) whose heinous crimes, he said, had alienated God and caused him to abandon the temple and the Jewish cause (*J.W.* 5.412). Josephus also exonerates Titus of direct responsibility for the destruction of the temple. A shorter version of the work, originally composed in Aramaic (*J.W.* 1.3), had been written as a Roman propaganda device to discourage rebellion among the inhabitants of Parthia, Babylonia and Arabia (*J.W.* 1.3, 6). The extant Greek version, based at least partially on imperial war records (*Life* 342, 358), was composed by Josephus with the help of literary assistants (*Ag. Ap.* 1.50) in a style suited to the cultured tastes of a Greco-Roman audience.

2.2. *The Jewish Antiquities.* Josephus's second and longest work (completed around A.D. 93) covers the entire history of the Jewish people from the creation of the world until the outbreak of war in A.D. 66. The

first eleven books of the *Jewish Antiquities* retell the story of the Hebrew Bible in the form of an expansive Hellenizing paraphrase. Despite its many embellishments of the biblical narrative with traditional Jewish materials and his own creative additions, Josephus presents the work as a scrupulous translation of the Scriptures on the model of the Septuagint (*Ant.* 1.10-17). The rest of the work's twenty books deal with the history of the Jews up until Josephus's own time. This material overlaps with much of the first two books of the *Jewish War*, though Josephus seems to have changed his mind on a number of individuals and groups in the period between the publication of the *Jewish War* and the *Jewish Antiquities*. Herod the Great and some of the Hasmonean rulers, for example, are presented in a much more negative light in the latter than they had been in the former. This material also contains Josephus's only references to some of the most important figures associated with Christian origins, including Jesus, *John the Baptizer and James the brother of Jesus (see 5 below).

2.3. *Life*. This brief autobiographical work was published as an appendix to the *Jewish Antiquities* in the early 90s of the first century A.D., but mostly it relates to Josephus's role as the commander of the Jewish forces in Galilee in a four- or five-month period in the early stages of the war against Rome. The work is a response to the accusations of Justus of Tiberias that Josephus had behaved as a cruel and despot tyrant during this period.

2.4. *Against Apion*. This work in two books (completed A.D. mid-90s) is a defense of Judaism against various slanderous accusations that seem to have been widespread in literary circles in late first-century Rome. Josephus defends his account in the earlier *Jewish Antiquities* of the long history of the Jews, their laws and their customs (*Ag. Ap.* 1.1-5), and he counters a number of salacious versions of Jewish origins, especially the ones put about by an Egyptian scholar called "Apion." The work culminates with a summary of Jewish laws and practice and an encomium on the lawgiver Moses. The work is particularly valuable for the ancient sources that Josephus quotes, many of which are no longer extant anywhere else, and as an example of ancient apologetics. Its portrayal of Judaism is also of high quality and usefulness to students of Judaism in this period.

3. Reception.

It is a salient fact of Josephus's writings that they were preserved for posterity for the most part not by Jewish scholars, but by the church. The reasons for this are perhaps not difficult to understand. On

the Jewish side, Josephus was perceived as a national traitor who had gone so far as to suggest divine approval and even support of the Roman Empire and its destruction of Jerusalem. Except for a Hebrew paraphrase of the *Jewish War* and part of the *Jewish Antiquities* in the tenth century, called *Josippon*, there is little evidence of Jewish appropriation of Josephus until modern times. Since the establishment of the State of Israel, and especially since 1967, however, Josephus has become a major aid to the resurgent *archeology in the region. On the Christian side, Josephus has been put to major use from ancient times until now. Several church fathers, especially Origen and Eusebius in the third and fourth centuries respectively, quoted extensively from his works, and these along with a Latin adaption by Hegesippus in the late fourth century ensured the ongoing prestige of his works. It is easy to understand the Christian interest in Josephus not least because of his mention of Jesus, John Baptist and numerous other aspects of the biblical narratives. The Christian appropriations of Josephus are highly problematic, though, for they often distort the message of his writings in significant ways. The most egregious of these is the way Christian scholars tended to use the writings of Josephus, especially the *Jewish War*, to argue that God had turned his back on the Jews in punishment for the death of Jesus. Josephus himself had nothing to say on this subject, of course, and understood the destruction of the temple as a tragedy that could be blamed in significant part on a small and unrepresentative cadre of misguided militants. The fact that Josephus was a devout Jew who continued to champion the antiquity, nobility and legitimacy of the Jewish faith was by and large simply ignored.

4. Scholarship.

Ever since the modern flourishing of biblical studies and especially of the historical-critical method in nineteenth-century Europe, Josephus has come to the fore as a major source of historical information. Unfortunately, many scholars have tended to mine Josephus for "facts" rather than read his works as coherent wholes. This has led to the situation where once again Josephus's own understanding and interpretation of history has been regarded as irrelevant. Further, the *Tendenz* or bias of Josephus's works has often been misunderstood or naively incorporated into reconstructions of the first-century world. Perhaps the most significant development in more recent scholarship of Josephus, though, has been the growing understanding of Josephus as a complex

and nuanced historian whose writings, no less than the Gospels themselves, need to be understood in their own terms and not just as a source of raw material for the benefit of those interested in historical backgrounds. The publication of K. Rengstorff's *Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* (1973-1983) has been of particular importance for understanding Josephus as an author with his own particular use of the Greek language. Insights derived from the study of rhetoric and critical theories such as postcolonialism have also enabled recent scholarship to gain a deeper appreciation of the task that Josephus saw himself engaged in and of the considerable constraints under which he was forced to work as a Jew in Rome.

5. Relevance for Jesus and the Gospels.

The works of Josephus are important for the study of Jesus and the Gospels in numerous ways, though in all cases scholars must be careful to understand the narrative, rhetorical and ideological aspects of Josephus's project. One of the most common uses of Josephus is for establishing the chronological framework for the whole period from the second century B.C. through the latter half of the first century A.D. (see Chronology). The importance of this for the analysis of the birth of Christianity is obvious, though there are a number of places in which Josephus's chronology is at odds with the Gospels. The most notorious of these discrepancies, which makes unlikely that Luke knew the writings of Josephus, relates to the dating of the birth of Jesus in relation to the census under Quirinius and the death of Herod the Great (see Birth of Jesus).

Another vital use of Josephus relates to our understanding of the cultural and religious context within which the stories of the Gospel are set. Josephus gives us our fullest account of the social structures and institutions of late Second Temple Judaism. His writings give insight into the operations of the temple cult, the priesthood, the pilgrim festivals and the place of the law in Jewish life. The relevance of this for understanding Jesus' relationship to the Judaism of his day is obvious (see Judaism, Common).

Josephus's writings also help us to unravel the complex interrelations between the different classes and sectors within Jewish society, including the Herod family, the Hasmonians, the high priests and the various sects (*Pharisees, *Sadducees, *Essenes), as well as the relation of all these to the ruling Romans. The Gospels' account of the trial and execution of Jesus is just one example of how several of these groups come together in ways that would be

far less clear were it not for the general orientation provided by Josephus on matters such as the relationship between the temple, with its high priests, and the Roman governors such as *Pontius Pilate (see Trial of Jesus). Josephus also gives insight into the political climate of the first century, of the tensions that ebbed and flowed during the period, and the attitudes of various groups to the Romans. It is in this connection that Josephus also describes various *revolutionary figures, some of whom might be understood as illustrative of expectations that may have attached to the Jesus movement.

Christian readers of Josephus have always been particularly drawn to certain named figures of the time who appear in both Josephus and the Gospels. Such figures include Herod the Great and numerous of his offspring, Pontius Pilate, Annas and Caiaphas, but pride of place goes to the much briefer passages that mention James the brother of Jesus (*Ant.* 20.200-202), John the Baptist (*Ant.* 18.116-119) and Jesus himself (*Ant.* 18.63-64) (see Jesus in Non-Christian Sources). This last passage, referred to as the *Testimonium Flavianum*, has, unfortunately, been tampered with by early Christian copyists who seem to have embellished the account to make it sound more Christian. Be that as it may, the *Testimonium Flavianum* is significant because it is our earliest extrabiblical and non-Christian reference to the person and career of Jesus.

See also HELLENISM; HERODIAN DYNASTY; JESUS IN NON-CHRISTIAN SOURCES; JUDAISM, COMMON; PHARISEES; PONTIUS PILATE; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS; ROME; SADDUCEES.

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P. Spilsbury

JOY

Among the wide array of terms used to signify “joy” in the Gospels (see Morrice, 17-81; LN §§25.116-34), two sets of terms are of special consequence. The first includes *chara* (“joy”), *chairō* (“to rejoice”) and *synchairō* (“to rejoice with”); *agalliaō* (“to be overjoyed”) and *agalliasis* (“great joy”); and *skirtaō* (“to leap with joy”), which typically relate to the response of those who are recipients of and participants in God’s saving activity. The second set includes *makarios* (“happy,” often translated as “blessed”) and its verbal form *makarizō* (“to be regarded as happy [or blessed]”), which typically refer to the condition of those who live their lives in accordance with God’s saving purpose.

Neither set refers in the first instance to emotions as these are popularly understood today. In Greco-Roman antiquity emotions generally were understood as irrational impulses to be controlled by a rational person. “Joy” and “happiness” refer instead to the complex of proclivities and behaviors associated with human flourishing. This latter perspective is more at home in contemporary research on happiness than in today’s popular understandings of happiness as glib and fleeting. Happiness studies today identify happiness in terms of growth (intrinsic motivation and progress on the path toward realizing one’s life purpose), integrity (the internalization and assimilation of one’s cultural conventions and practices) and well-being (flourishing and contentment) (e.g., Ryan and Deci; Berridge and Kringelbach). In the Gospels this human flourishing is not related to the absence of suffering (as in Epicureanism), but rather is more akin to the Stoic notion of living in harmony with the way things really are—although, of course, for the Gospels, “the way things really are” is determined by the advent of God’s kingdom.

The word *euphrainō* (“to be glad”) is used sparingly in the Gospels, usually in the sense of hedonic joy (or “merriment”) (e.g., Luke 12:19; 16:19), though in Luke 15:32 it is paired with *chairō*.

1. Matthew
2. Mark
3. Luke
4. John

1. Matthew.

Matthew’s Gospel associates joy above all with the arrival of and participation in God’s *salvation. The

magi seeking to honor the newborn king Jesus were overcome with joy (*echarēsan charan*) when they found him (Mt 2:10), a response that finds its counterpart in the women’s “great joy” (*charas megalēs*) at Jesus’ *resurrection (Mt 28:8). When people receive the word (Mt 13:20) and discover the *kingdom (Mt 13:44), they respond with joy, just as the *shepherd rejoices when he finds a lost sheep—a transparent metaphor for the Father who does not want any of “these little ones” to be lost (Mt 18:12-14). In a separate parable the master invites the faithful servants, “Enter into the joy of your master” (Mt 25:21, 23)—an occasion of synecdoche in which the master’s joy signifies eschatological salvation. The association of joy and happiness (see above) in Matthew’s Gospel surfaces in the parallel between this master’s invitation (“Enter into the joy [*chara*] . . .”) and the outcome of faithful service in Matthew 24:46 (“Happy [*makarioi*] are those . . .”).

The correlation of joy and happiness is most on display in the last of Jesus’ Matthean beatitudes, where we read the following parallel (Mt 5:11-12):

“Happy [*makarioi*] are you when people insult you, persecute you, and say all kinds of evil things about you falsely on my account.”

“Rejoice [*chairete*] and celebrate [*agalliasathe*], because your reward in heaven is great, because in the same way they persecuted the prophets who came before you.”

It is crucial to consider the whole of this saying, since otherwise one might imagine that Jesus encourages suffering, or that he refers to generic suffering. To the contrary, he refers specifically to suffering as the (potential) outcome of a life that exhibits the qualities sketched in Matthew 5:3-10, qualities by which one is identified with Jesus’ programmatic disclosure of the character of life lived according to the Father’s will (see Mt 6:9-10) and through which one is identified with Jesus himself (cf. 1 Pet 4:13-16) (see Estrada). Matthew’s beatitudes take this form: pronouncement of happiness + description of the group identified as “happy” + the warrant for their happiness. These are less the bestowal of happiness, then, and much less the preconditions for achieving happiness, but rather are the declaration that certain people are happy even though according to conventional wisdom they might be regarded as the unhappiest of all (see Holladay).

2. Mark.

Mark departs from the other Synoptic evangelists in his use of the language of joy. He shares with them Jesus’ *parable of the seed and its explanation, in

which Jesus identifies the rocky ground with those who hear the word, receive it with “joy” (*chara*), but soon wither away (Mk 4:16; cf. Mt 13:20; Lk 8:13). Apart from this, however, *chairō* is used only with reference to the chief priests’ response to Judas’s willingness to betray Jesus (Mk 14:10–11). A different term, *hēdeōs* (“gladly”), describes how Herod listens to John (Mk 6:20) and how the crowd attends to Jesus’ teaching in the temple (Mk 12:37).

3. Luke.

The language of joy and happiness is scattered throughout Luke’s Gospel, but it congregates especially at three points: the birth narrative (Lk 1–2); the parables of the lost sheep, lost coin and lost son (Lk 15); and the *Sermon on the Plain (Lk 6) (see Green). Luke 1–2 anticipates and celebrates God’s intervention to restore God’s people. Gabriel announced to Zechariah that he and Elizabeth would have a son, and that “he will be a joy and delight” for them (Lk 1:14). Since *John’s role was to begin the work of the renewal of God’s people, the significance of his birth extends further, so that “many will rejoice at his birth” (Lk 1:14). At Jesus’ birth, the *angel announces to the shepherds, “I bring good news to you—wonderful, happy news for everyone: Your savior is born today in the city of David; he is Christ the Lord” (Lk 2:10–11). The births of John and Jesus thus signal a world transformation, the result of which is the impetus for renewed joy. Indeed, Mary’s song celebrates God’s favor and saving action in the *birth of Jesus (Lk 1:46–55).

Jesus’ beatitudes in Luke (Lk 6:20–23) differ from their Matthean parallel (Mt 5:3–12) in two important ways. First, Luke’s version pairs fortune and misfortune. For example, Jesus’ words “Happy are you who are poor, because God’s kingdom is yours” find their parallel in his words “But how terrible for you who are rich, because you have already received your comfort” (Lk 6:20, 24). This means that Luke’s beatitudes participate in a wider Lukan emphasis on salvation as reversal. Second, whereas in Matthew Jesus’ pronouncements are made in the third person, “Happy are those who . . .,” in Luke both happiness and judgment are in the second person, “Happy are you who . . .” Since blessings and woes are announced to the same people, we may recognize that Jesus is calling people to identify themselves either with the marginal or with the powerful and esteemed. The issue is not whether some in his audience “feel” happy, since happiness is not a passing condition based on one’s good fortune. Rather, Jesus defines life’s assumptions and day-to-day values

with reference to God’s kingdom. In this sense, the *blessings and woes in Luke 6 are not so much prescriptive as ascriptive; that is, they communicate how things already are on account of Jesus’ advent (and not how things ought to be). Granted, it is a strange world where the poor can be declared to be happy rather than unlucky or bedeviled, but this only emphasizes the source of Jesus’ vision in his disclosure of God’s kingdom (see Rich and Poor).

Luke juxtaposes the unhappy *Pharisees and legal experts in Luke 15:1–2 with a cascade of references to joy and happiness in Luke 15:5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 23, 24, 29, 32, climaxing in a declaration of the necessity of happiness when the lost are found: “We had to celebrate and rejoice!” (Lk 15:32). This chapter comes in the midst of a longer section concerned with who will participate in God’s kingdom (Lk 13:10–17:10), with God’s kingdom imagined especially in terms of the end-time banquet (Lk 13:29; cf. Lk 14:15)—a vision rooted in the scriptural portrait of God’s restoration as a great feast (e.g., Is 25:6–9; 55:1–2; 65:13–14; Zech 1:7) (see Table Fellowship). Accordingly, in the parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin and the lost son Jesus interprets the positive response of tax collectors and *sinners as that end-time restoration of the lost that results in heavenly joy and mandates earthly celebration. Salvation has come, so this is the time for joy.

4. John.

In John’s Gospel joy is related above all to the salvific presence of Jesus. Early in the narrative John the Baptist is “overjoyed”—indeed, his joy is “completed”—at the *bridegroom’s (i.e., the Messiah’s) arrival (Jn 3:29). Abraham rejoiced at Jesus’ coming (Jn 8:56), and even those Jews who resisted Jesus’ message found in John the Baptist’s mission reason to celebrate the coming of God’s restoration (Jn 5:35). Indeed, according to Jesus, the anticipated time of salvation had broken into the present, “so that the one who sows can rejoice with the one who harvests” (Jn 4:36). Like John the Baptist’s joy, that of the *disciples is described as “completed” (Jn 15:11; 16:24; 17:13), this as a consequence of their union with Jesus. Jesus predicts that their joy will lapse at his death, only to be recovered when he returns (Jn 16:20–22); accordingly, after the resurrection, “when the disciples saw the Lord, they rejoiced” (Jn 20:20).

See also BLESSING AND WOE; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; SALVATION; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.

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J. B. Green

JUBILEE

Even though the term *Jubilee* occurs nowhere in the Gospels (or even in the NT), the Jubilee tradition forms an important background for understanding the character of Jesus' mission. Having deep roots in Israel's earliest history, this prescribed socioeconomic institution had become by the postexilic period increasingly linked with idealized visions of the nation's eschatological future. Near or at the time of Jesus, expectations regarding a climactic Jubilee were approaching their height; the same expectations undoubtedly played a role in Jesus' self-understanding, which in turn shaped early Christian reflection on Jesus in the Gospels, particularly Luke.

1. Jubilee in the Old Testament and Second Temple Judaism
2. Jubilee in Luke

1. Jubilee in the Old Testament and Second Temple Judaism.

In the OT, detailed treatment of the Jubilee occurs in Leviticus 25. Immediately preceding instructions on the Jubilee itself (Lev 25:8-55) is a provision relating to land usage, stipulating that every seventh year Israel was to allow the land to lie fallow, with no sowing, pruning or reaping (Lev 25:1-7). By forbidding normal agricultural procedures, the legislation had the effect of enforcing a temporary restoration of Edenic conditions (Gen 1:29-30). On the seventh Sabbath (meaning either every forty-ninth year or every fiftieth year, a question of ongoing debate) Is-

rael was instructed to sound the trumpet on the Day of Atonement so as to declare "liberty" or "release" (*dêrôr*) (Lev 25:10; a term that also occurs in Is 61:1; Jer 34:8, 15, 17; Ezek 46:17). In addition to entailing the septennial land Sabbath (since Jubilee by definition coincided with the corresponding year), this release ensured that (1) ancestral land that had been alienated (presumably due to debt) would be duly restored to the original family line (with exceptions for property holdings within walled cities); (2) individuals and families who had accordingly been forced to indenture themselves would also be released (although see Harbin). This legislation reflects two principles that were foundational to Israel's self-understanding: (1) the land belongs to Yahweh, and Israel is but a tenant nation on it (Lev 25:23); (2) the Israelites were not to belong to one another (at least not over the long term), since they were servants of Yahweh, who had redeemed them from Egypt (Lev 25:42). By reversing the conditions of slavery and loss of land, Jubilee was designed to signify "the return of cosmic order to Israel" (Kawashima, 372).

The Jubilee would also play a significant role in Israel's prophetic imagination. In his vision of a restored Israel, Ezekiel promises that Jubilee legislation will continue to apply (Ezek 46:17); the notion of Jubilee also underlies his prediction of the land being returned to the twelve tribes (Ezek 48:1-29). Toward the climax of his vision of Israel's return from exile (Is 40-66), Isaiah anticipates a "release." In Isaiah 61:1-4 the prophet foresees a mediatorial figure, anointed by the Spirit and tasked with proclaiming the "good news" of "release" (*dêrôr*), or "forgiveness" (LXX: *aphesis*), for the captives. These same captives are set in parallel with the "poor" and the "broken-hearted"; they are the disenfranchised of the remnant community and the chief beneficiaries of the eschatological promises of restoration. For Isaiah, concerns of landlessness and debt cannot be separated from forgiveness.

Although there is no evidence that Israel ever implemented the legal requirements of Leviticus 25, this does not mean that the nation was oblivious to the Jubilee as a sacred, publicly recognized event. Although Second Temple Judaism traced Jubilee back to the moment of creation, since time itself was structured by 49/50-year segments, in some sense the first Jubilee was to be counted from, and notionally associated with, the entry into the promised land (Lev 25:2; 4Q379 XII, 1-7; *Jub.* 50:4). Earlier, in the preexilic period, the Jubilee seems to have provided the impetus for various important endeavors in Israel's history, including on five separate Jubilee

years the building and refurbishing of the *temple (Casperson) (a point that may be related to Jesus' temple action, implying the erection of a new temple [Jn 2:19]). Daniel also presumes knowledge of specific Jubilee dates when he promises that "seventy sevens" (490 years, or ten Jubilee cycles) will transpire between the decree to rebuild Jerusalem and the point at which the holy city exhausts its transgression; at this time, following the cutting off of the "anointed one" and the "abomination that causes desolation," atonement will be secured, and an age of everlasting righteousness will be inaugurated (Dan 9:24-27). If one identifies the beginning of this period with Ezra's return to Jerusalem in 424 B.C., and presumes a Jubilee cycle of forty-nine years, the end of Daniel's ten Jubilees would be A.D. 66 (Barker, 26-27). (The Zealots' burning of the debt records in the same year can hardly be disassociated from this calculus [Josephus, *J.W.* 2.425-427].) On the same reckoning, this would also mean that Jesus' ministry commenced not long after the beginning of the all-important tenth Jubilee (i.e., A.D. 17).

A similar climactic time frame is envisaged in the Qumran text *11QMelchizedek* (11Q13 [mid-first century B.C.]), perhaps the most important extra-biblical text on the function of Jubilee within ancient Jewish apocalyptic expectation. Although fragmentary and at points indeterminate, the document clearly envisions the eschatological Melchizedek as an anointed high priest who, in fulfillment of Isaiah 61:1-4, will soon dispense judgment and free the sons of light from the demonic forces of Belial even as he forgives the "debt of their iniquities" (11Q13 VI). Fascinatingly, this Melchizedek figure not only takes up the role of the anointed messenger in Isaiah 61:1, but also is implicitly identified with Yahweh, where the phrase "the year of Melchizedek's favor" is substituted for "the year of the Lord's favor" (11Q13 IX). Melchizedek's role in this scenario makes sense not only because of his archetypal role in the return of captives (Gen 14), but also on account of his exalted status and role as eschatological judge in Psalm 110 (Bergsma, 284-85).

This in turn may shed some light on the historical Jesus' self-understanding. When Jesus applies Psalm 110 to himself in his final week (Mt 22:41-46 // Mk 12:35-37 // Lk 20:41-44), he may well be styling himself as a similar Melchizedekian figure with similar functions, including the task of implementing the final Jubilee. That the Gospel tradition depicts Isaiah 61:1-4 as a crucial element in Jesus' self-understanding supports this (see 2 below). If Jesus roughly shared the views of at least some of his con-

temporaries on the timing of the eschatological scenario (per Dan 9:24-27), and if he saw himself as having a unique role within that scenario, this may explain many of his aims and practices as being rooted in his vocation as the priestly inaugurator of the great and long-awaited Jubilee (Perrin, 134-48).

2. Jubilee in Luke.

Among the Synoptic Gospels, Luke is recognized as uniquely presenting Jesus as the herald of the eschatological Jubilee. However, working from texts in which Jubilee resonances are clearly present, it becomes possible to appreciate more fully additional jubiliatory motifs in the Synoptic tradition (e.g., Mt 5:3-5; Mt 26:11 // Mk 14:7).

The development of the Jubilee tradition in the Second Temple period demonstrates that irrespective of actual historical practices of Jubilee, Israel was able to craft from its Jubilee legislation images of restoration from exile (*see* Exile and Restoration). In Luke's Gospel this vision comes to the fore in Jesus' programmatic sermon in Nazareth, introduced with the words of Isaiah 61:1-2 (italicized text is drawn from Is 58:6):

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me
because he has anointed me to bring
good news to the poor.
He has sent me to proclaim release
[*aphesis*] to the captives and
recovery of sight to the blind,
to set at liberty [*aphesis*] the oppressed,
to proclaim the year of the Lord's
favor. (Lk 4:18-19)

After taking his seat, Jesus then declares to his synagogue audience, "Today, in your hearing, this Scripture has been fulfilled" (Lk 4:21). Isaiah 61:1-2 had already taken up the language and imagery of "release" from Leviticus 25 (*aphesis* occurs 15x in Lev 25), redeploing the term metaphorically in anticipation of Israel's liberation from the oppression of exilic life. The intrusion of the phrase from Isaiah 58:6, which could hardly have been accidental, doubles the reference to the term in Jesus' sermon. Accordingly, Jesus interprets his missional identity in terms of Isaiah's jubiliatory vision of a mediator whose Spirit-endowed ministry would both signal and instigate God's end-time restoration of Israel. His emphatic declaration that this Scripture was fulfilled "today" represents the inauguration of Jesus' mission as the time of Israel's restoration.

Luke interprets this Isaianic material more

broadly as his Gospel unfolds. Most explicitly, in Luke 7:21-22 Jesus responds to *John the Baptist's question of whether Jesus was "the coming one" by repeating the list of recipients of the good news in Luke 4:18-19 and extending it in ways that further echo Isaianic interests (e.g., Is 29:18-19; 35:5-6; 42:18; 43:8; 61:1). In addition to the more obvious echoes of Isaiah's interpretation of Jubilee tradition, Jesus' reference to the raising of the dead is of special interest. This is because, reflecting usage in the OT (e.g., Ezek 37) and Second Temple Judaism (e.g., 4Q521), Luke can use *"resurrection" to signify Israel's restoration (e.g., Acts 4:2; 23:6). The introduction of this phrase here, then, advances the understanding of Jesus' ministry in terms of the regathering of God's people and suggests that these other forms of ministry (e.g., healing, casting out demons) are concrete signs that the anticipated end-time liberation is now being realized. Matthew recounts a similar interaction between John the Baptist's disciples and Jesus and provides a similar list (Mt 11:4-5); however, when Jesus responds to John in Matthew, the intimations of Jubilee are not quite as strong.

Less explicitly, but nonetheless significant, are the ways Luke elaborates on Isaiah's vision by associating "the poor" not only with Israel in its subjugation to a foreign overlord but also to an array of persons regarded as marginal in his world (e.g., lepers, widows, children, the destitute), and by associating "release" with liberation from the *demonic, from *economic enslavement, and from the power and consequence of *sin (i.e., *aphesis hamartiōn* ["forgiveness of sins"]). With this observation, the potential influence of the Jubilee tradition for understanding Jesus' ministry is considerably broadened—for example, to include the Beatitudes (Lk 6:20-22; Mt 5:3-12), the lists of persons whom one should invite to share one's table (Lk 14:13, 21) (see Table Fellowship), and other Synoptic material concerned with possessions and the poor (see Rich and Poor), as well as those accounts in which Jesus extends *forgiveness, such as Luke's account of the forgiveness of a sinful woman from the city (Lk 7:36-50).

See also ECONOMICS; EXILE AND RESTORATION; ISRAEL; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; SABBATH.

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J. B. Green and N. Perrin

JUDAISM, COMMON

"Common Judaism" is defined by E. P. Sanders as that which "the priests and the people agreed on" (Sanders, 47). The basic characteristics of Judaism in the first century A.D. include unqualified devotion to monotheism as expressed in the Torah and allegiance to the Jerusalem *temple and to *Israel, God's people. Jews were bound together not by a single language or by residing in a single location; instead, they claimed a common heritage, a set of common rites, and a common conviction as to the nature of the one, true God. Common Judaism included elements of what the ancients would have called "philosophy," inasmuch as they held that their divinely revealed *law promoted a way of life. But Judaism also was a religion, for it involved a temple cult with a developed priesthood and system of sacrifices.

1. Common Beliefs of First-Century A.D. Judaism
2. Common Practices of First-Century A.D. Jews
3. Common Institutions: Jerusalem Temple and the Synagogue

1. Common Beliefs of First-Century A.D. Judaism.

1.1. Accepted Doctrines. Although there is no question that Second Temple Judaism included numerous sects, an active Diaspora and various parties engaging political and social realities, it is also the case that Judaism had a central core that generally defined and shaped Jews throughout the Greco-Roman world.

1.1.1. Monotheism. "We have but one Temple for

the one God,” declares *Josephus to his Roman readers, explaining a unique quality of Judaism (Ag. Ap 2.193). Jews celebrated this conviction in their recitation of the Shema: “Hear, O Israel, the LORD your God, the LORD is One” (Deut 6:4). Jesus asserts this when asked to identify the greatest commandment (Mk 12:29). Israel’s God created the world, established a people to worship him, and gave a law by which they could live honorably and with holiness. The prohibition against idolatry and the conviction that God works in history are two corollaries to this position.

1.1.2. Purity. The resulting outcome was a firm belief that Jews should live pure, holy lives (Lev 11:45) (see Clean and Unclean). Jews understood purity in two complimentary senses: ritual and moral purity (Klawans, 55-56). The former defined impurity based on natural human activities such as secreting bodily fluids in intercourse and childbirth, handling dead animals or human corpses, and contracting a skin disease. These states of impurity were dealt with by washing and then waiting for a prescribed length of time depending on the person’s status (priest or laity). Moral purity focused on avoiding sinful deeds such as adultery, murder and idolatry. These actions brought pollution to the individual and the land and could not be simply washed away (Lev 18:25). The Jews’ focus on purity was related primarily to temple worship, but it may have extended to a desire to be pure on the *Sabbath in the *synagogue when the law scrolls were read (Haber, 65). Lively disagreements among Jews about the requirements for holy living characterized Second Temple Judaism, and often these focused on identifying those who had greater responsibilities for holiness. Questions in this period centered not on what holiness was, but rather on who was required to achieve particular (usually more demanding) requirements of holiness.

1.2. Contested Doctrines. Central to Jewish debates in the first century A.D. were arguments concerning (1) the nature of God’s kingdom; (2) the proper response to Roman rule; (3) the role of the Messiah; (4) the doctrine of resurrection within the larger conversation about the afterlife and God’s judgment; (5) angels.

1.2.1. Kingdom of God. Jews embraced the idea of God’s *kingdom and recognized God as their king. However, Jews were divided over the matter of how God’s kingship would take shape in their midst. In general, Jews held the following three convictions in tension: (1) God as sovereign over Israel; (2) God as the “eternal suzerain” of the world (1QM II, 10-14); (3) God as Lord of the marginalized and needy (Ps

145:14; Pss. Sol. 5:2-12; Jdt 9:11-12) (Moore, 132). Some sources speak of God’s kingship in relation to wisdom or Torah obedience (Wis 10:10). Jesus spoke often of the kingdom of God (e.g., Mt 13:24-35; Mk 4:26-32; Lk 16:16). In God’s kingdom, Jews believed, there was holiness, peace, prosperity and health, with all people worshiping God in his temple in righteousness (Lk 1:74-75; Sib. Or. 3:371-380; Philo, Praem. 91-93; Jub. 23:27-30; 1QM II, 1-6).

1.2.2. Roman Rule. Attitudes toward Roman rule in Judea and Galilee ranged from mercenary accommodation to violent rejection, from withdrawal away from the wider Jewish community to full engagement in the political arena (see Rome). These reactions are similar to Judaism’s response to *Hellenism introduced several centuries earlier by Alexander the Great. J. Barclay argues that the categories of assimilation, acculturation and accommodation help sort out the variety of options chosen by Jews (Barclay, 92-96). Assimilation relates to social convergence, while acculturation focuses on shared norms and values. For example, Jews often used the Greek language (social convergence) but did not share the value of using Roman sacrifices and rituals or giving great importance to wealth and social prestige. Tobit sounds a common refrain: “Do not be afraid, my son, because we have become poor. You have great wealth if you fear God and refrain from every sin and do what is pleasing in his sight” (Tob 4:21). Accommodation reflects the application of that which is acculturated. For example, a Jewish author such as Aristobulus might use excellent Greek rhetoric to condemn Greek culture (Barclay, 150-56).

A flashpoint of Roman rule was taxation. Jesus’ comments about rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar’s (Lk 20:20-26) at the very least highlight the inflammatory nature of the Jewish leaders’ question. Jesus did not unambiguously endorse paying Caesar’s taxes, and his answer might be interpreted to question whether Caesar deserved any or all that he asked for. During the first century A.D., Jewish gangs repeatedly challenged Roman taxation (Josephus, J.W. 2.275; Ant. 17.213-218; 18.273-275).

1.2.3. Messiah. Some Jews believed that the path to a more holy and just society lay in God’s sending a messiah to lead the people (Sir 51:12 [Hebrew text]) (see Christ). No single understanding of “messiah” existed, in part because Jews disagreed on the nature of their problems and the sort of transformation that God would perform to fix the world. In general, however, Jews expected the Messiah to judge the world, rid it of sin and evil, and restore justice, especially for God’s people (Pss. Sol.

17:24-41; Philo, *Praem.* 91-97; 1Q28a II, 11-20).

The term "messiah" is found frequently in Second Temple Jewish literature, but without a commonly accepted meaning (Jaffee, 95). For most, the Messiah was a human endowed with extraordinary capabilities for leadership and holiness (*Pss. Sol.* 17:23-47), although some believed the Messiah was preexistent (4 *Ezra* 12:32; 13:26). The messianic age might last eternally (1 *En.* 62:14), or until the establishment of the new heavens and new earth (Is 65:17; 66:22; 2 *Bar.* 40:3; 73:1; 4 *Ezra* 12:34; Mt 19:28; Mk 10:29-30; Lk 18:29-30). The new age was believed to be inaugurated by the Messiah (1 *En.* 45:4-5), or it commenced after the messianic age (4 *Ezra* 7:29-43; though see 4 *Ezra* 6:9).

More specific expectations generally ran along three lines that are not mutually exclusive: a royal, a priestly and a prophetic messiah. Prophetic messianism draws on Deuteronomy 18:15-18. Jesus is saluted as a *prophet (Jn 6:14; 7:40). Royal messianism draws on ancient Israel's views of kingship and reflects texts such as Psalm 2:6-12; 2 Samuel 7:8-16; Isaiah 40—66; Jeremiah 33:14-26. A royal messiah is promoted in *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and 4 *Ezra*. The DSS look for both a priestly and a royal messiah (1QS IX, 10-11; CD-A XII, 23). In several places Jesus is called *"Son of David," a royal messianic title (Mt 1:1-17; 9:27; Mk 10:47-48; Lk 1:32; 2:4; 3:23-38; Jn 7:41-43). The Gospels note that some Jews looked for the return of an eschatological *Elijah before the Day of the Lord (Jn 1:19-24; cf. Mal 4:5-6), and *John the Baptist is identified as the Elijah who was to come (Mt 11:14; 17:10-13; perhaps Mk 9:11-13). "The variety of messianic expectations found among Jews reflects the variety of ways of being Jewish in the Second Temple period" (Murphy, 365-66).

1.2.4. *Life After Death.* The study of messiah should be framed in the wider conversation of eschatology. Eschatological deliverance remained central within the Jewish faith in the first few centuries A.D., but rabbinic texts do not include lengthy descriptions of such deliverance (Nickelsburg and Stone, 194). Jews held that a time of great human suffering and confusion in the created order would occur before Elijah and/or the Messiah appeared (4 *Ezra* 6:24-28; Mt 24:6-42; Mk 13:7-32; *m. 'Ed.* 8:7). With his appearing, Jerusalem would be renewed, although exactly how that happened was debated. Some believed that the city would be cleansed, others that a more glorious Jerusalem preserved in heaven would descend (4 *Ezra* 10:44-59; 2 *Bar.* 4:2-6; Rev. 3:12; 21:2—22:5). Numerous opinions existed about the specifics of life after death some Jews

spoke of the immortality of the soul (*Jub.* 23:31; 1 *En.* 103:2-4), others of the *resurrection of the body (2 Macc 7:9-36; Josephus, *Ant.* 18:14; *m. Sanh.* 10:1). Opinions divided on whether there would be a resurrection of the just only or a resurrection of all (Schürer, 2:543-44). Bodily resurrection reflected a larger story "in which the *present* state of those who had died would be replaced by a *future* state in which they would be alive once more" (Wright, 201).

1.2.5. *Angels.* Many Jews believed in *angels, spiritual beings from God who usually performed functions aiding God's people. Sadducees denied the existence of angels (Acts 23:8). Angels might act as intercessors (1 *En.* 100:5), teachers (*Jub.* 1:27-9), heavenly guides (4 *Ezra* 3—14) or intermediaries between the righteous and God (Tob 12:15). The NT follows this general pattern, with angels informing believers (Mt 1:20; 28:2-3) and serving as intermediaries with messages from God (Lk 1:11-20, 28-38) and as intercessors or helpers, as in Mark's telling of Jesus' temptation (Mk 1:12-13).

2. Common Practices of First-Century A.D. Jews.

2.1. *Accepted Practices.* Jews lived out their piety based on central decrees in the Torah, including circumcision of male infants, Sabbath rest and dietary restrictions. These practices distinguished Jews from their Gentile neighbors and were fiercely defended to the point of death, as evidenced by numerous stories in 1-2 Maccabees as well as by Josephus.

2.1.1. *Circumcision.* Discussions concerning circumcision are not recorded in the Gospels, likely because in Jesus' ministry he dealt with circumcised Jews predominantly. Further support for this assessment comes from the NT letters that discuss the Jewish circumcision requirement; had Jesus taught on this topic, the early church would have every reason to reference his words. The silence suggests that the topic was not contested by Jesus and his interlocutors. This matches other evidence that Jews uniformly circumcised their male infants. Indeed, Luke alludes to the circumcision of both Jesus (Lk 2:21) and John the Baptist (Lk 1:59). Philo defended circumcision by arguing that the practice was hygienic and symbolized the soul's need to control passions and avoid conceit (*Spec.* 1.8-11). In this argument one finds the sharp critique of Hellenism's adoration of the male physical body (Jaffee, 130).

2.1.2. *Sabbath.* A second well-known act of piety was *Sabbath observance, with Jews resting from their labors on the seventh day (Ex 20:8-11). Sabbath requirements mandated that Jesus be removed from the cross before sundown, the start of Sabbath. They

also prevented Jesus' disciples from mourning at his tomb directly following his burial (Lk 23:56). These actions by the disciples suggest that during Jesus' ministry, they rested from work on the Sabbath. Jesus engaged in discussions about proper behavior on the Sabbath (Mt 12:1-14; Mk 2:23—3:6; Lk 6:1-11), and he declared, "The Son of Man is lord of the sabbath" (Mt 12:8; Mk 2:28; Lk 6:5).

2.1.3. *Food Laws.* A third familiar Jewish piety known widely among Gentiles, and perceived as peculiar by them, was dietary restrictions. These included abstaining from pork and other foods but also involved restrictions on appropriate *table fellowship and food preparation. The Gospels' discussion about Jesus' table fellowship revolves around these latter points of disagreement, specifically the question raised by Pharisees about eating in sacramental purity (Mt 9:10-13; Mk 2:15-17; Lk 5:29-32). Jesus followed the basic food laws consistent with general Jewish practice. Additionally, Peter declares that he has never eaten anything unclean in response to an injunction in a vision to take and eat from a selection of unclean foods (Acts 10:10-16). This suggests that while accompanying Jesus in his ministry, the disciples followed dietary proscriptions. Given that Jesus followed kosher food laws, interpreters have puzzled over Mark's conclusion that Jesus' teachings indicate that all food is clean (Mk 7:19). This bold statement should be set in the larger context of Jewish conversation about ritual and moral purity and the spiritual value of the law codes (see Clean and Unclean). Jesus makes a related argument about the function of the law and purity when criticizing the hypocrisy of the *scribes and *Pharisees by pointing to the lengthy fringe of their garments. The background to this comment is that in Palestine (we have no evidence of this outside Palestine) Jewish men wore distinctive fringe on the corners of their outer garment known as *ššit* (Num 15:37-38; Deut 22:12; Zech 8:23; see also LXX Num 15:37-38; Zech 8:23 [Gk. *kraspedon*]). Jesus speaks against the length of this fringe worn by the Pharisees (Mt 23:5), not the wearing of the fringe itself, as his cloak included fringe (Mt 9:20; 14:36; Mk 6:56; Lk 8:44). Jesus distinguishes between the ritual purity informed by the law and the moral mandates of a pure heart that resists confusing ritual for morality.

One particular contested question in Jesus' day involved whether gnats and other swarming creatures were simply forbidden to eat, or were both forbidden to eat and also caused impurity (Lev 11:20-23, 29-31, 41-44; Deut 14:19). Matthew 23:24 notes Jesus' accusation against the scribes and Pharisees that

they "strain the gnat and swallow the camel" (in Aramaic, "gnat" is *qalma*, and "camel" is *gamla*). This comment reflects a wider conversation about whether touching any swarming insect makes one unclean. The *Damascus Document* declares all swarming insects (not simply those eight mentioned in Lev 11) as sources of impurity. It prohibits touching or eating not only those creatures that swarm on the earth, but also those that swarm in the water, including insects and larvae (CD-A XII, 12-13, 19-20). Jesus is likely referring to a practice of straining liquids to prevent any accidental ingestion of swarming creatures. The later rabbis allowed the eating of insects and larvae found in water or in fruit, and spoke against straining wine to remove such creatures (t. Ter. 7:11), demonstrating that the question of straining liquids continued into the third century A.D.

2.1.4. *Ritual Bathing.* Other acts of piety included ritual bathing, attending religious festivals, tithing and offering sacrifices. Jews agreed that they needed to be ritually pure in order to enter the temple and offer sacrifices. Moreover, we can demonstrate that they recognized moral impurity by noting their prayers of repentance and their sin offerings. However, they disagreed on how far the boundary of ritual purity should extend outside the temple and its cult. This disagreement was based on a further question about whether God's presence dwelt only in the temple or was also throughout the land of Israel. If the latter was true, then ritual purity of the sort necessary to enter the temple was imperative in Galilee.

Ritual baths, known as *miqwā'ot* (sg. *miqveh*) are found throughout Palestine in this period. An estimated seven hundred of them have been discovered that can be dated between the late first century B.C. and the late first century A.D. (Magness, 16). In the area south of Jerusalem about seventy ritual baths have been excavated, and about 220 ritual baths from 130 sites in the Judean area have been unearthed (Zissu and Amit, 49). The ritual baths provided a convenient source in which to wash, thereby keeping purity codes. The need for baths arose because the climate was often hot and dry, and there were few perennial water sources. Baths could be located in the basement floor of urban elite homes of Jerusalem, and outside and downhill from the rural houses in Galilee, thereby taking advantage of rainfall. They were also found near olive and wine presses, enabling easier purification for the laborers, given that fluids are more at risk of contracting impurities than solids. Community *miqwā'ot* were built in rural villages, along the major highways to Jerusalem, and within Jerusalem itself. Estimates range

from one to seven *miqwā'ot* in each rural Jewish village. The Pool of Siloam (Jn 9:7) and the Pool of Bethesda (Jn 5:2) were built to handle large numbers of pilgrims. Ritual baths are also located near synagogues, raising questions about whether attendants used them directly before a synagogue service. In most cases, the *miqveh* was too small to accommodate the presumed size of the congregation in a pre-service ritual (Haber, 68-69). The evidence is too meager to determine whether Jesus washed before he read from the Isaiah scroll in the Nazareth synagogue (Lk 4:16-20). Scholars debate whether purity was a concern in synagogue worship (Levine, 44). If purity was not a concern, perhaps the juxtaposition of *miqveh* and synagogue was functional and practical, providing a service to the community that did not have the resources for private ritual baths.

2.2. Contested Practices. Jews debated the definition of “work” on the Sabbath and the practices related to table fellowship, even as they agreed on keeping the Sabbath holy, abstaining from unclean food and honoring God against idolatry.

2.2.1. Contested Interpretations of Work on the Sabbath. Divergent definitions of work on the Sabbath between Jesus and other Jewish teachers led to strong disagreements, especially concerning Jesus’ healings done on the Sabbath (Mt 12:9-14). Applying Sabbath rules varied; for example, the statement in Exodus 35:3 against lighting a fire on Sabbath was expanded by the DSS community to prohibit tending a previously lit fire (4Q421 13, 4-5) (see Magness, 86). In a second example, Jeremiah 17:22 prohibits carrying a burden out of one’s house, which is expanded by *Jubilees* to include moving objects within the house (*Jub* 2:29-30; 50:8). These debates help situate the questions raised about Jesus’ disciples gathering grain on the Sabbath (Mt 12:1-8; Mk 2:23-27; Lk 6:1-5).

2.2.2. Contested Interpretations of Fasting. It is also possible that Jesus’ defense of the disciples’ actions was intended to be heard within the context of the contemporary debate about fasting on the Sabbath. That some Jews fasted on the Sabbath is evidenced in the writings of Suetonius, wherein Augustus remarks to Tiberius, his stepson and future emperor, that he (Augustus) fasts more meticulously than do the Jews on their Sabbath (*Aug.* 76.2; see also Martial, *Epig.* 4.4). The later rabbis spoke against fasting on the Sabbath (*Midr. Rab. Lam.* 1.16.51; *t. Ta’an.* 2:6-7). The Essenes fasted only on Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement) (Magness, 96), but other Jews might have fasted weekly (Lk 18:12), perhaps on Mondays and Thursdays (*Did.* 8:1). Jesus is

questioned about his disciples’ failure to fast according to the pattern of the Pharisees and John the Baptist’s disciples (Mk 2:18-20).

2.2.3. Contested Practice of Hand Washing. Related to ritual bathing is the practice of washing hands before meals (Petronius, *Sat.* 34:4). This practice has no direct biblical mandate, but two passages are pointed to as possible backdrops to the practice. First, Exodus 30:17-21 mandates that priests wash their hands (and feet) before going into the tent of meeting. Second, Psalm 24:3-4 speaks of those who can stand in God’s holy place: those with clean hands and pure hearts. In response to a question from scribes and Pharisees Jesus defends his disciples’ failure to wash their hands by arguing that such rituals do not purify (Mt 15:1-20; Mk 7:1-23). In this answer Jesus demonstrates his distinction between ritual and moral purity that extended throughout his teachings. In a related discussion about pure and impure vessels (Mt 23:25; Lk 11:39-40) Jesus argues that impurity comes from within. The Mishnah records the rabbis arguing that impurity can affect the outside of the vessel but not necessarily the inside (*m. Kel.* 25:4-6).

3. Common Institutions: Jerusalem Temple and the Synagogue.

The *temple in Jerusalem was the center of Jewish worship life; it was viewed as God’s house, his dwelling place. Thus, “for most [Jews], to see the Temple on earth was to come as close as they ever would to heaven” (Jaffee, 167). Festivals, sacrifices, teachings by the priests—all happened in the temple. Moreover, the Sanhedrin, the official Jewish governing body, met in the temple. Two important exceptions to this overview include the DSS community at Qumran and the Leontopolis temple in Egypt. The Qumran community distanced itself from temple worship because it believed the priesthood to be corrupt and impure (CD-A V, 6-21; VI, 15—VII, 4; 4Q396 IV, 9-11). Instead, the Qumran community believed itself to be God’s temple (1QS VIII, 4-10; 4Q164) (see Wardle, 160). A temple at Leontopolis (near Memphis, Egypt) was established in the early second century B.C. and was shut down by the Romans in the late first century A.D. Josephus has two accounts of its founding: in *Jewish War* it is Onias III who builds the temple (*J.W.* 7.420-436), and in *Jewish Antiquities* it is his son Onias IV (*Ant.* 13:62-73). Many Jews believed that the Jerusalem temple would be renewed or rebuilt by God in the next or new age (*Tob* 14:5; *1 En.* 90:28; *Jub.* 1:28). Synagogues housed local assemblies of Jews, providing places of teach-

ing, prayer and community governance. During the first century A.D., Diaspora synagogues were more numerous than synagogues in Palestine.

3.1. Jerusalem Temple. The temple provided the connection between Israel and God, as it was the place of supreme purity and holiness. In the ancient world “religion was sacrifice” (Sanders, 49), and the Jerusalem temple was the only place where Jews could make offerings to God. “The rhythms of the sacrificial seasons transformed the Temple into a kind of heart. Its beat circulated a stream of Jews throughout the body of Israel” (Jaffee, 174). Jews from the Diaspora traveled to the temple especially to celebrate festivals such as Passover/Unleavened Bread, Pentecost, Booths and Yom Kippur. Jesus’ family traveled regularly from Nazareth to Jerusalem for the Passover, and they were joined by a large group of relatives and friends (Lk 2:41-44).

Jews marveled at the temple’s beauty and magnificence. Ben Sira speaks movingly of the awe with which onlookers reacted in worship as the priests made the offering (Sir 50:16-21). He notes that as the trumpets sounded and the singers praised God, all the people fell on their faces in worship and prayer. In the OT the garments of the high priest are given special mention for their magnificence (Ex 28:1-43). Josephus (*J. W.* 5.231-236), Philo (*Mos.* 2.109-126) and Ben Sira (Sir 50:11) comment on their glory and splendor. The high priest officiated at festivals, but he did not participate in the daily sacrifices, so average Jews might not see the high priest or the chief priests. Luke describes Jewish worshipers in prayer waiting for Zechariah to finish offering incense. They are puzzled at his delay, and when he finally comes out of the sanctuary, they realize that he has seen a vision (Lk 1:8-22). This would not surprise them, for they believed God’s presence (name) was in the temple (Is 6:1-5).

Twice daily, at dawn and dusk, the *tāmīd*, or perpetual offering, was made, a year-old lamb (Ex 29:38-42; Num 28:3-8). It was a whole burnt offering, which meant that the priests ate none of it. This type of sacrifice was unique to Judaism; it recognized God’s bounty and the hope of God’s future blessings. The funds to make these and all the other sacrifices came for the most part through the annual half-shekel tax on all adult Jewish males (Ex 30:11-16; Neh 10:32-33). The Exodus passage seems to ask for a single payment, but it might have been understood by 2 Chronicles 24:4-10 to be a yearly payment. Jesus is questioned about paying this tax, which could reflect a conversation about the annual nature of the tax (Mt 17:24-27). Jesus’ actions in the temple (Mt

21:12-13; Mk 11:15-17; Lk 19:45-46; Jn 2:13-22) might have been in part a response to the establishment of an annual temple tax, which was viewed by some Jews as an expansion of the Exodus passage (4Q159). Moreover, the temple accepted only Tyrian silver coins, which were 92 percent silver, a very expensive coin. This requirement probably was a hardship for poor Jews.

The ordinary priests served in the temple on a rotating basis (1 Chron 24:1-19). There were twenty-four “watches” of men that worked for a week, twice each year, with some doing a third shift. Zechariah was from the order of Abijah (Lk 1:5), and he likely offered sacrifices as prescribed in the Torah and perhaps adjudicated legal questions and applied the legal code to questions from common Jews (VanderKam, 183). Jesus at a young age took advantage of the teaching in the temple (Lk 2:46).

The general political landscape in first-century A.D. Palestine included a strong Roman presence as well as a Herodian presence governing Galilee during the first half of the century. The *Sanhedrin acted as liaison with Rome and had much say on implementing Jewish purity laws in the temple and priesthood. The Sanhedrin could stipulate decisions between Jews on Jewish matters.

3.2. Synagogues. Synagogues dotted the landscape in Galilee, and they were far more numerous in the Diaspora. The term *synagogue* can refer both to a building and the community that meets in the building (similar to the English meaning of the term *church* as both a building and a congregation). We have little archeological evidence of first-century A.D. synagogues, but the meager remains point to a relatively undeveloped institution with little distinctive architecture. Synagogue leadership drew from the local community (Lk 13:14). Early synagogues did not have religious symbols such as a menorah, a Torah shrine or inscriptions (Levine, 39). Activities at the synagogue included weekly meetings for teaching, prayer and reading Scripture, as well as conducting community business. Luke notes Jesus reading Scripture and expounding on its meaning in the Nazareth synagogue (Lk 4:16-21). “That the fundamental religious activity in all synagogues centered around the Torah-reading liturgy is explicit in almost every type of source from the Second Temple period in Judea and in the Diaspora—in cities and in villages” (Levine, 41) (see Philo, *Spec.* 2.62; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.175). The synagogue meeting system had no Gentile analog; this was a unique Jewish activity in the Greco-Roman world.

See also ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB; ANTI-

SEMITISM; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN; DEAD SEA SCROLLS; ELDER; ESSENES; EXILE AND RESTORATION; ISRAEL; JERUSALEM; JOSEPHUS; LAW; MIDRASH; MOSES; PHARISEES; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS; SABBATH; SADDUCEES; SANHEDRIN; SYNAGOGUE; TARGUMS; TEMPLE.

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McCready and A. Reinhartz (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008) 47-62. **L. H. Cohick**

JUDGMENT

The role granted to judgment in Jesus' understanding of his mission and in his proclamation has sometimes been neglected (see Reiser, 197-205) and sometimes disputed in contemporary scholarship. J. Robinson has argued that the warnings of judgment attributed to Jesus in the Gospels do not go back to Jesus but are later additions (Robinson, 43). E. P. Sanders thinks that Jesus did expect a future judgment but gave no indication that he anticipated an impending national judgment like those that often accompanied prophetic visions of Israel's restoration (Sanders, 113-16) (see Exile and Restoration). For N. T. Wright, by contrast, virtually all of Jesus' declarations of judgment are to be understood as warnings of an imminent national judgment if *Israel fails to embrace his *kingdom vision (Wright, 182-86; 326-36). We may wonder whether any of these positions finally does justice to Jesus; in any case, few would contest the important role that the evangelists grant to judgment in their narratives.

1. Mark
2. Matthew
3. Luke
4. John
5. Jesus and Judgment

1. Mark.

The judgment motif does not often become explicit in Mark's Gospel, but its reality and importance are everywhere assumed.

1.1. Final Judgment. Since, when his mission is launched in *Galilee in the aftermath of *John the Baptist's arrest, Jesus summons his hearers to *repentance in light of the kingdom's arrival (Mk 1:14-15), it will not surprise Mark's readers to learn that judgment is a corollary of the dawning kingdom of God. The concluding echo of LXX Joel 4:13 (ET 3:13) probably suggests that this relationship between the dawning kingdom and consequent judgment is already evident at Mark 4:26-29. But the link between the kingdom of God and judgment becomes more explicit in Jesus' famous *discipleship teaching at Mark 8:34-9:1, where Jesus makes participation in the kingdom life of the age to come dependent on allegiance to him.

The threefold reference to "Gehenna" (Gk. *geenna*) at Mark 9:42-48 once more implies a future judgment. Originally simply a topographical name for a valley south of Jerusalem (either the "valley of

the son(s) of Hinnom" [Josh 15:8; 18:16; 2 Kings 23:10] or the "valley of Hinnom," Heb. *gê-hinnôm* [Josh 15:8; 18:16]), in Second Temple literature this valley became associated with the place of final judgment (*Sib. Or.* 1:103-104; 2:292-306; 4:186; 2 *Bar.* 59:10; 85:13; 4 *Ezra* 7:36; *Apoc. Ab.* 15:6, cf. 1 *En.* 27:1-3; 54:1-6; 56:3) (see Böcher), presumably because of the evil associated with the valley (Jer 7:31-32; cf. 2 Kings 23:10; Jer 19:1-15). In each of its appearances in this pericope Gehenna is one of two destinies set before Mark's readers. The other is described as "life" in Mark 9:43, 45, and as "the kingdom of God" in Mark 9:47. Nevertheless, judgment is not reserved for the eschatological future in this Gospel.

1.2. Judgment Against the Temple. As *prophets of Israel's God, John and Jesus naturally announce the fulfillment of God's promises to Israel and summon Israel to repentance (Mk 1:14-15). While Israel's response to Jesus' *gospel of the kingdom is diverse (see Mk 4:1-9, 13-20), Israel's leaders repeatedly set themselves against Jesus and his message. As early as Mark 3:6 the *Pharisees and the *Herodians resolve to destroy him. When Jesus enters *Jerusalem and the narrative approaches its climax, the temple establishment steps to the fore and provides the principal opposition to Jesus.

For his part, Jesus announces an impending judgment against the *temple. While there is no consensus among Markan scholars about the precise significance of Jesus' demonstration in the temple (Mk 11:15-17) (see Perrin, 80-113), Mark's Jesus interprets his prophetic action by appealing to Isaiah 56 and Jeremiah 7. The latter passage is itself a prophecy of the impending destruction of the (Solomonic) temple. That Jesus cites this text to interpret his symbolic action suggests that it should likewise be understood as a prophecy of this temple's imminent destruction. What Jesus declares symbolically in his demonstration in the temple, he announces cryptically in the parable of the tenants (Mk 12:1-12) (see Brooke) and proclaims explicitly at Mark 13:2. Finally, Mark returns to this motif in his passion narrative, where Jesus' opponents ironically hint at the temple's replacement (Mk 14:57-59; 15:29), probably suggesting that for Mark, the temple is to be destroyed both as an act of judgment of Israel's God and as a sign that it is being fulfilled and replaced by an eschatological temple of God's own making (Mk 14:58).

For Mark, then, judgment is a corollary of the kingdom: it both enters this age against the temple establishment that rejected the kingdom and stands as the final prelude to entry to the kingdom in the coming age.

2. Matthew.

2.1. National Judgment. Both John the Baptist (Mt 3:2) and Jesus (Mt 4:17) confront *Israel with a call to repentance, and both warn that God's people can expect only his judgment if they reject this call (Mt 3:7-12; cf., e.g., Mt 21:28-32). John insists that this judgment will have startling implications for the people of God (Mt 3:7-10).

2.1.1. Judgment and the People of God. In John the Baptist's view, the dawning kingdom (Mt 3:2) would bring with it a judgment in which neither privileged descent (from *Abraham) nor ritual participation (*baptism) but instead only genuine repentance would offer protection (Mt 3:7-10). We meet this intersection of motifs of judgment and people of God once more at Matthew 8:5-13. In Matthew, unlike Luke, the story of a *Gentile centurion's remarkable faith becomes an occasion for Jesus to anticipate the eschatological banquet, at which "many" will "come from east and west" to dine with the patriarchs (Mt 8:11). The image of coming from east and west was a traditional one for Israel's return from exile (e.g., Ps 107:1-3; Is 43:1-7; 49:1-26; Zech 8:1-8; Bar 4:36-37; 5:5-6; *Pss. Sol.* 11:2; cf. LXX Deut 30:4). But by presenting the Gentile centurion as exemplary of the many who make this pilgrimage and join Israel's patriarchs in the coming kingdom (Mt 8:10-11), Jesus gives the traditional motif a surprising twist (see Olmstead 2003, 77-78; 204-5n34). Moreover, the pericope also refers to final exclusion of the "subjects of the kingdom"—in this context, Israel's sons and daughters (Mt 8:12). Neither in John's preaching nor in Jesus' do we find a replacement of Israel by the nations, but both insist that the final judgment will test faithfulness to the *God of Israel, and that faithfulness will be the defining characteristic of the people of God.

The three *parables in Matthew 21:28—22:14 offer further development of these motifs. In the trilogy's central parable, the kingdom of God is taken from the wicked tenants who reject both Yahweh's servants (Mt 21:33-36) and his son (Mt 21:37-39) and is given to an *ethnos* ("nation") "that produces its fruits" (Mt 21:43). Although an emerging consensus (e.g., Saldarini, 58-63) finds reference in this *ethnos* to a new leadership group for Israel, Matthew's wider narrative, in which the production of fruit becomes the mark of the true people of God (see Mt 3:7-10; 7:15-20; 12:33-37), suggests that something more fundamental is afoot. It is not merely the leadership, but the people, that is being reconstituted (see Olmstead 2011).

2.1.2. Judgment Invades This Age: The Temple and "This Generation." As in Mark's Gospel, Jesus an-

nounces an imminent judgment: both the temple (Mt 23:37-24:2) and “this generation” face the judgment of Israel’s God. When the prophetic woes that Jesus pronounces in Matthew 23 climax with a sober warning to “this generation” (Mt 23:36), readers of this narrative are already well acquainted with “this generation” (see Mt 11:16-19; 12:38-42, 43-45; 16:4; 17:17; 24:34) (see Lövestam). “This generation” is not to be equated with Israel; rather, it refers to Jesus’ (and John’s) contemporaries who have witnessed God’s mighty acts in his mission and have nevertheless rejected him. At Matthew 23:34-36 Jesus declares that by shedding the innocent blood of the prophets whom he commissions, the Jewish leadership will bring Israel’s rebellion to its climax and elicit the judgment of their God, a judgment that would fall upon Jesus’ unbelieving contemporaries.

The judgment against “this generation” and the temple probably are linked together again in Matthew 27, where Matthew’s “innocent blood” motif reaches its climax (Mt 27:24-26; cf. Mt 21:33-46; 23:29-36; 27:1-10, 19). There, in fateful words so terribly misunderstood in the church’s history, “all the people” accept responsibility for Jesus’ innocent blood (Mt 27:25), so both bringing his mission to completion (Mt 1:21; cf. Mt 20:28; 26:28) and eliciting God’s judgment, a judgment that would find historical expression in the siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple.

2.2. Final Judgment. However important the impending national judgment is in Matthew’s Gospel, its role pales in comparison to that granted the final, universal judgment. It is to this judgment that the evangelist points his readers at the conclusion of each of his major discourses (Mt 7:21-27; cf. Mt 10:40-42; 13:47-50; 18:23-35; 25:31-46).

2.2.1. Images of Final Judgment. A number of images of final judgment emerge in this Gospel. Matthew can describe the place of judgment as “outer darkness” (e.g., Mt 8:12), or as the place where “people will weep and gnash their teeth” (e.g., Mt 8:12), or, in the parables of Matthew 13, as “the furnace of fire” (Mt 13:42, 50). Elsewhere, in language more common to the Gospel tradition, those who fare poorly in the coming judgment are assigned a place in Gehenna (Mt 5:21-22)—“the Gehenna of fire,” as Matthew 5:22 has it (cf. Mt 18:8-9), the place where “both body and soul are destroyed” (Mt 10:28). That some of these images of final judgment stand in sharp contrast to others should remind interpreters that they are, indeed, images.

2.2.2. The Criterion of Judgment. Whatever the image of final judgment, however, the criterion of

judgment is what one does. Nevertheless, the judgment by works that Matthew envisions offers no hint of a weighing of good versus bad to determine one’s worthiness to enter the final kingdom. Instead, because what one does both depends upon and reveals one’s identity (e.g., Mt 7:15-20; 12:33-37), the judgment of which Jesus speaks is always an assessment of what one’s life declares about allegiance to Jesus and the God of Israel (see Travis, 224-26). At the conclusion of the *Sermon on the Mount Jesus insists that entrance to the kingdom will be granted only to those who “do the will of the Father” (Mt 7:21). The parable that follows proceeds to interpret “doing the will of the Father” as “hearing Jesus’ words and doing them” (Mt 7:24); only this obedience will offer protection in the great storm of judgment that Jesus anticipates (Mt 7:24-27).

2.2.3. The Rhetorical Function of Judgment Language. In Matthew’s Gospel John and Jesus (like Israel’s prophets before them) warn of judgment as they call God’s people to repentance. If, as seems likely, Matthew writes after the fall of Jerusalem, the function of texts that refer to the imminent national judgment naturally changes. It is no longer chiefly hortatory but instead first apologetic, explaining God’s action in history, and second ecclesiological, inviting reflection upon the reconstitution of the people of God. The frequent treatments of final judgment, however, maintain their original hortatory focus. In the light of the coming judgment, these texts call Matthew’s hearers to faithful allegiance to Jesus in this age.

3. Luke.

3.1. Motifs Common to the Synoptic Tradition. Readers familiar with the warnings of judgment in the other Synoptic Gospels will find many of the same traditions in Luke. Luke employs, for example, traditional images for judgment such as fire (Lk 3:16-17), Gehenna (Lk 12:5), graphic punishment (Lk 12:42-46), banishment to the place of “weeping and gnashing of teeth” (Lk 13:28) and an assessment of stewardship (Lk 19:11-27). Like Matthew, but more emphatically, Luke insists that the future judgment will consider knowledge of the master’s will (Lk 12:47-48). As in both Matthew and Mark, judgment is based on deeds that demonstrate genuine repentance (e.g., Lk 3:7-9; 6:43-45, 46-49). And, once more, both the final, universal judgment and the national judgment of which Jesus warns turn on the reception or rejection of Jesus, Israel’s Messiah. “This generation,” which has both witnessed and dismissed God’s acts of power through Jesus, “a

prophet mighty in word and deed" (Lk 24:19), will meet both a historical (Lk 11:47-51) and an eschatological judgment (Lk 11:29-32).

3.2. Judgment on Jerusalem. The Synoptic tradition is unanimous in its witness that Jesus warned his contemporaries of God's impending judgment. Nevertheless, Luke's focus upon Jerusalem in this judgment is distinctive. In a saying that only Luke records, Jesus responds to the warning of Herod's desire to kill him by repeating his resolve to go to Jerusalem, "for it is impossible that a prophet should perish outside of Jerusalem" (Lk 13:31-33 [cf. Lk 9:51]). Jesus' lament over the city that refused to embrace his mission follows immediately (Lk 13:34-35; cf. Mt 23:37-39). In another tradition unique to Luke, Jesus pauses to weep over Jerusalem as he anticipates its siege and destruction (Lk 19:41-44). Two chapters later, Jesus repeats his earlier prediction of the temple's destruction, this time including much of Mark's discourse. But where Mark refers to the "abomination of desolation," Luke writes, "When you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that its desolation has come near" (Lk 21:20). And Luke alone adds "Jerusalem will be trampled down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled" (Lk 21:24). Finally, en route to his execution, Jesus warns the mourning "daughters of Jerusalem" to weep not for him but rather for themselves and their children (Lk 23:31). Having failed to recognize the visitation of God in the mission of Israel's Messiah (Lk 19:44), Jerusalem will face his judgment.

3.3. Judgment as Reversal. More than either Mark or Matthew, Luke portrays the final judgment as a time of eschatological reversal. So Luke's (less famous) beatitudes include both blessing for those who suffer now and corresponding indictment for those who know nothing of present suffering (Lk 6:20-26). The kingdom of God ushered in by the final judgment will reverse the oppression of God's faithful people, as the parable of *Lazarus and the rich man strikingly illustrates (Lk 16:19-31). In light of this future reversal, Jesus urges his hearers to care for the poor and needy (e.g., Lk 12:33), who have become the objects of his mission (e.g., Lk 4:18-19); in return, he promises reward at the resurrection of the righteous (e.g., Lk 14:14). Indeed, "whoever exalts himself will be humbled, and whoever humbles himself will be exalted" (Lk 18:14; cf. Lk 14:11; see also Lk 1:46-55; Lk 2:34).

4. John.

4.1. Judgment and the Son. As we have seen, in the Synoptics the criterion by which people are

judged is their deeds, but this criterion is nevertheless implicitly christological. As is often the case, what is (usually) implicit in the Synoptics becomes explicit in John. In the Fourth Gospel the criterion of judgment is simply *faith in the Son. This point is made repeatedly, but perhaps nowhere more sharply than in John 3: "The one who believes in him is not condemned, but the one who does not believe is already condemned" (Jn 3:18; cf. Jn 3:36).

Not only is the criterion of judgment one's response to the Son; the Son is himself the judge. In John 5:19-30 Jesus argues that because of the Father's loving self-revelation, the Son does "whatever" the Father does (Jn 5:20) (on John's christological monotheism, see Bauckham, 18-59). This "whatever" includes exercising judgment. In fact, Jesus insists that the Father judges no one, but rather has entrusted all judgment to the Son "because he is the Son of Man" (Jn 5:22, 27 [cf. Dan 7:13-14]). This does not mean, however, that the Son's mission is judgment. Although appointed judge and commissioned to a work that would reveal human allegiances and so elicit judgment (Jn 3:19-21), the Son's fundamental mission is not judicial but salvific (Jn 3:17; cf. Jn 12:47-50).

4.2. Judgment and Eschatology. If John's depiction of judgment gives readers a window into his Christology, it offers an equally clear glimpse of his eschatology. Well known for its realized eschatology, this Gospel simply declares, "The one who believes in the Son has life eternal" (Jn 3:36). Not only the life, but also the judgment of the age to come, enters this age: "The one who does not believe is already condemned" (Jn 3:18). It is not the case, however, that realized eschatology swallows up all future elements in John's eschatology. John 5:24-29 is especially instructive at this point. The paragraph opens with two classically Johannine expressions of realized eschatology (Jn 5:24-25). But Jesus continues in John 5:28-29 with a potent declaration of the future, universal resurrection to life or condemnation. For John, judgment, like life eternal, is both a present experience and a future expectation.

4.3. The Trial of Jesus and the Judgment of the World. Each of the canonical Gospels offers a carefully constructed *passion narrative in which the *trial of Jesus features prominently. John's Gospel devotes particular attention to Jesus' trial before Pilate. As Pilate sits on the judgment seat (Jn 19:13), weighing the charge brought against Jesus—he set himself up against Caesar as a rival king (Jn 19:12; cf. Jn 18:33-40; 19:1-3, 14-15, 19-22)—John's readers recall that a series of characters is complicit in this judg-

ment (Jn 18:1-14; cf. Jn 13:2, 21-30; 18:35; 19:16). But John's readers also recall that as the world unites in judgment against the innocent Jesus, it pronounces a second guilty verdict, this one a self-indictment. Earlier in John's narrative Jesus announces the arrival of the "hour" that had been on the horizon since the early scenes of the Gospel (Jn 12:23; cf. Jn 2:4; 7:31; 8:20). It is the hour of his "glorification" (Jn 12:23), the hour of his "exaltation" on a Roman instrument of execution (Jn 12:32; cf. Jn 3:14; 8:28). Of this hour Jesus says, "Now is the judgment of this world; now will the ruler of this world be cast out" (Jn 12:31 [cf. Jn 16:8-11]). John's Gospel underlines this paradox, that even as "this *world" pronounces judgment on Jesus and hangs him on a cross, it seals its own judgment and the expulsion of its ruler. At the same time, at the cross Jesus "draws all people to himself" (Jn 12:32). Probably John means both that the cross is God's means of conquest and that those who reject Jesus' mission, which culminates at the cross, thereby reject his provision of life. The trial of Jesus turns out to be the trial, and indictment, of the world.

5. Jesus and Judgment.

However uncomfortable the notion seems to contemporary Western readers of the Gospels, there is little doubt that Jesus both assumed and taught the reality of divine judgment. Not only is it the case that each of the evangelists bears witness to this, but also declarations of impending judgment are found in every layer of the Gospel tradition (see Reiser, 302-4). None of this, however, should surprise us. Jesus was heir to Israel's sacred traditions in which Yahweh is judge, both of Israel (e.g., Ps 50:1-7; Is 65:1-25) and of the world (e.g., Pss 9:1-8; 96:10-13; 98:8-9; Is 66:13-24).

In Israel's sacred writings Yahweh's judgment is often linked both to his covenant with his people (e.g., Deut 28-30; Hos 11:1-7) and to the establishment of his universal kingship (e.g., Pss 96:10-13; 98:6-9). Both of these motifs find echoes in the Jesus tradition. Jesus comes to Israel announcing the dawn of the long-anticipated reign of Yahweh (Mk 1:14-15), and his call to repentance (Mk 1:15b) is tightly tied to the establishment of that kingdom. Although Jesus apparently did not agree with John the Baptist in every particular (especially with respect to the timing of this judgment [Mt 3:7-12; cf. Mt 11:2-6; 13:24-30, 36-43]), we have no indication that he disagreed with John that the rejection of Yahweh's establishment of the kingdom would elicit judgment. On the contrary, he repeatedly affirmed this. Here,

on the one hand, John and Jesus simply fall in line with Israel's prophets as they announce the inevitable judgment that awaits the people if they fail to turn to their God and, on the other hand, go beyond them in announcing that the climactic moment in Yahweh's history with Israel has arrived.

An heir to Israel's traditions of judgment, Jesus nevertheless developed them creatively (see Bryan). Convinced that Yahweh was at work in his own mission to restore Israel, Jesus understood Israel's response to him to be *the* criterion of judgment. This is true both of the national judgment of which Jesus warns and of the final, universal judgment. Not surprisingly, then, language about the coming judgment becomes simultaneously language about the true people of God. The final judgment would reveal a people of God defined by response to Jesus himself.

See also APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING; BLESSING AND WOE; ESCHATOLOGY; ISRAEL; JERUSALEM; JUSTICE, RIGHTEOUSNESS; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; TEMPLE.

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JUSTICE, RIGHTEOUSNESS

The concepts of justice and righteousness are prominent in the OT for describing both divine and human activity. So it is not surprising that the Gospels draw upon them to narrate Jesus' life and teachings. Although these concepts are evident beyond the use of particular terms, justice is often expressed by the words *krisis* and *dikaïosynē* (and *ekdikeō* in Luke). The concept of righteousness is typically communicated with some form of the *dikaio-* root (adjective *dikaïos*; noun *dikaïosynē*). Given that justice and righteousness emerge most prominently in Jesus' teachings in the Synoptics, Matthew and Luke feature the themes more than Mark and John do (e.g., *dikaïos/ynē*: Matthew 24x; Luke 12x; Mark 2x; Jn 5x).

1. Backgrounds for Justice and Righteousness Concepts
2. The Concepts of Justice and Righteousness in the Gospels

1. Backgrounds for Justice and Righteousness Concepts.

The concepts of justice and righteousness are important ones in the context of Judaism and the broader Greco-Roman world of the first century A.D. There is a certain amount of overlap from these vantage points, but the concepts have a decidedly covenantal framing in their Jewish setting.

1.1. Justice and Righteousness in the Greco-Roman World. Justice (*dikaïosynē*) is an important concept in Greco-Roman philosophical discourse. In *The Republic* Plato refers to *dikaïosynē* as the cornerstone of the city-state. Justice, in turn, consists of three foundational virtues: self-control, courage and wisdom. Aristotle, Plato's student, understands justice (*dikaïosynē*) as both a general virtue and the specific virtue of fairness or equity (e.g., *Eth. nic.* 5.1) (Thom, 319-24). As a general virtue, Aristotle acknowledges justice as a relational concept, which provides "the norm for all [behavior] and for all relationships" (Thom, 320). In its particular form, justice is about equity and involves its preservation and restoration.

This broader conceptual backdrop establishes (1) the importance of the concept of justice in the

first-century A.D. world; (2) the flexibility of *dikaïosynē* to indicate the concept of righteousness (as behavioral norm) or justice (as equity).

1.2. Justice and Righteousness in Jewish Understanding. The themes of righteousness and justice in the OT are often associated with the *šedeq*-word group (*šedeq*, *šēdāqā*), along with *mišpāṭ* ("judgment" or "justice," among other possible denotations [*HALOT* 452]). The terms *šedeq* and *šēdāqā*, which often refer to a behavioral norm—divine or human—can have a covenantal, and so relational, cast to them (*HALOT* 1005; Voth, 328). Noting this common facet of the language helps to avoid framing the concept of righteousness in simply binary terms, as either legal norm or divine gift, which is a tendency in some discussions (Przybylski). By means of *šedeq/šēdāqā*, God can be described as righteous—that is, faithful to Israel (e.g., Deut 32:4)—and as one who exercises righteousness in relation to all peoples (e.g., Jer 9:24 [MT 9:23]). Correspondingly, people are often described as righteous when they put their trust in God and obey God's laws (e.g., Ps 37:12; Is 26:2-3, 7-10, contrasting "the wicked"). As in Psalm 5:8, for example, righteousness "springs from the relationship between Yahweh and his people, from his leading . . . them and their following him" (Riches, 196 [for a covenantal viewpoint from Qumran, see Kampen, 486]). So *šedeq/šēdāqā* may be used to denote right behavior in line with a communal standard of behavior (*NIDOTTE* 750; see Przybylski, 10-11) and frequently, especially in the Psalms and the Prophets, to emphasize human covenant faithfulness to God and other people (i.e., obedience, justice [e.g., Ps 7:8 [MT 7:9]] or God's covenant faithfulness to Israel (i.e., deliverance [e.g., Ps 51:14 (MT 51:16)]).

In Isaiah an important intertextual backdrop for the Gospels, *šedeq/šēdāqā* is often used to describe God's activity, with the accent falling on divine actions that bring "eschatological salvation and vindication for God's people" (Hagner, 112) (e.g., Is 51:5; 59:9; 63:1). As such, these occurrences can be understood in line with God's faithfulness to promises made to Israel to bring restoration and deliverance. And, as J. Olley notes, the LXX translator of Isaiah uses *dikaïosynē* (rendering *šēdāqā*) to reflect the concept of God's salvation for Israel as "justice" (Olley, 126).

Justice in the OT also falls within a covenantal framework, with *mišpāṭ*, and at times *šedeq/šēdāqā*, communicating this theme. "Both concepts [in Ps 97:2] express YHWH's ordering relationship to the world" (Hossfeld and Zenger, 474). Justice is at times expressed by a hendiadys of *šedeq* and *mišpāṭ* (e.g., Gen 18:19; 2 Sam 8:15; Ps 97:2; Is 9:7 [MT 9:6]; Jer

22:15) (see Voth, 328). Additionally, *šedeq/šēdāqā* and *mišpāt* often occur in structural parallelism with each other, indicating that they may be used more or less synonymously. For example, Amos 5:24 reads, “Justice must roll down like a river, and righteousness like a stream of water that never stops” (cf. Is 1:21; 5:7; 28:17; Amos 6:12).

2. The Concepts of Justice and Righteousness in the Gospels.

2.1. Matthew. The themes of righteousness and justice in Matthew are signaled primarily by the following terms: *krisis* and *dikaïosynē* for “justice” (BDAG 247) and, for “righteousness,” *dikaïosynē* and *dikaïos*, along with phrases such as “doing God’s will” and “producing fruit” (on the verb *dikaioō*, which usually denotes vindication, see 2.3.1 below).

There has been significant discussion of *dikaïosynē* in Matthew, given its sevenfold occurrence (cf. Mark 10; Luke 11; John 21) and its clearly redactional use in each case. It is often argued that all seven uses of *dikaïosynē* have the same sense (e.g., Przybylski; Kampen; for a review of positions, see Hagner, 107–10). Nevertheless, it is more likely that Matthew draws on a range of its possible senses (Hagner, 119; Reumann, 125–26). If Matthew’s use of *dikaïosynē* is best understood in light of *šedeq/šēdāqā* in the OT (see 1.2 above), then *dikaïosynē* may at one point highlight *God’s covenantal obligation or loyalty (e.g., Mt 6:33) and, at another, reflect human covenantal response (e.g., Mt 5:20; 6:1). Such a reading avoids a binary frame that relegates *dikaïosynē* to either “gift” or “demand,” a common dichotomy drawn more from Reformation debates than Matthean evidence (Riches, 195).

2.1.1. Righteousness in Matthew. Matthew highlights the concept of righteousness and relates it primarily to his emphasis on the *law. Jesus, as the fulfillment of the Torah (Mt 5:17), calls his disciples to covenant faithfulness—that is, Torah obedience (e.g., Mt 5:18–20). Foundationally, for Matthew, God proves faithful to covenant promises made to Israel and so demonstrates covenant righteousness in the Messiah.

God’s own righteousness is communicated in two uses of *dikaïosynē* that occur in relation to *John the Baptist. Jesus’ speaks of the purpose of his own *baptism by John “to fulfill all *dikaïosynē*” (Mt 3:15). Here *dikaïosynē* can hardly refer to Jesus’ own adherence to the law; baptism was not such a requirement. Instead, given the promises to Israel from Isaiah 40 (with Is 40:3 quoted in Mt 3:3), it is likely that *dikaïosynē* refers to God’s covenant faithfulness to

promises of restoration begun in the ministries of John and Jesus (Meier, 225; Hagner, 116). Similarly, John’s “way of righteousness” (Mt 21:32) probably evokes the “way of the Lord” from Matthew 3:3 and so “suggests a salvation history sense” (Reumann, 133). Matthew 6:33 also references divine righteousness: “seek first . . . [God’s] righteousness.” The coupling of *dikaïosynē* with “kingdom” supports understanding this occurrence similarly to Matthew 3:15, referring to God’s covenantal loyalty to promises made. D. Hagner understands God’s righteousness here as virtually equivalent to the preceding phrase, “*kingdom of God” (Hagner, 114). To seek first God’s *dikaïosynē* is to seek first the kingdom and its values.

Righteousness as Torah faithfulness is a theme that introduces the body of the *Sermon on the Mount: Jesus has come to fulfill the law and the prophets, and followers of Jesus must have a righteousness (*dikaïosynē*) that surpasses even that of *scribes and *Pharisees (Mt 5:17, 20). Here, the term *dikaïosynē* “designates the Jewish way of life developed for the followers of Jesus” (Kampen, 485). This standard of covenantal obedience is illustrated in the six subsequent comparisons (Mt 5:21–48 [traditionally called “antitheses”]), in which Jesus provides an intensification of an OT command in accordance with the Jewish interpretive practice of making a fence around the Torah (e.g., *m. ’Abot* 1:1). Central to Jesus’ interpretation is his understanding of the Torah through the lens of its central values of mercy, justice and faithfulness (Mt 9:13; 12:7; 23:23) (see Snodgrass). Additionally, practicing righteousness (*dikaïosynē* [Mt 6:1]) involves covenant actions of almsgiving, *prayer and *fasting, which should be done for God’s approbation and not for human attention and honor (Mt 6:1–18).

Matthew also communicates that covenant righteousness should typify Jesus’ followers by highlighting the motifs of doing God’s will (Mt 7:16–23; 12:48–50), bearing good fruit (Mt 7:16–20; 12:33–37; 21:43) and putting into practice Jesus’ teachings (Mt 7:24–27; 28:20). Matthew reinforces the theme of righteousness by referencing the category of “the righteous” (e.g., Mt 25:37), sometimes paired with “the prophets” (Mt 10:41; 13:17; 23:29) or in contrast to “the wicked” (*adikos* [e.g., Mt 5:45; 13:49]) (on an ironic use of *dikaïos* at Mt 9:13, see on Mk 2:17 in 2.2 below).

Additionally, Matthew presents various characters in his narrative as “righteous” (*dikaïos*), with emphasis on their covenantal obedience. Joseph is referred to as “righteous,” although the exact connotation is ambiguous (Mt 1:19). Some suggest that

Joseph is righteous because he plans to divorce Mary: "Because he was righteous . . . he intended to divorce her" (for the virtual requirement to divorce in this case, see Keener, 91). Others connect Joseph's righteousness to his merciful concern to avoid disgracing Mary by divorcing her "privately" (the adverb introduces the Greek clause and so receives emphasis). The latter is more likely, given Matthew's choice to join justice and mercy together elsewhere (Mt 23:23) (see Hinkle Edin). Abel is also referred to as "righteous" (*dikaïos*) in an indictment of those of Jesus' contemporaries who would shed innocent (*dikaïos*) blood like that of all the scriptural martyrs, from Abel to Zachariah (Brown, 51-52). This indictment foreshadows Jesus' own innocent death, and, not surprisingly, at least one character in the narrative, Pilate's wife, explicitly identifies Jesus as *dikaïos* (Mt 27:19 ["righteous" or "innocent"] cf. Mt 27:4).

2.1.2. Justice in Matthew. Matthew highlights the theme of justice at key moments, especially in relation to God's coming reign in Jesus. In Jesus' first "sermon" he announces blessings on those experiencing the arrival of God's kingdom (Mt 5:3-10). The two uses of *dikaïosynē* in the Beatitudes are typically understood as referring to human obedience; that is, God's eschatological blessings are announced for those "who hunger and thirst for [personal] righteousness" and "who are persecuted because of [their] righteousness" (Mt 5:6, 10).

Yet, the Beatitudes themselves suggest an alternate reading. Specifically, those who long deeply for justice (*dikaïosynē*) because it has been denied them will receive it (Mt 5:6) (Hagner, 112; Brown and Roberts). And people persecuted because they stand in solidarity with those denied justice also experience God's blessings (Mt 5:10). In the first case (Mt 5:6), people who are "starved for justice" are pronounced blessed (Powell, 468). This reading fits better the first four beatitudes, which paradoxically announce blessing on the spiritually destitute, the grieving and the lowest in status (Mt 5:3-5). The final four beatitudes (Mt 5:6-10) announce blessing on those who show solidarity with the destitute: those who practice mercy, integrity, peace and justice toward people in need will also receive God's blessing (Powell).

Matthew highlights justice at another important juncture. To summarize Jesus' entire Galilean ministry, Matthew draws on Isaiah 42:1-4 (Mt 12:18-21). Justice (*krisis*) is central to the citation, indicating that Jesus' ministry involves the proclamation and enactment of justice (Mt 12:18, 20). Thus, Jesus' own ministry of bringing God's promised justice to the Israel and the nations (Mt 12:18) is consonant with

Jesus' expectation that his followers pursue and enact justice (Mt 6:10). This expectation is reemphasized at Matthew 23:23, where Jesus critiques scribes and Pharisees for ignoring the weightier matters of the Torah: justice (*krisis*), *mercy (*eleos*), faithfulness (*pistis*) (cf. Mic 6:8). The final teaching of Jesus in Matthew is set in the context of eschatological *judgment (Mt 25:31-46). The criterion of judgment in this parabolic scene is deeds done for "the least of these" (Mt 25:40, 45)—actions rightly understood as embodying justice and mercy (Via, 84).

2.2. Mark. Mark's Gospel gives little explicit attention to the themes of justice and righteousness. In addition to Herod's description of John the Baptist as "a righteous and holy man" (Mk 6:20 [with *dikaïos* and *hagios* being in part mutually defining]), specific language appears only at Mark 2:17. In Mark 2:13-17 Jesus visits the home of Levi, a tax collector and newly minted disciple. When "scribes from the sect of the Pharisees" see Jesus eating with "tax collectors and sinners" (Mk 2:16), Jesus responds to their concern with this aphorism: "The healthy do not need a doctor; the sick do. I came not to call the righteous but sinners" (Mk 2:17) (see Sin, Sinner). This saying provides Jesus' rationale for associating closely with "sinners," those whom the Pharisees consider lax on Torah adherence, but it does more. The aphorism is very likely an indictment of the latter group, given that their own adherence to the Torah is called into question in Mark 7:8-9, where Jesus accuses Pharisees of neglecting the commands of God in their desire to keep human traditions. So the term "righteous" at Mark 2:17 is "used ironically of those who thought themselves respectable before God" (Reumann, 23).

The concept of righteousness is implied in the identification of those doing God's will as Jesus' family (Mk 3:31-35), with Jesus modeling obedience to God's will (Mk 14:32-42). And although *krisis* is not used in Mark, the theme of (in)justice appears in Jesus' indictment of scribes who practice ostentatious piety yet "devour the houses of widows," who should secure their compassion (Mk 12:38-40; cf. Deut 14:28-29).

2.3. Luke.

2.3.1. Righteousness in Luke. Luke frequently draws on the adjective *dikaïos* in his Gospel to express loyalty to God's ways and commandments, in concert with OT covenantal understandings (see 1.2 above). This is most explicit at Luke 1:6, where *dikaïos* occurs in apposition to "walking blamelessly in all the commands and regulations [*dikaïōma*] of the Lord." It is also clear in the pairing of *dikaïos* with "devout" (*eulabēs* [Lk 2:25]) and "good" (*agathos* [Lk 23:50]), as

well as *dikaioō* with “piety” (*hosiotēs* [Lk 1:75, which has Luke’s sole use of *dikaioō*]). Finally, *dikaioō* is defined in contrast to disobedience (Lk 1:17).

At times, Luke uses the plural of *dikaioō* generically to refer to “the righteous” (Lk 1:17; 14:14) in similar fashion and in direct contrast to his use of “evildoers” (*adikos, adikia* [Lk 13:27; 18:11]). The evangelist also portrays various characters in his narrative as “righteous:” Zechariah, Elizabeth, Simeon and Joseph from Arimathea are described as *dikaioō* and are exemplary for Luke’s reader (Lk 1:6; 2:25; 23:50). Additionally, Luke, like Matthew, can express the expectation for righteousness or covenantal obedience through the imagery of bearing fruit (Lk 3:8-9; 6:43-45; 13:6-9) as well as references to putting into practice God’s word (Lk 8:19-21) and Jesus’ teachings (Lk 6:46-49). Jesus himself is described as *dikaioō* in Luke. At the moment of Jesus’ death, a centurion exclaims, “Surely this man was righteous!” (Lk 23:47 [cf. Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14]). Here *dikaioō* may denote innocence specifically (Bock, 2:1863). Alternately (or additionally), the identification of Jesus as *dikaioō* may allude to LXX Isaiah 53:11, where God’s righteous servant justifies many through suffering (Green, 827) (see Servant of Yahweh).

Luke also uses *dikaioō* ironically to speak about Jesus’ ministry to sinners, not “the righteous” (Lk 5:32 [as in Mk 2:17; Mt 9:13]). In Luke the aphorism “I came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance” gains particularity by the preceding call of Simon, self-identified as a “sinner” (*harmartōlos* [Lk 5:8]). To this Synoptic saying Luke adds “repentance,” a theme in his Gospel. Ironical use of *dikaioō* continues at Luke 15:7: “There will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous who have no need of repentance.” In both passages sinners and the righteous are “represented in parodic ways—the former as repentant, the latter as unaware of their need for good news” (Green, 575). The delusion of those oblivious to their need recurs in Jesus’ parable of the tax collector and Pharisee, spoken to “some who were convinced that they were righteous and looked with contempt on everyone else” (Lk 18:9).

The verb *dikaioō* indicates proving oneself or others right—that is, vindication (Lk 7:29, 35 [similarly, Mt 11:19; 12:37]). Luke narrates unsuccessful attempts to justify oneself by a lawyer and by Pharisees (Lk 10:29; 16:15). Although these uses do not directly connect to Lukan themes of righteousness or justice, *dikaioō* at Luke 18:14 may be applicable. Jesus concludes the parable of the Pharisee and tax collector by saying that the latter rather than former

went home “justified.” Some have argued that here Luke approaches a Pauline usage of justification (righteousness). But it is more likely that *dikaioō* refers to God’s acceptance of the tax collector’s prayer for mercy; that is, it found favor with God (Bock, 2:1465).

2.3.2. *Justice in Luke.* The theme of justice in Luke can be traced through a combination of specific language (*krisis* and *ekdikeō*), narrative attention to covenantal responsibilities among people, especially where power differentials exist, and indication that the arrival of the kingdom of God brings justice.

In a woe directed at Pharisees Jesus warns of judgment because they “neglect justice [*krisis*] and love for God” (Lk 11:42). Justice is a centerpiece of Jesus’ parable of the persistent widow and the unjust (*adikia*) judge (Lk 18:1-8). A widow pleads for justice (*ekdikeō*) in a contested matter with an adversary. Although not interested in doing the just thing, the judge grows tired of her repeated requests and decides to give her justice (Lk 18:6). Jesus applies the parable to God’s chosen people, whose continual cries for justice will be heard and answered (Lk 18:7-8). B. Reid suggests that the widow, as the parable’s figure who acts most like God, is exemplary for believers in their “unflagging efforts” to accomplish justice (Reid, 32).

Attention to justice in Luke’s narrative also occurs at points where people are called to address injustice. In response to the preaching of John the Baptist, the crowds ask what they should do to evince the fruit of repentance (Lk 3:8, 10). John tells them to share a spare shirt with the person who has none. In response to tax collectors who ask the same, John restricts them to collecting only what is owed, and no more. Addressing soldiers, John prohibits extortion and blackmail (Lk 3:12-14). Later, Jesus warns against scribes who pursue human honor while practicing injustice by “devour[ing] the houses of widows” (Lk 20:45-47).

Finally, Luke’s vision of God’s reign includes justice as a central value and action. As Mary’s song announces, injustices that have left God’s people hungry and destitute will be reversed, so that “the hungry [are filled] with good things,” while the rich go away empty handed (Lk 1:53 [for other reversals of injustice, see Lk 6:20-26; 16:19-31]) (see Zorilla). Zechariah’s hymn speaks of the tender mercies of the covenant-keeping God, whose messianic light will “guide our feet in the way of peace” (Lk 1:79). J. Green notes that “the way of peace” is “a cipher for lives marked by shalom, peace and justice, within the community of God’s reign” (Green, 119).

2.4. John. Justice and righteousness are not prominent Johannine themes. The few occurrences of the *dikaio-* word group focus on Jesus' rightness in judgment and his vindication as the Messiah (the lone exception is *dikaio*s in Jesus' prayer addressing God as "righteous Father" [Jn 17:25]). The vindication motif fits the law court setting of John, in which the world rejecting Jesus is "put on trial" before God (Lincoln).

Jesus describes the prerogative given him to judge by the Father (Jn 5:22, 27) and speaks of his "judgment" (*krisis*) as "right" (*dikaio*s) (Jn 5:30 [cf. Jn 7:24]). In John 7:18 Jesus obliquely refers to himself as a "person of truth" (*alēthēs*) with no "unrighteousness" (*adikia*). This portrayal predisposes the reader to understand the two uses of *dikaio*synē in John 16 to refer to Jesus.

John 16:8-11 focuses on the "advocate" (*paraklētos*), who "will convict the world about sin, about righteousness [*dikaio*synē], and about judgment [*krisis*]" (Jn 16:8). John 16:10 expands on *dikaio*synē: "concerning righteousness because I am going to the Father and you will no longer see me." Although it is possible that *dikaio*synē refers to human righteousness (Lindars; Aloisi), the previous references (Jn 5:30; 7:18) and the lawsuit context suggest that Jesus' *dikaio*synē—his vindication—is in view (O'Day, 772). "[John] tells the story of Jesus in such a way that it is precisely in his death that Jesus' witness is vindicated" (Lincoln, 34). The reference to Jesus' departure to the Father is a reference to his glorification and so his vindication (Jn 13:31-33), what A. Lincoln calls "the divine seal of approval on his death" (Lincoln, 119). In spite of appearances, Jesus' departure from this world at his death is proof of the authenticity of his claims and identity.

See also GOD; JUDGMENT; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; LAW; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.

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J. K. Brown

K

KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN

According to the Synoptic Gospels, proclamation of the kingdom of God, in word and deed, was central to Jesus' mission.

1. The Kingdom of God in Context
2. The Kingdom of God/Heaven in Matthew
3. The Kingdom of God in Mark
4. The Kingdom of God in Luke
5. The Kingdom of God in John

1. The Kingdom of God in Context.

1.1. Initial Linguistic Considerations. The term *basileia* ("kingdom, reign, rule, domain") is used 126 times in the four NT Gospels (Matthew 55x; Mark 20x; Luke 46x [plus Acts 8x]; John 5x). The vast majority of these have to do with the kingdom of God/heaven, though reference can also be made to the world's or the devil's kingdom(s) (Mt 4:8; 12:25-26; 24:7; Mk 3:24; 13:8; Lk 4:5; 11:17-18; 21:10) or to Herod's kingdom (Mk 6:23). The Gospels assume a basic equivalence among related expressions—for example, the kingdom, kingdom of God, kingdom of heaven (see further 2 below), kingdom of the Father, kingdom of Jesus, and kingdom of the *Son of Man.

Statistically, what happens most frequently with respect to God's kingdom is that it is entered (Mt 5:20; 7:21; 8:11; 19:23, 24; 21:31; 25:34; Mk 9:47; 10:23, 24, 25; Lk 18:17, 24, 25; Jn 3:5; cf. Mt 11:12; Luke 16:16 [forcibly entered]), with the result that people can be in (Mt 5:19; 11:11; 13:43; 18:1, 4; 20:21; 26:29; Mk 14:25; Lk 7:28; 13:28, 29; 14:15; 22:16; 22:30), not far from (Mk 12:34) or out of the kingdom (Mt 23:13). The second most pervasive usage identifies the kingdom as a message that can be proclaimed (Mt 4:23; 9:35; 10:7; 13:19; 24:14; Lk 4:43; 8:1; 9:2, 11, 60; 10:9, 11). The kingdom also appears as an object that can be desired (Mt 6:33; Lk 12:31) or anticipated (Mk 15:43; Lk 23:51). The kingdom is a possession (Mt 5:3, 10; 19:14; Mk 10:14; Lk 6:20; 18:16) or gift (Lk 12:32) that one can receive (Mk 10:15; Lk 18:17); it can be granted (Lk

22:29) or inherited (Matt 8:12; 25:34); or it can be taken from someone (Mt 21:43). One can become a *disciple for the kingdom (Mt 13:52), receive the keys to the kingdom (Mt 16:19) or suffer on account of the kingdom (Mt 19:12; Lk 18:29). The kingdom is mysterious (Mt 13:11; Mk 4:11; Lk 8:10), so it must be explained in parabolic terms; for example, it grows (Mt 13:24, 31; Mk 4:26, 30; Lk 13:18), permeates (Mt 13:33; Lk 13:20), can be found and purchased (Mt 13:44, 45); it involves sifting (Mt 13:47), the settling of accounts (Mt 18:23; 20:1), preparation (Mt 22:2; 23:1; cf. Lk 9:62) (see Parables). The kingdom also appears sometimes as the subject of verbs; thus, the kingdom comes, draws near, has come upon people, is among people and appears (Mt 3:2; 4:17; 6:10; 10:7; 12:28; 16:28; Mk 1:15; 9:1; 11:10; Lk 10:9-11; 11:2, 20; 17:20; 19:11; 21:31; 22:18; 23:42).

From this initial syntactical foray, we observe immediately that the kingdom of God, a central concern of the Gospels, does not depend for its existence on human activity; humans do not create, build, construct, extend or render present the kingdom. The kingdom originates with *God, it draws its character from God, and it precedes any human response to it, even though its presence invites (or demands) human response.

How exactly one enters the kingdom is not transparent, however. The most natural sense of the verb "to enter" depends on a portrait of the kingdom as a container or place, as though one might move from one location to another, but it is equally possible to imagine entering a sphere—that is, entering a field of influence, activity and/or operation—in this case, then, experiencing, identifying with, participating in, coming under the influence of, and joining the community formed in relation to God's kingdom. As will become clear, this latter option makes better sense of the reality that God's kingdom cannot be confined to a particular region or set of borders, not because God's rule lacks a sense of place (as in the

older, erroneous view that focused God's kingdom on its subjective realization in the hearts of those who serve him), but rather because God's rule is not subject to any geographical boundaries.

1.2. *The Kingdom of God in Recent Scholarship.*

Recent scholarship on the kingdom of God has focused especially on a small number of central questions.

1.2.1. *When Is God's Kingdom?* Since the nineteenth century, no question concerning the kingdom of God has been more discussed than the one asked of Jesus by the *Pharisees according to Luke 17:20: "When is the kingdom of God coming?" That this question appears on the lips of those generally antagonistic toward Jesus, and that Jesus' response itself snubs the question of when before denying how the kingdom will come, has not dissuaded scholarly interest. Instead, scholars have struggled, first, to locate the discussion squarely in the biblical data and, second, to make sense of the diversity of those data.

Initial attempts among NT exegetes to explain the temporality of the kingdom were cast as reactions against the claims of nineteenth-century theologians (especially A. Ritschl) that characterized the kingdom of God largely as a present, this-worldly, humanistic moral program. At the turn of the twentieth century, NT scholars sought to relocate inquiry away from the role of the kingdom in theological and/or ethical systems and more closely in relation to the portrait of Jesus found in the NT Gospels. On this basis, J. Weiss countered that Jesus' vision of God's kingdom could not be reduced to a moral cause centered on present life, but rather must be understood as utterly future and radically transcendent. And A. Schweitzer responded with a portrait of Jesus as an *apocalyptic preacher for whom the coming of God's kingdom was imminent. C. H. Dodd would follow with his work on the parables, in which he argued instead for a realized *eschatology in which God's kingdom was experienced within Jesus' own ministry. Scholars then offered various attempts at a synthesis, according to which the kingdom of God might be understood as both present and future (e.g., J. Jeremias; W. Kümmel). In Anglo-American scholarship this synthesis (often referred to as "inaugurated eschatology," captured well in the expressions "the presence of the future" or "now and not yet") has been most identified with the works of G. E. Ladd and G. R. Beasley-Murray. Some have championed other ways to balance these two streams of Jesus' message in the NT Gospels, however; for example, C. Caragounis has spoken of God's kingdom as potentially present in Jesus' min-

istry—"potential eschatology" (Caragounis 1989)—and B. Smith has refused any synthesis, arguing instead that, when met with rejection, Jesus' message shifts from a present to a future orientation.

1.2.2. *In What Way(s) Is Proclamation of God's Kingdom Integral to Israel's Life in the Second Temple Period?* Two key figures set the stage for contemporary study of the kingdom of God by tying Jesus' message to *Israel's life: N. T. Wright, with reference to "Israel's story," and B. Chilton, with reference to Israel's liturgical heritage. Wright's *Jesus and the Victory of God* (1996) was a watershed in study of the historical Jesus for the way it situates Jesus, his mission and his message so fully vis-à-vis the politics of his Jewish world. Part 2 of the book (some 325 pages) centers especially on Wright's understanding of the kingdom of God. Although complex in its interaction with various aspects of the Gospel tradition, the point is easily summarized. Wright thinks that when Jesus referred to the "kingdom of God," he was using a kind of shorthand for Israel's story, that both Jesus and his listeners knew this story well, and that Jesus' formulation of the story was intended to recall that story so as to transform it. That is, Jesus "engaged in that characteristically Jewish activity of subversively retelling the basic Jewish story, and adjusting the other worldview elements accordingly" (Wright, 201).

Wright's approach is illustrated by his comments on Luke 11:20: "If I by the finger of god [*sic*] cast out demons, the kingdom of god has come upon you." This reference to the kingdom, he maintains, invokes an "implicit narrative": "Israel's god will one day become king; the establishment of this kingdom will involve the defeat of the enemy that has held Israel captive; there are clear signs that this is now happening; therefore the kingdom is indeed breaking in. YHWH really is becoming king; Israel really is being liberated" (Wright, 228). Wright works out this understanding with reference to a wide range of data, including the parables of Jesus, for example, but also Israel's most treasured symbols: *Sabbath, food, people and *family, possessions. In this way, Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom belonged thoroughly within the complexities of Second Temple Judaism, whose intertwined threads of religious, political and social interests could (and should) never be disentangled. God was coming as king, so the whole world would be set right.

Since the publication of *God in Strength: Jesus' Announcement of the Kingdom* (1979), Chilton's name has practically been synonymous with study of the kingdom. His numerous studies demonstrate

his remarkable familiarity both with over a century of study of God's kingdom and with the Jewish contexts informing how Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom might be heard. For Chilton, the kingdom of God is, above all else, "God's activity in the world," which effects change in the world; moreover, "the point of speaking of God's kingdom is that God makes his realm ours" (Chilton 1996, 10). In his book *Pure Kingdom* Chilton maps the kingdom along five coordinates identified from the psalms: eschatology, transcendence, judgment, purity, radiance. He then locates these within the message of Jesus: a kingdom that both is and is to come (eschatology), is both immanent and one day to be comprehensive (transcendence), is an impetus already at work in the present so that entry into the kingdom is a current opportunity (judgment), promotes a new understanding of what constitutes God's people (purity), and radiates outward while also requiring a response of performance (radiance). Jesus' vision of God is thus firmly anchored within Israel's liturgical life.

In different ways, then, Chilton and Wright provide a practical starting point for ongoing reflection on the grounding in Israel's life of Jesus' message concerning God's kingdom.

1.2.3. *Is "Kingdom of God" in Any Sense a Political Statement?* Although no one today argues for Jesus' kinship with Jewish freedom fighters (see Brandon; and the corrective in Bammel and Moule) (see Revolutionary Movements), recent study has increasingly emphasized the degree to which Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom would have been implicated in first-century politics. In part this is due to a growing recognition that modern ideas about separation of church and state (or religion and politics) had uncritically set the terms for engaging questions about Jesus' ministry; as a result, scholarship tended to highlight Jesus' "spiritual" message and to assume his indifference on political matters. Scholars now recognize generally that politics and religion were inextricably interwoven in the ancient Mediterranean world. This emphasis has also arisen through the introduction of approaches to historical study that take more seriously sociological and socio-political perspectives. More recently, some approaches to "postcolonial study" (e.g., de Certeau; Scott 1985; 1990) have cast new light on what might count for evidence of political interests, inquiring as they do into the often implicit and unspoken scripts by which minority peoples maintain and cultivate their identity in imperial contexts.

The results of this line of inquiry are various. For

R. Horsley, for example, Jesus' call to covenant renewal was inseparable from his prophetic denouncement of Roman imperial rule. Accordingly, the message of Jesus cannot be domesticated by ethereal or individualistic interests, nor can the prophetic, judgmental edge of his words be tamed. Moreover, this two-edged message is to be embodied in communities of Jesus followers, whose practices serve God's restorative action in economic and political, and not only "religious," ways. In response, C. Bryan has urged that Horsley's categories are too sharply drawn, and that his perspective is insufficiently shaped by the witness of the OT. For Bryan, "The biblical tradition challenges all human power structures not by attempting to dismantle them or replace them with other human power structures but by consistently confronting them with *the truth about their origin and purpose*" (Bryan, 9). An altogether different approach has been taken by M. Beavis, who locates Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom in the context of Greco-Roman and Jewish utopia traditions; against this backdrop, she argues for an "anti-political" Jesus, since the "kingdom" sayings of Jesus do not associate God's kingdom with a hoped-for national, political entity.

These studies help to sharpen the question of the political character of Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom, even if they demonstrate a lack of scholarly consensus on how best to answer that question.

1.3. *The Kingdom of God in Israel's Scriptures.* In the past, some scholars tended to think of Jesus' message of the kingdom in terms of his striking originality, as though Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom in word and deed marked a new era distinctive from the old. Evidence for Jesus' novelty was easily found in the absence of the phrase "kingdom of God" in Israel's Scriptures. The extent of Jesus' innovation has been mitigated and its character clarified by decades of research demonstrating the presence of the language of the kingdom in the literature of Second Temple Judaism (see 1.4 below) and the pervasive concept of God's kingdom in the OT. In fact, the phrase "kingdom of Yahweh" appears twice (1 Chron 28:5; 2 Chron 13:8), and a variety of expressions communicate the idea of God's kingdom: Yahweh bears the title "king" (some 45x), Yahweh reigns as king (13x), Yahweh rules (8x), Yahweh sits on a throne (20x), Yahweh convenes an army (*yhwh šēbā'ôt*, "Lord of heavenly forces" [CEB]), and so forth (Pigott 1988, 5-6).

Images of God prevalent in Genesis, as creator, provider and guide, are expanded in Exodus as a consequence of God's intervention on behalf of Is-

rael under Egyptian domination. God's activity at the Red Sea is celebrated in the Song of Moses with this confession: "The LORD will reign forever and always!" (Ex 15:18). J. Goldingay observes the contextual nature of this affirmation: "A king [i.e., Pharaoh] confronts Israel, so Yhwh becomes a king in order to confront this king and play him at his own game, as king delivering Israel from Egypt with powerful decisive acts. . . . Yhwh has dethroned that king. He no longer reigns over Israel as he did. Instead of being ruled by the king of Egypt, henceforth Israel will have the benefits of being ruled by Yhwh, the world ruler" (Goldingay 2003, 331-32). Captured here are further entailments: (1) Yahweh is presented as God of the universe, whose rule is exercised locally. In fact, reference to Yahweh's kingship in Israel's Scriptures moves back and forth on this continuum, so that Yahweh rules the world, rules Israel, and/or rules the world from Israel. (2) Yahweh's rule occupies two semantic domains: God the warrior and God the merciful. In this instance, God's rule is evident in the liberation of Israel from its oppressor, but elsewhere in the OT God the warrior can adopt a stance over against Israel on account of its idolatry. (3) Yahweh's rule is cast more in dynamic terms than territorial, according privilege to the notion of God's activity as king and de-emphasizing the reduction of that rule to a particular set of boundaries. (The spatial sense of Yahweh's rule is not completely evacuated from the concept of "kingdom," however [see O'Neill 1993; *contra* Dalman 1902]). (4) To affirm Yahweh's rule is less to assert his authority and more to recognize his power—a difference emphasized in references to the exercise of his power in "signs and wonders" in the exodus story (e.g., Deut 4:34), in reminiscences of exodus (Neh 9:10) or in the book of Acts (e.g., Acts 2:22, 43). The paradigmatic nature of the exodus story for understanding Yahweh's kingship is evident in a text such as Isaiah 33, in which God's redemptive activity is cast in terms reminiscent of exodus, leading to this affirmation: "For the LORD is our judge, the LORD is our ruler, the LORD is our king; he will save us" (Is 33:22).

Scriptural affirmations of God's rule are especially on display in Psalms, 1–2 Chronicles and Daniel. In Psalms Israel recognizes and celebrates what is truly real: the Lord is king (e.g., Pss 24:8, 10; 29:10; 47:2; 84:3; 95:3; 98:6) (see Mays). His reign is manifest in his creation of the cosmos, over which he continues to exercise royal sovereignty (e.g., Pss 29; 93; 104). And his reign is manifest in relation to Israel's liberation from Egypt and formation as a people (e.g., Pss 47; 68; 98; 114). The Chronicler affirms

God's rule of Israel in the hands of human kings (to whom Yahweh bestows the kingdom) and affirms that Yahweh's reign includes the entire cosmos and at the same time is associated with the Davidic dynasty and Israel's worship, leading us to understand that Yahweh's universal sovereignty included his direct involvement with a particular kingdom, Israel (e.g., 1 Chron 16:31; 17:14; 20:6; 29:10-13) (see Selman, 163-71). For Daniel, the chief emphasis falls on distinguishing God's reign (universal, everlasting) from all earthly kingdoms (temporary, limited), this in spite of the reality that God's reign is active in the context of these failed kingdoms; in fact, God's eternal kingdom can and does encroach on the exercise of earthly authority (cf. Dan 4; 6). According to Daniel, upon the downfall of earthly kingdoms, God will give his kingdom as a possession to human beings, to the son of man and the holy (Dan 7) (see Selman, 171-74).

The prophets too refer to God's reign. For our purposes, perhaps no references are more significant than those grounded in Isaiah's anticipation of the end of *exile and restoration of Israel, the goal of which would be God's enthronement in a restored Zion (e.g., Is 44:24-28; 52:7-8). At this time the wilderness herald will proclaim the good news: "Here is your God!" (Is 40:9); and the messenger announcing peace and salvation will bring this good news to Zion: "Your God reigns!" (Is 52:7; cf. Is 44:1-6). It is difficult not to hear these words in the background of Jesus's announcement of the "good news" concerning "God's kingdom" (see Gospel: Good News).

1.4. The Kingdom of God in Second Temple Judaism. Conceptualizations of God's kingdom in the Second Temple period were shaped profoundly by the context within which Israel found itself. It was difficult to square the affirmation of God's kingdom as universal and everlasting with the manifest reality that God's people lived under foreign rule. How should Israel understand the nexus between the promise of God's peaceable kingdom and such realities as the suffering of the righteous and the flourishing of the wicked, and Israel's subjugation under a series of non-Jewish empires? Strategies for mitigating this dissonance included scenarios that (1) highlighted God's eschatological intervention to establish his kingdom, whether through his direct intervention or by means of a messianic figure (e.g., *Sibylline Oracles*; *1 Enoch*; *Testament of Moses*; *Psalms of Solomon*; DSS; *Targum Jonathan on the Prophets*); or (2) relegated God's rule to the spiritual and ethical (e.g., *Wisdom of Solomon*; Philo) (see Campanovo; Collins).

With regard to the first category, a text from

Psalms of Solomon holds particular interest:

Lord, you are our king forevermore,
 for in you, O God, does our soul take
 pride.
 How long is the time of a person's life on
 earth?
 As is his time, so also is his hope in him.
 But we hope in God our savior,
 for the strength of our God is forever
 with mercy.
 And the kingdom of our God is forever over
 the nations in judgment.
 Lord, you chose David to be king over Israel,
 and swore to him about his descendants
 forever,
 that his kingdom should not fail before
 you. . . .
 See, Lord, and raise up for them their king,
 the son of David, to rule over their
 servant Israel
 in the time known to you, O God.
 Undergird him with the strength to destroy
 the unrighteous rulers,
 to purge Jerusalem from gentiles
 who trample her to destruction;
 in wisdom and in righteousness to drive
 out
 the sinners from the inheritance. (*Pss.*
Sol. 17:1-4, 21-23 [*OTP* 2:665, 667])

A number of affirmations surface in this eschatological scenario. For example, God continues to rule even when that rule is not self-evident and even when God's people fail to live faithfully under his rule; and God's rule will be manifest in a Davidide who will deal in a decisive way with Israel's foreign overlords. Indeed, this broad stream of kingdom theology underscored the already-present reign of God that would in the future be revealed universally, marking God's intervention to vindicate his people and to establish justice and peace in the cosmos. Sometimes implicit and sometimes explicit in this literature is the further corollary that just as Israel had found itself in exile on account of its idolatry, so in proclaiming and celebrating God's kingdom Israel voices its yearning to return to God and serve him alone. If God's sovereign rule is basic to a true understanding of the cosmos, so does God's rule call for the concomitant human response to God's rule: allegiance, worship, service. Combining exodus images with expectations for God's restoration of his people, Zechariah's song captures this thought

world: "[The Lord God of Israel] has shown the mercy promised to our ancestors, and has remembered his holy covenant, the oath that he swore to our ancestor Abraham, to grant us that we, having been rescued from the hands of our enemies, might worship him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all our days" (Lk 1:72-75).

1.5. *The Kingdom of God and the Advent of Jesus.*

When Jesus characterized his mission in terms of God's kingdom, he did so by working within a Jewish context notable for its diversity, but generally united in its vision of God's comprehensive, peaceable rule. Moreover, the eschatological expectation held by many would have focused on God's coming in power to restore and vindicate his people. Speaking generally, then, Jesus worked very much within the contours of the kingdom theology to which the OT and at least major streams of Second Temple Jewish literature would have borne witness: God's kingdom as God's activity—creating, providing, leading, sending, calling, liberating, judging, conquering, caring; God's kingdom as God's domain, inclusive of the whole cosmos, though centered on Israel; God's kingdom as evoking responses from God's subjects—responses cast either as allegiance or rebellion and that provide the basis for royal judgment; and God's kingdom as a datum of present existence, so that it was none other than God's already-present reign that would be revealed universally in the future. At the same time, the Gospels clearly locate Jesus in that stream of eschatological thought that tied the actualization of God's rule to the messianic hope. The advent of Jesus as God's Messiah (that is, the anointed king), then, is both simply and profoundly the decisive disclosure of God's royal rule, together with the consequent unmasking of all rules, all authorities, all powers that would compete with God's sovereignty.

As with God the king in the exodus story, so Jesus the king in the gospel story initiates no direct claims to his authority as king, even if his ministry prompts questions concerning his authority (e.g., Mt 7:28-29; 21:21-27; Mk 5:41; 6:2; the lone exception is Jesus' reference to his having received authority from God so that he is able to bestow authority on his disciples [Mt 28:18; Lk 22:29-30]). Instead, divine power is evident in his *teaching, *healing and exorcism—all manifestations of an (implicit) *authority derived from his relation to God (e.g., Mt 9:2-8; cf. Acts 2:22). Crucial to appreciate, however, is the way in which Jesus' kingship characterizes royal power: not like the "rulers of the Gentiles" or "their great ones," who "lord it over" and tyrannize others (Mt 20:25; Mk 10:42; Lk 22:24-27); rather, Jesus demon-

strates through his ministry that royal power is defined by its orientation to the marginal, to the least and to the lost. The nature of God's kingdom is exhibited through the character of Jesus the king's engagement with people.

Since God's kingdom is restricted neither by space nor by time, the questions of when and where lose their force in Jesus' ministry. Occupying center stage instead is the question "To serve or not to serve?" Accordingly, Jesus' message of the kingdom is tethered to the call to repent, and thus to align oneself with God's rule, to engage in the practices of the kingdom, and to serve as recruits who through word and deed participate in the mission of making evident what is otherwise unclear or hidden from view—God's royal rule—and in this way unmasking those powers that compete with God's rule.

Although there is at times significant overlap in their presentations, each of the Gospels represents in its own way the character of Jesus' royal mission. In the following discussion redundancy will be minimized in favor of representing what is most characteristic of each Gospel's presentation of Jesus and the kingdom.

2. The Kingdom of God/Heaven in Matthew.

2.1. Linguistic Considerations. The term "kingdom" (*basileia*) occurs fifty-five times in Matthew's Gospel: thirty-two times in the phrase "kingdom of heaven" (*basileia tōn ouranōn*, "kingdom of the heavens"), nine times without a modifier ("the kingdom" [Mt 4:23; 6:33; 8:12; 9:35; 13:19, 38; 21:43; 24:14; 25:34]), three times in the phrase "kingdom of God" (*basileia tou theou* [Mt 12:28; 19:24; 21:31]), three times as the Father's kingdom (Mt 6:10; 13:43; 26:29), twice as the Son of Man's kingdom (Mt 13:41; 16:28; cf. Mt 25:31-46), once as Jesus' kingdom (Mt 20:21) and five times with reference to the kingdoms of others (Mt 4:8; 12:25, 26; 24:7 [2x]). Additionally, the term "king" (*basileus*) occurs twenty-two times, six of which refer to Jesus, however ironically (Mt 2:2; 21:5; 27:11, 29, 37, 42). (Note that statistics such as these invariably involve judgment calls. For example, in many English translations Mt 6:33 refers to "kingdom of God," even though the text is uncertain; the absence of *tou theou* in codices \aleph and B, the use of *basileia* alone in sixteen percent of its references to God's kingdom, and the scribal tendency to improve awkward constructions all suggest that the initial text read *basileia* without the modifier *tou theou*.)

The significance of the kingdom to Matthew's narrative is suggested not only by the presence of this vocabulary, but also by the strategic location of these terms. King or kingdom language is spread

throughout the Gospel, appearing in twenty-five of its twenty-eight chapters. The ministries of *John the Baptist, Jesus and the disciples are introduced with the same proclamation: "The kingdom of heaven is near!" (Mt 3:2; 4:8; 10:7). Matthew summarizes Jesus' message with the phrase "the good news of the kingdom" (Mt 4:23; 9:35), and Jesus uses the same phrase to refer to missionary proclamation (Mt 24:14). As a biographical narrative, Matthew's Gospel broadcasts and celebrates Jesus' kingship above all by showing the centrality of the kingdom to his message and by interpreting his deeds as manifestations of the heavenly kingdom.

Among the Synoptic Gospels, Matthew is unique in his use of the phrase "kingdom of heaven." The usual explanation given for this novelty is that this most Jewish of Gospels uses "heaven" as a respectful circumlocution for "God." On the positive side of the ledger, this claim has led students of Matthew to insist that the phrases "kingdom of heaven" and "kingdom of God" do not refer to two different entities, and especially do not specify a heavenly versus an earthly kingdom or a present reality versus a future destination. That Matthew can collocate "kingdom of heaven" with "kingdom of God" (Mt 19:23-24), and that he uses "kingdom of heaven" where the other evangelists use "kingdom of God," are enough to invalidate distinctions of that nature (e.g., Mt 4:17 // Mk 1:15; Mt 5:3 // Lk 6:20; Mt 8:11 // Lk 13:28). However, appeals to Matthew's aversion to the divine name in the phrase "kingdom of God" fail to make sense of Matthew's use of the term "God" (*theos*) some fifty times and do not easily account for the fourfold appearance of the phrase "kingdom of God" in Matthew. Moreover, as J. Pennington has demonstrated, this explanation has too easily allowed readers of Matthew to bypass inquiry into the significance of the modifier "of heaven."

According to Pennington, Matthew prefers the language of "kingdom of heaven" on account of the influence of Daniel 2-7, which accentuates the disparity between earthly kingdoms and the heavenly kingdom. Daniel's emphasis on the God of heaven—who is "the king of heaven" (Dan 4:34)—in contrast with earthly kings and kingdoms has in Matthew's hands morphed into a programmatic presentation of God as the heavenly Father and God's kingdom as the heavenly kingdom, over against earthly kings and kingdoms. Note, for example, how the first three appearances of the term "kingdom" contrast the heavenly kingdom in John's and Jesus' proclamation (Mt 3:2; 4:17) with the devil's displaying for Jesus "all the worldly kingdoms" (Mt 4:8). Pennington has

also demonstrated that the pair “heaven and earth” is thematic for the first evangelist, whose narrative highlights the present contrast between these two realms and anticipates the time when this contrast will be resolved (e.g., Mt 6:9-10; 19:28; 28:18). The kingdom is “of heaven” in terms of its origin and attributes; that is, the kingdom draws its character from the Father’s domain (cf. Mt 5:34; 6:1-21). Accordingly, the kingdom proclaimed by John, Jesus and Jesus’ disciples is distinguished from earthly kingdoms and the patterns of life associated with and determined by them. In short, Matthew prefers “kingdom of heaven” not because of his aversion to referring to Yahweh as God, but rather to emphasize the heavenly origins and nature of the kingdom.

2.2. The Heavenly Kingdom. Even if the advent of Jesus is marked as the arrival of the king and he discloses in a decisive way the heavenly kingdom in his message and deeds, it is also true that, for Matthew, God’s kingdom spans all times. This is immediately obvious in part from the essential continuity that runs from John (Mt 3:2), to Jesus (Mt 4:17, 23; 9:35), to the mission of the twelve (Mt 10:7), to the ongoing mission of Jesus’ followers (Mt 24:14), to the eschaton itself (Mt 25:1, 34; 26:29). In addition, the introduction of Jesus as king is set within a *birth narrative accentuating God’s past activity on behalf of God’s people and shows Jesus’ continuity with and consummation of that history (Mt 1—2) (see Hanan, 21-32).

The beginnings of John’s ministry, and then Jesus’, are associated with the announcement of the kingdom, particularly with respect to the demands of the kingdom, abbreviated in the single term “Repent!” (Mt 3:2; 4:8) (*see* Repentance). Both John and Jesus thus associate the coming of the heavenly kingdom with the restoration of Israel that brings with it the mandate that God’s people reorient their allegiances toward the God whose *Son brings near the heavenly realm. Jesus has come to actualize the law and the prophets (Mt 5:17), to forgive and heal (Mt 9:6), to call sinners (Mt 9:13), to bring division (Mt 10:34-35), to befriend tax collectors and sinners (Mt 11:19) and “to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many” (Mt 20:25-28); and he will come in eschatological judgment (Mt 24:37-44), exhibiting in these ways the nature of the kingdom and articulating the character of the lives of those disciplined for the kingdom. We know who repents, since their lives display dispositions and behaviors (“fruit” [cf. Mt 3:8; 21:43]) appropriate to a changed heart and life. This includes recognizing one’s powerlessness and concomitant desire for God to act (Mt 5:3) and

attracting harassment on account of one’s identification with Jesus (Mt 5:10), as well as the other dispositions and behaviors outlined in the Beatitudes, all of which are framed with reference to those to whom the kingdom of heaven belongs (Mt 5:3-10). Allegiance to the kingdom is realized in holiness, righteousness and obedience to the Father’s will (e.g., Mt 5:20; 7:16-23; 22:1-14). Orientation to the kingdom relativizes all other needs and priorities and all other claims on one’s life (Mt 6:33; 13:44-46).

Matthew never provides a dictionary-type definition of the kingdom, but rather works out its character in terms of its origins (so it takes its character from heaven and not this world) and its king (so its character is on display in Matthew’s biography of Jesus). More particularly, the nature of the kingdom is disclosed through descriptions of Jesus’ mission, which he shares with his followers and in his (often parabolic) instruction. The summary of Jesus’ mission in Matthew 4:23 includes teaching, preaching and healing as demonstrations of the good news of the proximity of the kingdom of heaven; significantly, then, this good news unfolds, first, through the *Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5—7) and, second, in a chain of powerful deeds through which a leper, the slave of a Gentile army officer, an old woman, the *demon-possessed, a paralytic, a tax collector, a young girl and the *blind are restored (Mt 8—9). Such missional activity actually draws the battle lines in a clash of kingdoms, whether with Satan’s kingdom (e.g., Mt 12:22-28) or with Jesus’ opponents who seem possessed of earthly rather than heavenly allegiances (Mt 12:10-14). In a lengthy section of parables (Mt 13:1-53) Jesus holds *ethics and *eschatology in tension. *Judgment will come, but in the meantime the good and bad, wheat and weeds, will exist side by side. His followers are to use the calculus of the end-time judgment as they work out the nature of present faithfulness, discerning and performing God’s will, and can anticipate hostility and rejection as aspects of present life for those who live faithfully among “this evil generation.” In the midst of harassment and charlatanism, aligning oneself with the kingdom is worth any price. Jesus further emphasizes in his interactions with others the implications of one’s entry into the heavenly realm for family relations and marriage, mutual forgiveness, and possessions, and toward society’s marginal people (e.g., Mt 12:46-50; 19:1-30). The nature of the heavenly empire determines the basis of eschatological judgment (Mt 7:21; 25:31-46; cf. Mt 13:24-30, 37-43, 47-50). Without calling for an assault on the Roman Empire or registering people for an anti-

imperial insurgence, through his own example and in his teaching Jesus has thus identified and authorized a series of life scripts—patterns of believing and behaving—that unmask and defy earth-bound and earth-determined kingdoms like that of *Rome.

Finally, Jesus enters *Jerusalem as Israel's king (Mt 21:5). Here the clash of kingdoms reaches its apex as the way of Jesus (God's heavenly kingdom drawn near) and the ways of the kingdoms of this world (represented by the temple elite and the Roman governor) face off (cf., e.g., Mt 26:47-56, 64). There he is executed, ironically, as a pretender to the throne (Mt 27:11, 28-29, 37, 42). Jesus' resurrection from the dead signals God's vindication of Jesus; he is the one who disclosed and embodied authentically the Father's kingdom. In the final scene of the Gospel we find that in Jesus the distance between *heaven and earth is bridged (Mt 28:18).

2.3. Keys of the Kingdom. Unique among the Gospels is a kingdom saying in Matthew that presses a question about the relationship between the heavenly kingdom and the church: "And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church. The gates of the underworld will not be able to stand against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven" (Mt 16:18-19). Since Matthew is the only evangelist to use the term *"church" (*ekklesia*), it is not surprising that this issue is raised overtly only by his Gospel. Here Jesus portrays the kingdom as a city that one enters by means of gates, and he names wielding the keys to the kingdom's gates as the means by which Peter would function as the rock on which the church is built and by which people would be freed from the grip of the underworld (i.e., from death [*hadēs*, "the place of the dead"])). What might this mean? First, in Matthew's narrative "entering" the kingdom is predicated on one's conformity to the covenant with God, particularly on doing the Father's will, for example, with regard to children and the poor (Mt 5:20; 7:21; 18:1-4; 19:23-24). Second, the nature of the wordplay in Matthew 16:18, from the masculine noun *petros* ("rock") to the feminine noun *petra* ("rock"), makes it difficult simply to equate Peter (*petros*) the apostle with the *petra* ("bedrock") on which the church is built; Jesus' point is focused rather on the foundational apostolic testimony to Jesus' identity as "Messiah, Son of the living God," a revelation originating with the heavenly Father (Mt 16:16-17) (see further Hannan, 141-45; Caragounis 1990). The keys to the heavenly kingdom are thus identified with the apos-

toloc message, which points toward the commission that Peter and the others receive from Jesus to make disciples of all nations (Mt 28:18-20; that the others share this role, see Mt 18:18). For Matthew, then, the church is the faithful remnant of those who have now entered the sphere of God's heavenly rule through living conversionary lives and then carry on Jesus' mission of disclosing in word and deed the character of the kingdom as they confess him as *Christ and *Son of God.

3. The Kingdom of God in Mark.

3.1. Linguistic Considerations. The term "kingdom" (*basileia*) occurs twenty times in Mark's Gospel: fourteen times in the expression "kingdom of God" (*basileia tou theou* [Mk 1:15; 4:11, 26, 30; 9:1, 47; 10:14, 15, 23, 24, 25; 12:34; 14:25; 15:43]), once with reference to "the coming kingdom of our ancestor David" (Mk 11:10), and five times with reference to other kingdoms (Mk 3:24 [2x]; 6:23; 13:8 [2x]). The term "king" (*basileus*) occurs twelve times: five with reference to *Herod (Mk 6:14-29), once with reference to those "governors and kings" before whom Jesus' followers will testify (Mk 13:9), and six times in Mark's passion account, where "King of the Jews/Israel" (Mk 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26, 32) is collocated with "Christ/Messiah" (Mk 14:61; 15:32) in an ironic presentation of the reason for which Jesus is condemned to die.

3.2. Kingdom and Christology. The stage is set, both for the Gospel as a whole and for Mark's understanding of God's kingdom, in Mark 1:15a: "The decisive time [*kairos*] has been fulfilled; God's kingdom has drawn near." In a startling paraphrase, D. Wenham captures the significance of this summary: "The longed-for revolution is now underway" (Wenham 1989, 22). With this intriguing image Wenham draws attention to OT prophetic expectations for *peace and *justice, the restoration of a people and a world out of step with their God, and God's kingship over the whole earth. For Mark, the advent of Jesus is synchronized with the kingdom's drawing near, so that Jesus decisively unveils the presence and character of God's kingship; and the call to believe and repent (Mk 1:15b) is a call, as it were, "to join the revolution."

Mark has structured the preface to his Gospel with dual references to the "good news": the "good news of Jesus Christ, God's Son," which is grounded in Scripture (Mk 1:1-3; cf. Ex 23:20; Is 40:3; Mal 3:1), and "the good news of God," which is proclaimed by Jesus (Mk 1:14-15). As the evangelist draws particular attention to Isaiah and, in fact, constructs his preface with repeated echoes of Isaiah 40-66, it almost

goes without saying that his understanding of God's kingdom builds on the Isaianic portrait of God's restoration of Israel from *exile, the new exodus, the eschatological disclosure of God's reign (e.g., Is 40:1-9; 53:7) (see Watts). This means, first, that the coming of Jesus signals the new exodus; second, that the times have changed so that the structure of the cosmos must now be gauged through fresh lens; third, that the whole of what follows in Mark's Gospel expounds on Jesus' announcement of God's kingdom.

The synchrony of Jesus' entry into the scene and the decisive disclosure of God's kingdom (Mk 1:9-15) is matched by a later synchrony in Mark's Gospel. The words of those who lead Jesus' parade into Jerusalem (see Triumphal Entry) are set in parallel:

Hosanna!

Blessed is the one who comes [*ho erchomenos*] in the name of the Lord!

Blessed is the coming [*hē erchomenē*] kingdom of our father David!

Hosanna in the highest heaven! (Mk 11:9-10)

The twofold use of present participial forms of the verb "to come" (*erchomai*) ensures that the coming of Jesus signifies the coming of David's kingdom, identifying Jesus with the Davidic dynasty (see Son of David) and, at the same time, with Israel's end-time restoration.

The christological interests of Mark's theology of the kingdom are emphasized further by the observation that Jesus is the only person within the Mark narrative who uses the phrase "kingdom of God." No one else, not even his disciples, uses this phrase, even though they otherwise participate in a mission modeled on his (Mk 6:7, 12-13). In conveying his story, the evangelist himself uses the phrase only once: Joseph of Arimathea awaited God's kingdom (Mk 15:43). We recognize then that others may hope for God's kingdom, and still others may receive authority to heal, exorcise demons and call for repentance in light of the kingdom now revealed in Jesus' person and mission, but Jesus alone renders the kingdom near.

It follows that Jesus alone demonstrates the nature of the kingdom. Thus, the arrival of the kingdom entails an assault on Satan and his minions (Mk 1:12-13, 21-27; 3:22-30), calls for an overturning of norms with regard to honor and status (Mk 10:13-16), and prioritizes *love of God and love of neighbor (Mk 12:28-34). Consequently, Mark's "revolution" cannot be identified with any human movement or program; rather, it is an inversion of

conventional values realized through the intrusion of the conventions, values and standards of God's empire, which, it must be said, undercuts all human-originated and human-led systems.

Moreover, Jesus sets out the appropriate human response to the inauguration of God's kingdom. They are to trust that, indeed, God's kingdom has come; and, trusting, they are to repent (Mk 1:15). Trusting may be a complicated affair because the kingdom may not be readily apparent to those with untrained eyes and ears (see Mk 4:9, 11, 23, 30-32). It is significant, then, that on the mountain of transfiguration Jesus provides three disciples with a visionary experience of God's kingdom having "come with power" (Mk 9:1, 2-9). What form does belief and repentance take? The calling of the first disciples in Mark 1:16-20—Jesus' first act in the Gospel narrative proper—demonstrates the appropriate response: setting aside one's way of life (cf. Mk 8:34), means of livelihood, even family obligations in order to follow Jesus and participate in his mission. Even proper responses like these do not bring the kingdom nearer, help to build the kingdom, or advance the kingdom, however. The kingdom grows quite apart from human contributions (Mk 4:26-29 [note Mk 4:28: *automatos*, "by itself"]); even grasping the message of the kingdom and entering the kingdom are quite impossible apart from divine initiative (Mk 4:11; 10:23-27).

The importance of Mark's christologically grounded presentation of God's kingdom comes to the fore in one more way, in the *passion narrative's picture of Jesus as Christ, a king (Mk 14:61; 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26, 32). Jesus receives these titles from his opponents, but in thus naming him they act with an irony that can hardly be lost on Mark's audience. Those responsible for Jesus' death sentence mock him as king and Christ, but Mark's audience recognizes in their sarcasm the truth, the truth communicated by the evangelist himself (Mk 1:1) and by the divine voice at Jesus' *baptism and *transfiguration (Mk 1:9-11; 9:7), and, finally, recognized by a Roman centurion (Mk 15:39). Jesus' suffering and *death thus signify the truly radical nature of this revolution, for Jesus' passion defines the powerful coming of God to restore and rule with reference to sacrificial service, suffering and death (cf. Mk 10:35-45) (see Matera).

4. The Kingdom of God in Luke.

4.1. Linguistic Considerations. Although Matthew uses the language of the kingdom more often than does Luke, the latter draws on a wider vocabulary. The term "kingdom" (*basileia*) appears forty-six

times in Luke's Gospel (plus Acts 8x, where it is generally identified with Jesus [Ziccardi]): thirty-two times in the phrase "kingdom of God" (*basileia tou theou* [Lk 4:43; 6:20; 7:28; 8:1, 10; 9:2, 11, 27, 60, 62; 10:9, 11; 11:20; 13:18, 20, 28, 29; 14:15; 16:16; 17:20 [2x], 21; 18:16, 17, 24, 25, 29; 19:11; 21:31; 22:16, 18; 23:51; plus Acts 6x]), four times explicitly with reference to Jesus' kingdom (Lk 1:33; 22:29, 30; 23:42) and twice implicitly (Lk 19:12, 15 [a parabolic presentation of Jesus' kingship]), twice with reference to the Father's kingdom (Lk 11:2; 12:31), once without a modifier ("the kingdom" [Lk 12:32; plus Acts 2x]), and five times with reference to other kingdoms (Lk 4:5; 11:17, 18; 21:10 [2x]). Additionally, Luke uses the terms "king" (*basileus*) eleven times (plus Acts 20x), "queen" (*basilissa*) once (Lk 11:31; plus Acts 1x), "to act as a king" (*basileuō*) three times (Lk 1:33; 19:14, 27), and "royal" (*basileios*) once (Lk 7:25, with reference to a "royal palace"). One may also want to consider Luke's use of terms for "ruler" (*dynastēs*, *archōn*), whether alone, in phrases (e.g., *archon tōn Pharisaion*, "ruler of the Pharisees") or in compounds (e.g., *archisynagōgos*, "synagogue ruler"; *architelōnēs*, "ruler of tax collectors"), as these often appear in contexts that emphasize different conventions for exercising power.

4.2. The Politics of God's Kingdom. Given the array of related vocabulary Luke uses, it is clear that he is concerned with "politics"—that is, the nature, distribution and wielding of power, all of which are profoundly theological issues for Luke. What are the politics of God's kingdom?

Luke can summarize Jesus' message with reference to God's kingdom (Lk 8:1; 9:11; cf. Acts 1:3), but this is not how he introduces Jesus' public ministry. Jesus is well into the Galilean phase of his ministry when he explains to the crowds, "I must announce the good news of God's kingdom to the other cities as well; this is the reason I was sent" (Lk 4:43). This text, then, allows us to analyze retrospectively what is entailed in the phrase "kingdom of God."

First, the phrase "to bring or announce the good news" (*euangelizomai*) recalls the angel's announcement of Jesus' birth (also using the term *euangelizomai*), in which he names Jesus as "Christ the Lord" and associates him with the Davidic dynasty (Lk 2:10-11). This in turn recalls Gabriel's announcement to Mary regarding Jesus: he would be God's Son, occupy David's throne, reign over Jacob's house, and rule his kingdom forever (Lk 1:32-33). Moreover, "to announce the good news" embeds Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom in his programmatic statement of his mission, taken from the

words of Isaiah, which he exegetes with reference to the stories of *Elijah and Elisha (Lk 4:16-30; see Is 58:6; 61:1-2). The "good news of God's kingdom" is thus (1) tied specifically to Jesus' kingship and royal mission, (2) grounded in Isaiah's promise regarding Israel's end-time restoration ("fulfilled today, in your hearing" [Lk 4:21]), (3) concerned above all with "release," a metaphor for the end of Israel's exile, as well as an anticipation of Jesus' ministries of healing and exorcism and his message regarding faith and wealth, and (4) oriented toward the marginal (the poor, the blind, the enslaved [Lk 4:18-19], including women, widows, lepers and Gentiles [Lk 4:25-27]). Second, Jesus' words in Luke 4:43, "to the other cities also," draws attention to what Jesus has already been doing in the present city, Capernaum: teaching, expelling demons, healing (Lk 4:17-41; cf. Lk 4:23). This, apparently, is the sort of activity through which God's kingdom is realized as good news. And third, this first appearance on Jesus' lips of the phrase "kingdom of God" contrasts sharply with the worldly kingdoms that the devil had revealed to Jesus and over which the devil claimed authority (Lk 4:5-8). This underscores in yet one more way that Jesus' announcement of the good news would be conducted in the arena of opposition, including battle with the cosmic forces and earthly institutions aligned against God's kingdom. This "kingdom" is "of God" thus in the dual sense that it originates with God (who gives it to Jesus [Lk 1:32-33; cf. Lk 12:32; 22:29-30]), and that it takes its character from God (underscoring the significance of the choice to worship either the devil or God [Lk 4:5-8]).

Working now with a wide-angle lens, we see more broadly that God's kingdom in Luke's Gospel is the presence of divine power to liberate people from diabolic bondage. This takes the form of healing people from their maladies (e.g., Lk 4:39; 9:2, 11; 10:8-9; cf. Acts 10:38: "healing all who were being dominated by the devil"); note, for example, how Jesus' releasing the bent-over woman from eighteen years of satanic bondage leads immediately into the question "What is God's kingdom like?" (Lk 13:10-18). It also takes the form of liberating the demonized, a point made with particular clarity in Jesus' response to the charge that he is in league with the ruler of demons: "If I expel demons by the finger of God, then the kingdom of God has come to you" (Lk 11:20). God's power is focused on releasing Satan's captives, and this power is executed in Jesus' ministry.

Jesus' words "the kingdom of God has come to you" identify his person and mission as the out-

working of God's kingdom in the present (see Carroll, 76-87; Wolter; Woods). This is not simply because Jesus is God's instrument, but because Jesus is himself king or, better, co-regent with God. This is obvious from Acts 2:22-36, where Jesus' *ascension (Lk 24:50-51; Acts 1:9-11) is interpreted as his enthronement, but God's making Jesus Lord and Christ at his exaltation does not signify that God caused Jesus to be what he was not already, as the birth and transfiguration accounts make clear (Lk 1:31-35; 2:11; 9:28-36). Instead, God's exaltation of Jesus is the ultimate means by which misconceptions of Jesus' identity and nature can be overturned.

The present identification of God's kingdom with Jesus' mission and person is also exhibited in Luke 17:20-21, Jesus' response to the Pharisees' question about the timing of God's kingdom: "In fact, God's kingdom is among [*entos*] you!" Although the preposition *entos* could be translated as "within," the fact that Jesus is here responding to his opponents (who are manifestly not agents of God's kingdom), the fact that nowhere else in Luke-Acts is the kingdom represented as a subjective, inner reality, and the fact that Luke otherwise associates God's kingdom with the person of Jesus urge that we read Jesus' response as an indictment of the Pharisees: God's kingdom is already among you, and you have not recognized it! This does not mean, however, that Luke has no interest in the end-time disclosure of God's kingdom, as texts such as Luke 21:31; 22:16, 18 make clear. Indeed, A. Prieur has argued that for Luke, it is best not to tie the disclosure of God's kingdom to a particular point in time, but instead to emphasize the need for the eyes of faith by which to discern the presence of God's kingly rule.

The interchange between those who charge Jesus as an agent of Beelzebub casts Jesus' mission as a clash of kingdoms (Lk 11:15, 17-23). This recalls Luke's juxtaposition of worldly kingdoms, under the devil's authority, with Jesus' kingship (Lk 1:33; 4:5, 43) and anticipates Luke's characterization of the series of events from Jesus' arrest to his execution as a manifestation of "the power of darkness" (Lk 22:53; cf. Lk 23:44; Acts 26:18). The temple elite and Rome itself are thus implicated in Satan's sphere of influence, and this means that their mockery of Jesus as a prophet (Lk 22:63-65); indictment of Jesus as a false prophet, would-be Messiah and pretender to the throne (Lk 23:1-5, 14; cf. Deut 13); ridicule of Jesus as "God's Messiah" (Lk 23:35); and ironic execution of Jesus as "King of the Jews" (Lk 23:37) represent nothing less than the climax of this conflict, God's kingdom versus the devil's. What Luke already made

clear in Jesus' predictions of his death and resurrection (Lk 9:22; 18:31-33) and demonstrated proleptically on the mountain of Jesus' transfiguration (Lk 9:27, 28-36), a criminal crucified alongside Jesus now recognizes: Jesus' suffering and death do not signal Satan's triumph, but rather are the path that Jesus takes on the way to vindication and glory. Thus, this unnamed criminal can request of someone who, like himself, is suffering an ignoble death on a Roman cross, "Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom" (Lk 23:42).

Jesus' own journey through humiliation to glory epitomizes the topsy-turvy nature of God's kingdom in Luke, with its pervasive emphasis on reversal. As *Mary says of God at the angelic announcement that she will give birth to Jesus, "He has dethroned the powerful and lifted up the lowly. He has filled the hungry with good things and sent the rich away with nothing" (Lk 1:52-53). Similarly, the kingdom of God belongs to the poor (Lk 6:20) and to little *children (Lk 18:16). One's desire for the kingdom supersedes all other wants and worries; moreover, the Father's gift of the kingdom makes friendship with the poor possible (Lk 12:31-34) (see Rich and Poor). Indeed, the economic demands of the kingdom are such that it is hard for the wealthy to enter God's kingdom (Lk 18:24-25) (see Moxnes).

Finally, the politics of the kingdom are evident in Luke's Gospel in meal scenes (see Table Fellowship). The eschatological kingdom is envisioned as a great banquet (Lk 13:23-30; 14:15; cf. Is 25:6-9), and, in a series of scenes in Luke 13-16, Luke's narrative turns the table on the expected concern. The question is not "Will I have a seat at the table?" but rather "To whom do I extend invitations to shared meals?" That is, "To whom do I extend hospitality?" Luke's point is that heavenly rejoicing over finding the lost (Lk 15:7, 10) and the inclusion even of Gentiles at the end-time feast (Lk 13:29) ought to mold the character of present life. Thus, Jesus shares table fellowship with tax collectors and sinners (Lk 15) and urges the Pharisees to set aside conventional concerns with status and reciprocal invitations and instead welcome to their luncheons and dinners the poor, the crippled and the blind (Lk 14:1-24). To do so is to include in one's circle of table intimates the very persons to whom Jesus' own mission is directed (cf. Lk 4:18-19; 7:21-22); indeed, to do so is only to put into practice the words of Moses and the prophets (Lk 16:19-31).

Jesus himself does not go on the direct offensive against imperial Rome or display placards calling for the resignation of the Jerusalem leadership, but this

does not make him apolitical. The binary choice sometimes presented—either governmental overthrow or political indifference—must be resisted, just as it would be wrongheaded to read the modern segregation of religion and politics back into a first-century writing such as Luke's Gospel. Luke's thoroughgoing, theological critique of imperial Rome is a given, and it is from this supposition that the important questions follow. If Roman ways of possessing, distributing and wielding power are abandoned, what politics are embraced in their stead? Jesus' person, mission and message disclose the politics of the kingdom—a politics that refuses to enter the political game on Roman terms and instead sets out a set of commitments and practices that make sense under the general heading of "good news to the poor."

5. The Kingdom of God in John.

5.1. Linguistic Considerations. The term "kingdom" (*basileia*) occurs six times in John's Gospel: twice in the phrase "kingdom of God" (*basileia tou theou* [Jn 3:3, 5]) and three times in Jesus' references to "my kingdom" (Jn 18:36 [3x]). The term "king" (*basileus*) appears sixteen times: fourteen times in references to Jesus (Jn 1:49; 6:15; 12:13, 15; 18:33, 37 [2x], 39; 19:3, 14, 15, 19, 21 [2x]), and twice with reference to Roman imperial rule (Jn 19:12, 15). The term "royal" (*basilikos*) is used twice, both with reference to a "royal official" in Capernaum (Jn 4:46, 49). As C. Koester and W. Carter have demonstrated, other terms may be relevant as well, since John's presentation of Jesus as "Savior," "Lord" and "God" parallels literary and epigraphical portraits of Roman emperors from Augustus to Hadrian.

5.2. Jesus, the Sovereign King. The first person to identify Jesus as king is Nathaniel, who interprets Jesus' status as God's Son (cf. Jn 1:32-34) with the acclamation "You are the King of Israel" (Jn 1:49). Nathaniel thus understands Jesus in terms borrowed from the Psalms (e.g., Pss 2:6-7; 89:26-27), but in a way that has far-reaching ramifications within John's world. After all, Jesus' Jewish opponents recognize that there can be only one king. Therefore, anyone claiming to be a king opposes the Roman emperor (Jn 19:12), himself the king even if he might exercise his authority to install client kings under him. Rejecting Jesus' kingship, the chief priests go on to confess, "We have no king other than Caesar!" (Jn 19:15). This contradicts Nathaniel's declaration, a point made all the more interesting by Jesus' characterization of Nathaniel as a genuine Israelite, pure and lacking deceit (Jn 1:47). Apparently, true Israelites recognize who their king really is. With the benefit

of hindsight, the disciples would understand Jesus as Israel's king, the fulfillment of Zechariah 9:9 (Jn 12:13-16).

In light of this wider development of Jesus' kingship, Jesus' references to God's kingdom in John 3:3, 5 come into clearer focus. Jesus explains to Nicodemus, "No one can see God's kingdom without being born from above," and then he observes, "No one can enter God's kingdom without being born of water and Spirit." Using the verb "to see" (*horaō*), Jesus makes an epistemological claim: no one can understand God's kingdom unless through faith they know God as Father (i.e., unless they are "born of God" [see Jn 1:12-13]). Since "God's kingdom" is otherwise known as Jesus' kingdom in John's Gospel, this claim has a corollary: apart from faith, no one can recognize Jesus as king, nor can they grasp the nature of his kingship. As the interchange between Nicodemus and Jesus unfolds, "seeing the kingdom" is set in parallel not only with "entering the kingdom," but also with eternal life (Jn 3:15-16) and receiving *salvation (Jn 3:17). Hereafter in John's Gospel references to "life" or "eternal life" will replace the language of God's kingdom.

In his *trial before Pilate, Jesus does not reject the title "King of the Jews," but interprets it: "My kingdom is not of this world" (Jn 18:36). The phrase "of this world" means, first, that Jesus' kingship does not originate with this world (just as he himself is not "of this world" [cf. Jn 3:13; 6:33, 41, 50, 51, 58; 8:23; 13:3; 17:14]). In other words, Jesus has not been set over a kingdom by Rome, for example, or put forward as ruler by the Jerusalem leadership. His kingdom is God's kingdom. This phrase means, second, that Jesus' kingdom derives its nature from God, with whose purposes Jesus is aligned. Were it otherwise, would his "officers" (*hoi hypēretai*) not be "taking up weapons" (*agōnizomai*) on his behalf (Jn 18:36)? In fact, he has disciples instead of officers, and at his arrest Jesus both negotiates their release and rejects Peter's efforts at resisting the posse that has come out to take Jesus into custody (Jn 18:8-11).

Only those with the eyes of faith are able to grasp that Jesus is king and share in his kingdom. Those who do so also recognize that his saving activity stands in tension with the Roman social order. Indeed, it is precisely as a royal pretender that Jesus is rejected by the Jews who oppose him, and that he is finally executed (Jn 19:3, 14, 15, 19, 21). In a final irony that underscores the distance between imperial Rome and Jesus' kingdom, however, Jesus' crucifixion is an honorable death that brings life (Jn 3:14-15; 8:28-29; 12:32).

See also APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING; CHRISTOLOGY; DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; ESCHATOLOGY; ETHICS OF JESUS; EXILE AND RESTORATION; GOSPEL: GOOD NEWS; JUSTICE, RIGHTEOUSNESS; PARABLES; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN; THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPELS; TRIUMPHAL ENTRY.

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J. B. Green

L

LAMB OF GOD

The phrase “lamb of God” occurs in the Bible only in John 1:29, 36. John’s term for “lamb,” *amnos*, occurs two other times in NT passages that liken Jesus’ suffering and death to the lambs (*probaton* and *amnos*) in LXX Isaiah 53:7 (Acts 8:32) and to a lamb without defect (1 Pet 1:19). With regard to John 1:29, there continues to be considerable debate about the meaning of the declaration “the lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.” The debate largely centers on the possible background(s) of the phrase “lamb of God.”

1. Interpretations
2. The Lamb of God in John’s Gospel

1. Interpretations.

1.1. The Apocalyptic Lamb. C. H. Dodd argued that the lamb in John 1:29 must be understood as the apocalyptic, warrior lamb as found in Revelation (Rev 5:6, 12; 7:17; 13:8; 17:14; 19:7, 9; 21:22–23; 22:1, 3) and in some Jewish apocalyptic texts (1 En. 90:9–12; T. Jos. 19:8; T. Benj. 3:8). Thus, Jesus as the Lamb of God is the apocalyptic messiah-leader who would deal with the world’s sin not by sacrifice but by powerfully “taking away” or “removing” (*airō*) *sin (Jn 1:29) for those who believe in him. But, it is not at all certain that the *Testament of Joseph* 19:8 and *Testament of Benjamin* 3:8 are pre-Johannine or of Jewish origin, nor is it clear that any of the lambs in 1 *Enoch* 89–90 can be understood as apocalyptic messianic redeemers (Johns). Furthermore, the function of and the terminology used for the lamb in Revelation (*arnion*) and the lamb in John (*amnos*) are different (Johns; Nielsen). Nevertheless, Jesus as the lamb in Revelation is pictured as “slaughtered” (*sphazō*) (Rev 5:6, 12; 13:8), and the lamb’s blood “ransoms” (*agorazō*) (Rev 5:9) and “frees” (*lyō*) God’s people from sins (Rev 1:5).

1.2. The Lamb of Isaiah 53. Others point to the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 as the likely background to John’s “lamb of God” because the servant

in Isaiah 53:7 is described as a “lamb” (*amnos*) who is slaughtered and one who “bears” the sins of others (Is 53:4, 11) (Schnackenburg, 1:298–99) (*see* Servant of Yahweh). But if John intended to identify Jesus with Isaiah’s servant in John 1:29, why did he not write, “the servant [*pais*] of God”? J. Jeremias’s answer was to argue that John’s *amnos* is a mistranslation of the original Aramaic term *ṭalyâ*, probably spoken by *John the Baptist, a term that can mean both “servant” and “lamb.” Thus, what the Baptist said was, “Behold, the servant of God.” But, there is no evidence that *ṭalyâ* (or its Heb. counterpart, *ṭāleh*) was used to mean “servant,” nor is *ṭāleh* ever translated with *amnos* in the LXX (Dodd, 235–36). Another problem with this view is the different imagery used: in Isaiah the servant “bears” (*pherō/anapherō*) sins (Is 53:4, 11), but the Johannine Lamb of God “takes away” (*airō*) sin (Brown, 1:61).

1.3. Sacrificial Lambs. Some scholars point to the fact that John’s term *amnos* is used numerous times in the OT for various kinds of sacrificial offerings, such as continual (*tāmīd*) daily offerings (Ex 29:38–46) and other offerings (including the burnt, guilt, peace and sin offerings). It must be recognized, though, that “lamb” (*amnos*) was not the characteristic animal used in most of these expiatory offerings.

1.4. The Passover Lamb. Probably the most cited background to John 1:29 is that of the Passover lamb. This is particularly supported by the Passover context of Jesus’ death in John’s passion narrative (Jn 18:28, 39; 19:14, 29, 31–37), which suggests to many that the lamb in John 1:29 should be identified as the Passover lamb, whose atoning death deals with sin (Metzner; Keener, 2003). Most scholars, however, would not rule out other backgrounds as playing a role (Brown; Keener; Nielsen). Two problems are often leveled against this view. First, the term used for the Passover lamb in LXX Exodus 12 is *probaton*, not John’s *amnos*. Second, the Passover lamb was not an expiatory sacrifice for sin, although some would ar-

gue that in first-century A.D. Judaism and Christianity the Passover took on sacrificial functions (Morris, 127) (cf. 1 Cor 5:7).

2. The Lamb of God in John's Gospel.

In order to understand "lamb of God" on Johannine terms, John 1:29 must first be read in the light of the totality of John's narrative. The Baptist's declaration in John 1:29 is embedded in John's first chapter, which functions to introduce Jesus and his mission. Jesus is identified as the unique "Son of God" (Jn 1:14, 34), the Messiah (Jn 1:17) (*see* Christ) and the Lamb of God (Jn 1:29). As such, Jesus' mission will be to "remove" (*airō*) sin (Jn 1:29) (Ridderbos, 74-75; Metzner, 129) and to inaugurate the Isaianic restoration (Jn 1:23, 33; cf. Is 40:3; 11:2-4), a crucial part of which is in fact the removal of Israel's sin (cf. Is 27:9; 40:2; 53). This narrative introduction, which includes John 1:29, is the backdrop through which John's entire narrative portrayal of Jesus' mission is to be understood. In the ensuing narrative we find that the primary means of effecting eternal *life—that is, of delivering people from the bondage of sin, death and the devil (cf. Jn 3:16-17; 8:31-44)—is Jesus' salvific *death. The Fourth Gospel understands this death in varied but complementary ways: Jesus' death will effect life "for" (*hyper*) others: "The bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh" (Jn 6:51; cf. Jn 3:14-15; 10:11, 15; 11:51-52). Jesus' death is also the fulfillment of Israel's Passover (Jn 19:36; cf. Ex 12:46), so that as the Passover lamb in Exodus 12 functioned as an apotropaic sacrifice that protected Israel from death (Ex 12:23-37), so also Jesus' as the final Passover lamb will inaugurate a second exodus deliverance from sin, the world and the devil (Dennis) (*see* Demon, Devil, Satan). Furthermore, Jesus' death is the event that brings judgment on the world and "throws out" (*ekblēthēsetai exō*) the "ruler of this world" (Jn 12:31). The bondage to rebellion and sin will be broken for those who believe. Jesus' death "for others" and as the Passover lamb is certainly part of the narrative outworking of his mission as described in John 1:29. But perhaps it is his death as the event that "throws out" the ruler of this world that most directly functions as the narrative fulfillment of Jesus' mission to "remove" sin in John 1:29. A more direct relationship between John 1:29 and John 12:31 is especially apt in light of the fact that sin, the world and the devil are closely connected in this Gospel (Jn 1:10; 8:34, 41, 44; 12:31; 14:30; 16:8-11) (Dennis). Therefore, the Lamb of God in John 1:29 removes or deals with the world's sin in various ways in John's Gospel.

Finally, it is Jesus as the Lamb of God who removes sin in John 1:29. In a Gospel that is so saturated with OT/Jewish imagery, this unique combination of the concepts of an animal (lamb) and of removing sin surely would evoke some kind of sacrificial (expiatory and/or apotropaic) connotation, even though there is nothing explicitly said about sacrifice or death in the context of John 1:29. If the connection between John 1:29 and John 12:31 noted above is valid, then perhaps the apocalyptic lamb should be brought to the fore. But even this lamb, it must be remembered, "frees" (*lyō*) his people from sins by his death (Rev 1:5; 5:9). With the designation "Lamb of God," then, John seems to have coalesced together a number of "lamb" figures so that "memories of several lamb figures in the OT" (Morris, 129-30) are evoked. Therefore, pinning on John's Lamb of God just one background unjustifiably restricts John's otherwise thick and varied portrayal of Jesus and his mission.

See also DEATH OF JESUS; SERVANT OF YAHWEH; SIN, SINNER.

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J. Dennis

LANGUAGES OF JESUS. *See* LANGUAGES OF PALESTINE.

LANGUAGES OF PALESTINE

Ancient Palestine was culturally and linguistically diverse in the time of Jesus. The principal languages used in Palestine in this period were Aramaic, Greek and Hebrew. Through understanding the languages of first-century Palestine we can obtain a clearer picture of Jesus' cultural context and a more precise understanding of the Gospels as literature. This article begins with a brief survey of the roles played by the main languages employed in Palestine in Jesus' day. Then it looks at the Gospel accounts of Jesus' words and interactions and considers what they tell us about Jesus' language usage. Finally, it addresses questions related to the language of the Gospels: What kind of Greek is "New Testament" Greek? Were there Semitic (Aramaic or Hebrew) sources used by the Gospel writers?

1. Preliminary Considerations
2. Languages of Palestine
3. The Language of Jesus
4. The Languages of the Gospels

1. Preliminary Considerations.

1.1. Studies of Multilingual Societies. Not everyone in Palestine spoke more than one language, but evidence suggests that many people were multilingual. Social-scientific studies of modern multilingual cultures have provided numerous models and categories that can assist in elucidating the linguistic situation of ancient Palestine. Two areas of research that have been especially helpful are represented by the terms *bilingualism* and *diglossia*.

Studies of bilingualism have provided models to describe the relationship between two languages spoken by an individual in a multilingual environment. For example, for a Palestinian Jewish woman of the first century who grew up speaking Aramaic and picked up Greek as a young teenager, her native Aramaic might impact the specific character of her Greek. At the same time, if Greek was the more prestigious language in her cultural context, Greek expressions may have affected her hometown Aramaic.

The concept of diglossia relates to the coexistence of two forms of a language, or else two different but related languages, one of which is used for informal communication (the "low" form) and the other reserved strictly for formal usage (the "high" form). Generally speaking, studies of diglossia have brought into sharper focus how a multilingual individual might use one language for a given purpose and another language for a different purpose. Thus, a first-century Jewish male living in Jerusalem might speak Aramaic at home and in other conversational

settings, but may use Hebrew in connection with his activities at the temple or in discussing matters of Torah interpretation.

1.2. Limits of Research. Among many points of uncertainty related to the languages of ancient Palestine, the most significant problem is that our evidence is preserved in writing, and it is difficult to identify what languages people actually spoke. As an example, some scholars have suggested that inscriptions on ossuaries (boxes in which bones were placed for secondary burial) were of such a personal nature that they must reflect the spoken or colloquial language of the family; conversely, others have argued that burial was a formal setting, and that ossuary inscriptions represent not the colloquial language but rather the language of cultural identity (similar to Latin inscriptions today in public places where no one speaks Latin). This is the kind of interpretive difficulty with which we are constantly faced. Although we have significant positive evidence for the use of Aramaic, Greek and Hebrew, when it comes to ascertaining who used which languages for what purposes, we often must content ourselves with explanations that are possible but not certain.

Latin was also employed in a limited way in the first century A.D. for administrative purposes, and it appears on the notice that *Pilate fastened to the cross (Jn 19:20). But its use was so limited that it will not be treated in this article.

2. The Languages of Palestine.

2.1. Aramaic. Aramaic belongs to the Northwest Semitic family of languages, the other major branch of this family being Canaanite (including Ugaritic, Moabite and Hebrew). Aramaic was spoken by the inhabitants of Aram, the region north and northwest of Canaan. Aram and Arameans are mentioned in the patriarchal narratives of Genesis (e.g., Gen 24:10; 25:20; cf. Deut 26:5), and Aramaic inscriptions from northern Syria and Mesopotamia have been discovered that date as early as the ninth century B.C.

In the late eighth century B.C. the Neo-Assyrian Empire adopted Aramaic as its international language of commerce and diplomacy. At this point, most Judeans spoke Hebrew and could not understand Aramaic (2 Kings 18:26). But Aramaic persisted as an international language under the Neo-Babylonian (ca. 626–539 B.C.) and Persian (ca. 539–332 B.C.) Empires. This created a standardized literary form of the language known as Imperial Aramaic, which came to be used throughout the ancient world from India to Asia Minor and into Egypt. Imperial Aramaic is reflected in the Aramaic

sections of Ezra dealing with Persian administrative affairs (Ezra 4:8–6:18; 7:12–26) and also in the Aramaic letters, contracts and other documents from fifth-century B.C. Jews in Elephantine Egypt. Aramaic probably was spoken by many of the peoples that the Assyrians settled in Samaria after the fall of the northern kingdom (2 Kings 17:24–33), and the Judeans who returned from the Babylonian exile appear to have adopted Aramaic as a colloquial language, as illustrated by the Aramaic court tales of Daniel 2:4b–7:28 and the need for explanation and perhaps translation to accompany the Hebrew Torah reading in Nehemiah 8:8. Aramaic ostraca (broken pieces of pottery used for writing) from the fourth and third centuries B.C. show the continuing significance of Aramaic among Jews in Palestine. Starting in the third century B.C., we begin to find documents and inscriptions that reflect both Aramaic and Greek, as Greek became the new language of administration.

Beginning in the second century B.C., when Aramaic was no longer an imperial language, we find written evidence for distinctive dialects of Aramaic used in various regions, including Nabatean Aramaic from South Arabia and Palestinian Aramaic, the closest dialect to the older Imperial Aramaic. After the third century A.D. further developments appear in Aramaic, such as the emergence of Syriac in the east and the Aramaic of the Palestinian Talmud in the west. Consequently, the evidence most relevant for understanding the language of Jesus comes from Palestine between 200 B.C. and A.D. 250, although certain Aramaic Targumim (biblical translations) known only in later manuscripts are also relevant because they are based on language that goes back to the first century A.D.

Epigraphic evidence from this period generally supports the idea that Aramaic was the primary language in the first century A.D. for much of Palestine, and certainly for Galilee. Aramaic is represented in more epigraphic sources from this time than Hebrew or Greek (Horsley, 164). There are numerous Semitic inscriptions on ossuaries, but since most are only proper names, it is impossible to tell whether they are Hebrew or Aramaic. Yet, longer inscriptions exist that clearly use Aramaic, such as eight stone blocks marking the boundary of Gezer written in Aramaic and Greek, a stone slab from a burial tunnel in Jerusalem identifying the resting place of the bones of King Uzziah and warning people not to disturb them, and an ossuary lid with an Aramaic inscription that uses the word *qorbān* (cf. Mk 7:11). These were public inscriptions clearly meant to be

understood. Greek was the official language of the governing authorities, and Hebrew was the language of Scripture and temple, so there is no reason for Aramaic to appear so prominently unless it was the language that people actually used.

Similar observations can be made regarding the many private documents (e.g., letters, contracts, inventories) in Aramaic that have been found at Wadi Murabbaʿat and Naḥal Ḥever. Many of these documents reflect the setting of the Bar Kokhba revolt (A.D. 132–135), a movement that placed particular emphasis on the use of Hebrew as part of its political ideology. Even still, at Naḥal Ḥever forty identifiable documents are in Aramaic, seventeen in Hebrew, and fifty-one in Greek. The numbers are similar at Wadi Murabbaʿat (sixteen Aramaic, seventeen Hebrew, seventy-five Greek, one Nabatean). The prevalence of Greek reflects the culture of Hellenistic and Roman rule, the Hebrew reflects nationalistic sentiment, and the Aramaic reflects the most natural mode of expression. This interpretation is supported by the thirty-five papyri written between A.D. 93 and 132 that make up the legal records of Babatha, daughter of Simeon: most are in Greek, as they are legal documents, but three are in Aramaic, and six are in Nabatean Aramaic, so as to be easily understood (Babatha came from just south of the Dead Sea, where Nabatean was spoken). One fascinating document is a receipt written in Greek with an Aramaic summary, and then a Greek translation of the Aramaic. The Greek is the official language of the receipt, and the Aramaic is given to make the contents intelligible.

Although Hebrew is more common than Aramaic at Qumran, much of the nonsectarian literature among the *Dead Sea Scrolls is in Aramaic, such as the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, as well as parts of the *Testament of Levi* and 1 *Enoch*. Most instructive are fragments of Aramaic translations of Job and Leviticus at Qumran, which suggest that although the community was devoted to classicizing Hebrew, Aramaic translations still were needed for some members. Indeed, already in the Mishnah (compiled ca. A.D. 225) it is assumed that Aramaic translations are being given for the Scripture reading (e.g., *m. Meg.* 4:4). Further *rabbinic evidence for Aramaic in first-century A.D. Palestine includes Aramaic quotations ascribed to figures such as Hillel (e.g., *m. ʾAbot* 1:13), marriage contracts written in Aramaic (*m. Ketub.* 4:7–12) and references to the first-century A.D. Aramaic work *Megillat Taʿanit*. Although the traditional written Targumim come from a later date, the earliest layers

of phraseology contained within *Targum Onkelos* and *Targum Jonathan*, and perhaps also the so-called Palestinian Targums, probably reflect the kind of Aramaic used in the first century A.D.

Greek sources from the first century A.D. also shed light on the use of Aramaic in Palestine. *Josephus transliterates many common Aramaic terms such as “Sabbath,” “Passover” and “high priest.” Moreover, Josephus explains in his preface to *Jewish War* that he wrote an earlier account of the war in his “native language” so that it might be read by those of his own race beyond the Euphrates, in Syria and in Arabia (*J.W.* 1.3-6); this means that Josephus must have written his original account of the Jewish War in Aramaic. In referring to Aramaic as his “native language,” Josephus does not mean to exclude Hebrew. In reality, Josephus appears to make no distinction between Hebrew and Aramaic, as is also true of the NT, which uses the adverb “in Hebrew” (*hebraisti*) to describe words that are clearly Aramaic (e.g., “Gabbatha” in Jn 19:13). Thus, although some Jews (e.g., at Qumran) showed interest in using the classical language of Scripture (Hebrew) rather than Aramaic, for many Jews Aramaic and Hebrew were considered a single language—that is, the language of the Jewish people (e.g., in opposition to Greek).

Aramaic seems to have been the most commonly spoken language in Palestine in the first century A.D. The extensive use of Greek and the particular functions of Hebrew in this period can be described against the backdrop of Aramaic as the widely spoken vernacular.

2.2. Greek. Classical Greek was made up of various dialects spoken in different regions. Because of the leading role played by Athens in fifth-century B.C. Greek culture, Attic prose developed into the most prominent expression of the Greek language. After the unification of the Greek-speaking world under Philip of Macedon (338 B.C.) and the subsequent expansion of Greek culture under Alexander the Great, Attic prose gave way to a common form of Greek called “Koine” (meaning “common”). Koine Greek became the language of administration for Greek cities and kingdoms that were established throughout the Mediterranean region, and it also served as the common basis of education in the Hellenized world (see Hellenism).

Following Alexander’s death (323 B.C.), Palestine was governed by the Ptolemaic kingdom of Egypt (third century B.C.) and then the Seleucid kingdom of Syria and Babylon (beginning in 198 B.C.), both of which were Hellenistic in culture and administration

and promoted Hellenism within their spheres of influence. By the early second century B.C. many Jews had become conversant with Greek through economic or political dealings, and some Jews adopted significant elements of Greek culture (see, e.g., 1 Macc 1:11-15; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.240). Seleucid rule in Palestine continued until around 165 B.C., when Jewish resistance led by the Maccabees weakened Seleucid control, leading to an independent Jewish state known as the Hasmonean kingdom (142–37 B.C.), which ended when the Romans gave power to Herod the Great.

Hellenization in Palestine only increased under Herod the Great and his successors, who built many cities or refounded older towns as Greek cities, minted Greek-only coins, and left behind many Greek inscriptions. From the Hellenized cities in Palestine, Greek language spread into the countryside through administrative and economic contacts.

Of course, Hellenistic culture did not penetrate all regions of Palestine equally. Coastal cities such as Gaza and Ashdod had been predominantly Gentile before the Hasmonean period, and they remained so afterwards. Moreover, Galilee may have had a larger number of Greek speakers than did Judea. “Galilee of the nations” (Is 9:1; 1 Macc 5:15; Mt 4:15) was primarily Gentile before the Maccabean Revolt (cf. 1 Macc 5:23), and although many Jews had settled there during Hasmonean rule, Hellenistic cities around Galilee (Scythopolis, Acco-Ptolemais, Tiberias, etc.) were restored or built anew by the Romans.

There are many Greek inscriptions from the first and early second centuries A.D. Well-known examples include the stone block from Jerusalem warning Gentiles not to enter the temple, the “Ordinance of Caesar” from Nazareth written on stone forbidding anyone from robbing tombs, and the inscription found in Jerusalem from the first or early second century A.D. honoring Theodotus, who was “priest and synagogue ruler.” It is logical for the warning at the temple to be in Greek, since it was intended for Gentiles, but the Greek inscription found in the small town of Nazareth and the synagogue inscription in Greek exemplify the penetration of the Greek language into Palestine.

Greek also was used for everyday affairs within segments of Palestine. The numerous Greek ossuary inscriptions found around Jerusalem show that even among Jews who followed this distinctively Jewish practice Greek was an acceptable language for a memorial. Buyers and sellers of goods outside the temple used balances with Greek markers, and bone counters with Greek writing were used as theater

tickets. Mention has already been made of the multitude of Greek letters, contracts and receipts found in the Judean wilderness in places such as Wadi Murabba'at and Naḥal Ḥever. It is remarkable that even among the documents connected with the Bar Kokhba Revolt, which emphasized Hebrew as an identity symbol, some of the letters were composed in Greek. In one letter requesting that preparations be made for celebrating Succoth, it is said, "This is written in Greek since [no one] was found to write it in Hebrew" (5/6Ḥev 52). It appears that the writer wanted the letter to be composed in Hebrew, but since this was not possible, he turned to Greek, perhaps because Greek was the language normally used for practical correspondence.

Most Jewish Greek literature from this time period comes from outside of Palestine, but a small number of texts can be identified with our region. A few Greek biblical texts have been discovered among the manuscripts of the Judean wilderness, the most important of which is the *Minor Prophets Scroll* of Naḥal Ḥever. The Jewish Greek author Eupolemus lived in the second century B.C. in Palestine. From the same century is Jason of Cyrene, author of the Greek history of the Maccabean Revolt of which 2 Maccabees is a summary. Two Jewish historians from first century A.D. Palestine are Justus of Tiberius and Flavius Josephus. Josephus grudgingly praises Justus's command of Greek, which Justus learned at Tiberias (*Life* 9.34-42; 65.336-360), and Josephus, while living in Palestine, knew Greek well enough to translate for Titus (*J.W.* 5.360-361; 6.96).

At the end of his *Jewish Antiquities* Josephus states that he has endeavored to write in good prose style, even though his native tongue hinders his pronunciation of Greek, and people of his country do not generally master other languages or adorn their style with pleasantries, since they reckon that anyone can learn to do this. Instead, Jews value study of the law, and few of them have succeeded in their study of Greek (*Ant.* 20.263-265). Josephus's point is not that few Jews knew Greek, but rather that few Jews attained the ability to write Greek at a high stylistic level. Josephus could speak Greek when he lived in Palestine, but he did not develop his abilities as a Greek stylist until he came to Rome (*Ag. Ap.* 1.50).

Since Josephus had to translate for Titus from Greek into Josephus's "native language," *hebraizōn* (i.e., Aramaic), we may assume that not all Jews were conversant in Greek. Aramaic still was the first language for most Jews in Palestine, and Greek was a secondary language used for business, getting around the city, or dealing with officials. The major

exception to this was Jews who came to Judea from the Diaspora, many of whom spoke Greek as their first language and perhaps knew no Aramaic. These Diaspora Jews are the "Hellenists" referred to in Acts 6:1; 9:29, and probably they account for the disproportionately high number of Greek ossuary inscriptions found at Beth Shearim. Thus, there were Jews from the Diaspora living in Palestine who primarily spoke Greek, but otherwise Greek was a widely used but still secondary language behind Aramaic.

2.3. Hebrew. Hebrew is part of the Canaanite branch of the Northwest Semitic language family. It was the language adopted by the ancient Hebrews and was the main language of Judah before the Babylonian *exile (the "language of Canaan" in Is 19:18; *yēhūdīt* in 2 Kings 18:26). A few short texts written in preexilic Hebrew are known from inscriptions (e.g., the eighth-century B.C. Siloam inscription), but most of our evidence for Classical Biblical Hebrew (CBH) comes from the Hebrew Bible itself. Aside from the Aramaic parts of Daniel and Ezra, Jewish works written after the exile that became part of the Bible were still written in Hebrew, but the grammar of this Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) differs slightly from CBH. Books reflecting LBH include Esther, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.

By the time the Jews returned from exile, Hebrew was in decline as the common spoken language in Judea—a fact seen as troubling in Nehemiah 13:24. Eventually, Aramaic replaced Hebrew as the vernacular. Still, knowledge of Hebrew persisted in Judea because of the continued importance of the Torah and other sacred writings, which were read and probably discussed in Hebrew, and also because of the prayers and rituals associated with the *temple in Jerusalem. As Aramaic came to be more widely spoken, Hebrew may even have taken on a character of prestige, especially since temple and Torah were promoted in Judea by the Persian Empire (Ezra 6:3-12; 7:12-26).

As Greek became more and more culturally significant under the Ptolemies and Seleucids, some Jews deemphasized traditional Jewish ways of living and adopted Greek customs that were seen by traditionalists as antithetical to Judaism. But in the early second century B.C., in the time of the Maccabean Revolt against the Seleucid Empire, a sense of Jewish cultural identity led to a revival of fresh literary compositions in classicizing Hebrew (close to LBH), such as Sirach, 1 Maccabees and *Jubilees*. Whereas the Ptolemies and Seleucids issued coins inscribed with Greek, the Hasmonean ruler John Hyrcanus (134-104 B.C.) issued coins in Hebrew. This symbolic

gesture was repeated during the First (A.D. 66–70) and Second (A.D. 132–135) Jewish Revolts against Rome, when the Jewish fighters employed Hebrew but no Greek on their coins.

Until the discovery of the DSS, the most important body of literature showing the continuation of Hebrew beyond LBH was the corpus of rabbinic texts from the Tannaitic period, especially the Mishnah, which was written in a distinctive form of Hebrew known as Middle Hebrew (MH). MH is not simply the historical continuation of LBH, but neither is it a totally artificial language made up of LBH and Aramaic, as was once thought. It is now generally agreed that MH represents the later form of a colloquial version of Hebrew that dates back to the time when LBH books were written, since elements of MH can be seen in the linguistic developments found in LBH. By the second century B.C. LBH was merely a classicizing literary language, but MH was used orally, both in the service of the temple and in the context of Torah interpretation. In the second century A.D. the rabbis were still using MH alongside of Aramaic, which had a significant impact on MH (e.g., in the masc. pl. ending *-n* instead of *-m*). By the third century A.D. Aramaic began to be used even by the rabbis in their discussions of Torah, but MH survived in literary form in the Mishnah.

With the discovery of numerous Hebrew works among the DSS, we can now get a better picture of what Hebrew looked like from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. Was this Hebrew more like earlier LBH, or more like later MH? And why did the community at Qumran write so much in Hebrew?

Even discounting the biblical manuscripts, the majority of texts found at Qumran are written in Hebrew. Out of some seven hundred nonbiblical texts, 120 are in Aramaic, twenty-eight in Greek, and the rest in Hebrew, including well-known works such as the *Temple Scroll* and the *Damascus Document*. Almost all of these Hebrew works are written in a classicizing style similar to LBH. The only two exceptions are (1) the *Copper Scroll*, a list of sites where gold or silver is buried, apparently connected to the temple and thus not “Qumranite,” and (2) a legal text, *4QHalakhic Letter* (4QMMT), which deals with ritual purity in connection with liquids and is reminiscent of discussions found in the Mishnah. Both the *Copper Scroll* and *4QHalakhic Letter* share characteristics with MH. This evidence is best interpreted in light of the linguistic ideology expressed in several Qumran texts.

The sectarian religious community at Qumran regarded temple Judaism as corrupt and saw itself as

a purified holy community. Purity of Hebrew appears to be part of this ideology, as seen in 4Q464, which mentions the “holy language” and quotes Zephaniah 3:9, “I will restore to the peoples pure speech” (note also 1QH^a XV, 10: “my language is as one of your disciples”), and also texts such as 1QH^a X, 7, 18–19; XII, 16; CD-A V, 11–12, which charge the enemies of the Qumran community with corrupting God’s speech and using blasphemous and uncircumcised language. The Qumranites took the general pro-Hebrew sentiment of the early Maccabean era to the extreme, and they attempted to create a religious community that employed Hebrew as much as possible. The vast majority of the texts they produced aimed at imitating Biblical Hebrew (BH), which was thought to be the purist form.

The *Copper Scroll*, which is closer to MH, probably represents a written version of the Hebrew spoken in connection with temple functions, and the MH flavor of *4QHalakhic Letter* probably represents the kind of spoken Hebrew used by Pharisaic Jews in discussing the Torah. Perhaps the Qumranites tried to speak MH as a daily language. In any case, the large number of Hebrew texts at Qumran does not suggest that most Jews in Palestine normally spoke Hebrew; rather, it reflects the commitment of the Qumran community to Hebrew purity, which meant the classicizing language of Scripture (BH) as much as possible, and perhaps MH as a spoken language.

The basic picture of Hebrew as the language of the temple is supported by the various Hebrew inscriptions discovered in and around Jerusalem. At the same time, Hebrew documents from Masada and from the Judean wilderness show that at least some who were committed to Hebrew were capable of using it for regular communication. Jews competent enough in Hebrew to discuss Torah in MH could also be enlisted to compose Hebrew documents for other purposes, especially in times of national crisis. This is why the Hebrew Bar Kokhba letters resemble MH rather than LBH.

Aramaic was the common language for most Jews in first-century A.D. Palestine, but Hebrew was still quite alive through the temple, the reading and study of Torah, and the desire of some Jews at certain times to express their identity by using not simply the common Jewish language (i.e., whether “Hebrew” or “Aramaic”), but Hebrew itself.

2.4. Summary. Most Jews in Judea and Galilee spoke Aramaic as their primary language, although there were Jews in both regions from the Diaspora who spoke primarily Greek. Generally, the number of Greek speakers was greater in Galilee than in Ju-

dea, but Greek was used throughout Palestine by Jews of all levels of society who interacted with the economic or political spheres controlled by Roman authorities. Hebrew was still used actively in connection with temple rituals and by those who studied and interpreted the Torah. Although for most Jews Hebrew or Aramaic could be considered the “native language” of the Jews without distinguishing between the two, some Jews consciously chose to use the “proper” form of the Jewish language, Hebrew, for public inscriptions or in times of great religious or political significance.

3. The Languages of Jesus.

3.1. Introduction. The Gospels are written in Greek, but on a few occasions Jesus is presented as speaking a Semitic language. Furthermore, the Gospels record other Semitic words and phrases that reflect Jesus’ linguistic environment. Where they can be identified, most of these Semitic words appear to be Aramaic. It is improbable that Jesus spoke Aramaic only on rare occasions. It is much more likely that Jesus normally spoke Aramaic (or sometimes Hebrew), and that the Gospel writers only occasionally offer Semitic words because these words were preserved in their sources, or because they wanted to communicate the “feel” of the authentic world of Jesus to their readers. Although Aramaic seems to have been the primary language of Jesus, based on his interactions as presented in the Gospels we can infer that he probably had some proficiency in Hebrew and Greek as well.

3.2. Semitic Words of Jesus. The Gospel of Mark preserves the greatest number of direct Semitic sayings of Jesus. At Mark 15:34 Jesus cries out from the cross, *elōi elōi lema sabachthani*, which is rendered (in Mark’s Greek) as “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” This is a quotation of Psalm 22:1, which in Hebrew reads *’ēlī ’ēlī lāmā ’āzabtānī*. The form given by Mark for “my God” (*elōi*) is Aramaic, as is the verb used for “forsake” (*šbq*). The fact that Jesus quoted Psalm 22:1 from the cross in Aramaic strongly suggests that this was his “natural” language. Similarly, Jesus’ statement in Mark 5:41, *talitha kōum*, employs the Aramaic word for “little girl” (*ṭalyā’* [*talitā* with the Aramaic emphatic ending]), and an Aramaic (cf. Syriac) pronunciation of the verb (*qūm* for fem. sg. instead of *qūmī*). The command *ephphatha* in Mark 7:34, translated as “Be opened,” could be Hebrew (Niphal impv. masc. sg. with the *h* sound not written) or Aramaic (Itepel impv. masc. sg. with the *tāw* assimilated). The word *korban* in Mark 7:11, translated as “gift,” is known

from an Aramaic ossuary inscription from first-century A.D. Palestine in the phrase “gift to God” (*qorbān*), and *abba* in Mark 14:36 (cf. Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6) is Aramaic (*’āb* [*’abbā’* is emphatic]). In sum, the speech of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark is consistently Aramaic.

The Gospel of Matthew also preserves Jesus’ words from the cross (Mt 27:46), although in Matthew the phrase “my God” (*ēli*) is closer to the original Hebrew (and also matches the form used in the Targum to Psalms). The form *raka* in Matthew 5:22 is Aramaic, and *māmōnas* in Matthew 6:24 (cf. Lk 16:9, 11, 13) could be either Aramaic (e.g., the Palestinian Targum to Gen 34:23) or Hebrew (e.g., Sir 31:8) and apparently had a close cognate in Punic (see Augustine, *Serm. Dom.* 2.14.47; *Serm.* 113.2). Overall, the evidence in Matthew generally supports and does not contradict the idea that Jesus spoke Aramaic.

3.3. Other Semitic Words in the Gospels. Many other Semitic words are preserved in the Gospels, and they help to fill out the picture of Jesus’ language environment. Some of these words are translated into Greek by the Gospel writers. This is especially common in the Gospel of John, in which “Cephas” (Jn 1:42), “Bethesda” (Jn 5:2), “Gabbatha” (Jn 19:13) and “Golgotha” (Jn 19:17; cf. Mk 15:22; Mt 27:33) are Aramaic, whereas *rabbouni* (Jn 20:16; cf. Mk 10:51) and “Messiah” (Jn 1:41) could be Aramaic or Hebrew, and “Siloam” (Jn 9:7) is an old Hebrew place name. In Luke-Acts the translated words “Akeldama” (Acts 1:19), “Barnabas” (Acts 4:36) and “Tabitha” (Acts 9:36) are Aramaic; the derivation of “Elymas” (Acts 13:8) is uncertain. Matthew alone gives and translates “Emmanuel,” a Hebrew name from Isaiah 7:14.

Other Semitic words are not translated, and many of these may simply have been adopted into Greek as loan words. Such words include *pascha* (“Passover”), *sabbaton* (“Sabbath”), *satanas* (“Satan”), *rabbi*, and *amēn*. The first three reflect Aramaic in their transcription, *rabbi* could be either Aramaic or Hebrew, and *amēn* is Hebrew in origin. Worth mentioning in this context are two expressions from the NT that probably were used in early Christian liturgy: *hōsanna* (Mt 21:9, 15; Mk 11:9-10; Jn 12:13) and *maranatha* (1 Cor 16:22; *Did.* 10:6; cf. Rev 22:20). *Hōsanna* (“Save, please!”) is the Aramaic pronunciation of the petition found in Psalm 118:25, and *maranatha* (“Our Lord, come!”) is patently Aramaic (*mārānā’* [“our Lord”] *tā’* [“come”]).

3.4. Jesus, Greek and Hebrew. Although Aramaic appears to have been Jesus’ “native language,” we know that Greek and Hebrew were also used in vari-

ous contexts in first-century A.D. Palestine, and there are hints in the Gospels that Jesus was functional in both languages. Luke 4:16-30 describes Jesus reading from a biblical scroll in a synagogue on the Sabbath, which indicates that he could read BH. Moreover, if discussions of the legal significance of Torah took place in some version of MH, as is suggested by 4QHalakhic Letter and the Mishnah, then Gospel passages such as Matthew 19:3-12 make it likely that Jesus spoke Hebrew, at least for that purpose.

As for Greek, if people from the Decapolis followed Jesus (Mt 4:25; Mk 7:31), this may imply that he could converse with them in Greek. Also, certain conversations that Jesus had with individuals who were not likely to know Aramaic suggest that he may have spoken Greek with them—for example, Jesus and the centurion (Mt 8:5-13), Jesus and the Syro-phoenician woman (Mk 7:25-30), and Jesus and Pilate (Jn 18:33-38; 19:8-11). Yet caution must be exercised in drawing linguistic conclusions from the details of these stories. What appears to be a direct conversation between Jesus and the centurion in Matthew 8:5-13 is said to take place through intermediaries in Luke 7:1-10. In the same way, someone may have served as a translator in the conversation between Jesus and Pilate but perhaps was omitted from John's account to make the story more vivid. Still, since Jesus was from Galilee, his father was a tradesman, and he seems comfortable traveling throughout all regions of Palestine, it is quite plausible that Jesus was able to speak some Greek.

4. The Languages of the Gospels.

4.1. The Greek of the Gospels. The language of the Gospels (and the NT generally) differs from the language of most literary works preserved from the classical Greek world. As a generalization, the Gospels are written in a simpler style and contain some expressions that stretch the limits of what might be considered "proper" Greek. Some of these features of style could be ascribed to the Semitic background of the NT. In this line of thought, the native Aramaic language of NT authors colored their Greek style, so that many of the grammatical constructions and word usages that seem unusual as Greek are simply Aramaic (or Hebrew) idioms coming literally into Greek. Some scholars have even talked about a specifically Jewish Greek dialect used by the authors of the NT.

A different perspective on NT Greek has come in the past century from the corpus of nonliterary papyri (private letters, contracts, inventories, etc.) discovered in Egypt written in a simple and sometimes

grammatically imprecise version of Koine Greek. Many constructions that were once considered Semiticisms in the NT are now known from these papyri, which seem to represent the vernacular style of Greek. From this perspective, the Gospels are not written in a Jewish dialect of Greek but rather in something close to the vernacular Koine Greek of the times.

If any consensus has emerged, it is that NT Greek is not a unique dialect of Greek, but that individual expressions found in the NT can be ascribed to the writers' Semitic background. Thus, one can describe the Greek of the Gospels in terms of the stylistic options available for Greek authors generally, but one can also identify Semitic idioms within the standard Greek style employed. In a bilingual context the prestige language (Greek) is not likely to be changed by the language of the foreign learner (Aramaic), but the particular Greek expressions spoken or written by the learner might contain isolated words or idioms taken from the native language.

As to the stylistic level of the Gospels, it is important to note that not all Koine prose was the same. Some authors tried to reach the high stylistic level of great Attic authors of the past. This was a more artistic level of prose, as represented by Diodorus Siculus before the NT and Aelius Aristides afterwards. Most authors, however, wrote in some version of the Koine style; but even within Koine a distinction existed between literary Koine (e.g., Plutarch, Epictetus), which also included certain kinds of technical writing, and strictly popular Koine, which was closer to vernacular speech (e.g., Bion the Cynic, certain papyri).

Among NT books, the book of Hebrews is closest to Attic prose. Most of the NT, however, is written in the popular Koine, but without the pervasive solecisms indicative of the most vulgar papyri. Mark and Matthew reflect this popular Koine. As observed by Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 7), the Gospel of Luke was composed in a slightly higher style, closer to the literary Koine. The superior style of Luke can be seen in the complex period with which Luke begins (Lk 1:1-4), Luke's practice of replacing Mark's loan words with more literary words (e.g., Luke's *epistatēs* ["master"] for Mark's *rabbi* in Mk 9:5, Lk 9:33), and the participial and relative clauses that Luke employs where Mark uses simple parataxis. As for the Gospel of John, it is written in the popular Koine, but it has a distinctive stylistic feel due to its simple vocabulary and use of repetition.

Semitic idioms in the Gospels may be due to various causes. First, native speakers of Aramaic who learn Greek as a second language may introduce elements from their native language into their

acquired language, as when Greek words take on new meanings under Semitic influence (e.g., *angelos* as “angel” and not simply “messenger”). Second, Semitic idioms may come about because the Gospel writers were consciously imitating the “biblical” style of the LXX. An example is the construction *kai egeneto* (“and it came to pass”). Third, certain Semitic idioms may be found in the Gospels because the Gospel writers made use of Semitic sources in composing their accounts.

4.2. Semitic Originals of the Gospels? A number of NT scholars have suggested that Semitic (usually Aramaic) sources underlie at least some of the Greek material in our canonical Gospels. In some cases textual problems in the Gospels are said to be resolved by recognizing an Aramaic source. Perhaps the most interesting (and controversial) of these proposals involve reconciling differences in Synoptic parallels by postulating a Semitic original. Thus, whereas Luke 11:41 has “but give as alms what is inside,” Matthew 23:26 has “cleanse first what is in the cup,” and the variants “give alms” and “cleanse” can be explained as different readings of the Aramaic, as either *zky* (“to give alms”) or *dky* (“to purify”). Likewise, “you build” in Luke 11:48 and “you are sons” in Matthew 23:31 could simply be different ways of interpreting the Aramaic consonants *bny*.

In other cases parallels with ancient Aramaic literature suggest the possibility of a Semitic source. An example based on both shared language and exegesis is found in Mark 9:47–48, where Jesus interprets Isaiah 66:24 as a reference to Gehenna, agreeing with the *Targum Isaiah*, which adds “in Gehenna” at Isaiah 66:24. A similar example is Luke 10:25–28, where Jesus appears to allude to Leviticus 18:5 (Lk 10:28) in addressing the question of eternal life, and *Targum Onqelos* at Leviticus 18:5 adds the words “in eternal life” (cf. the Tannaitic midrash *Sifra*, ‘*ahārē môt*, paragraph 9, pereq 12, which uses the phrase “in the world to come” when quoting Lev 18:5).

These lines of research are intriguing but also raise many questions. First, are the presumed Semitic sources to the Gospels written or oral? Second, can Aramaic Targumim written down centuries after the NT be used to suggest possible sources for the NT? Or should NT scholars restrict themselves to Aramaic documents found at Qumran and similarly early material? Finally, if the language of the canonical Gospels is Greek, is it theologically fruitful to search for underlying Aramaic phrases behind the Gospels?

The question of Semitic sources opens out into a larger puzzle in the history of the canonical Gospels.

Numerous early Christian writers, including Papias (according to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16), Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.1.1), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 2.9.45), Origen (according to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.4), Epiphanius (*Pan.* 29.9.4; 30.3.7) and Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 3) mention the existence of one or more Hebrew Gospels. A number of early Christian writers even give quotations from a supposed Hebrew Gospel source (e.g., Clement, *Strom.* 2.9.5; Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 2.6; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.6). Although several authors, such as Papias (early second century A.D.), connect the Hebrew Gospel with Matthew, the idea that the canonical Gospel of Matthew is based on a Semitic original has received little acceptance among NT scholars. Still, it is possible that the Hebrew Gospel referenced in these early Christian authors was a source for one or more of the canonical Gospels, perhaps Matthew (following Papias) or Luke (Edwards 2009). It has also been suggested that the purported source document that NT scholars call *Q was translated from an Aramaic original (Black 1998).

See also GALILEE; HELLENISM; JERUSALEM; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS; SCRIBES.

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LAST SUPPER

The Gospel accounts of the Last Supper (Mt 26:26-29 // Mk 14:22-26 // Lk 22:14-23; Jn 13-17) have proved over the course of history to be some of the most exegetically scrutinized passages within the fourfold Gospel *canon, if not within the NT as a whole. Given the foundational role of these texts (along with 1 Cor 11:17-26) in the church's evolving understanding of the Lord's Supper, this is hardly surprising. Despite such attention, these same passages and the life behind the texts—the precise intentions of the evangelists and indeed of the historical Jesus himself—remain fraught with mystery. While one might be forgiven for thinking that the considerable agreement across the traditions would enable historians and theologians alike to arrive at a broadly shared understanding of the Last Supper, the brevity of the reports of the meal, together with their highly allusive quality, renders interpretation difficult on a number of levels.

Among the accounts there are some family resemblances. Mark's version, the shortest, shares much in common with Matthew; Luke's text lines up most closely with Paul's instructions to the Corinthians. The report of John's Gospel is unique and as such brings its own set of critical issues that have engendered considerable discussion. Whereas in an earlier day such an intricate synopsis had piqued scholarly interest in determining which of these might be the earliest (H. Schürmann offered the classic study for Luke's priority [Schürmann, 82-132], even as J. Jeremias stood by Mark [Jeremias, 189-91]), this interest, with increasing recognition of the complexities involved, has since waned. In any case, the unique perspectives of the individual evangelists must be considered alongside the historical event standing behind their respective accounts.

1. Mark
2. Matthew
3. Luke
4. John

1. Mark.

For much of the twentieth century the history-of-religions reading of Mark 14:22-25 remained dominant, maintaining that the evangelist's account of the meal was a “cult legend” developed within Pauline circles as part of a communal attempt to lend ideological support to ongoing eucharistic practice. From here it was but a short step to conclude that the Gospel accounts were in fact little more than whole-cloth fabrications. More recent scholarship has generally frowned on such skepticism. Written less than twenty years after the event, Paul's witness to the “night that Jesus was betrayed” (1 Cor 11:17-26) is now generally, though not universally, considered as solid confirmation of Mark's report. Although various components of the passage have been attributed to post-Easter oral tradition or Markan redaction (e.g., some scholars have suggested that the cup sayings are relatively late), it is now seldom doubted that the historical Jesus did indeed sit down with his *disciples for a solemn meal the night before his death. At the same time, Mark's historical interest in the event does not mean that his presentation remained untouched by his consciousness of contemporary eucharistic practices. Much less are we to assume that the pericope stands at odds with his purposes as a storyteller. On the contrary, a close reading of the text demonstrates that precisely through his account of the Lord's Supper, Mark, like Matthew and Luke, has skillfully woven together several of his most important themes.

Quite clearly, Mark sets up the Last Supper as a Passover meal (Mk 14:12-21). In characterizing the meal in this way, Mark is seeking to highlight the redemptive nature of Jesus' impending death. Passover was the most significant of all Jewish festivals (see Feasts), commemorating Israel's release from the bondage of Egypt through the spreading of lamb's blood on the doorframes. Given the recurring themes of (new) exodus in Mark's narrative, the ominous intimations of Jesus' *death punctuating Mark's Gospel (e.g., Mk 3:6; 8:31; 9:31; 10:32-34) and Jesus' self-identification as a "ransom for many" (Mk 10:45), the reader is prepared for Jesus' symbolically revealing himself through the meal as a Paschal lamb. Occurring on the eve of Jesus' execution, Mark's Last Supper becomes to the cross what the Passover ritual was to Israel's miraculous sea crossing. This is consistent with the early church's conviction that Jesus was "our Passover lamb" (1 Cor 5:7).

Upon examining Jesus' actions in Mark 14:22, the careful reader finds that his taking (*labōn*), blessing (*eulogēsa*), breaking (*eklasen*), and giving (*edōken*) of the bread follow the pattern established in the feeding of the five thousand ("taking" [*labōn*] . . . "blessed" [*eulogēsen*] . . . "broke" [*kateklasen*] . . . "gave" [*endidou*]) at Mark 6:41 and in the feeding of the four thousand ("taking" [*labōn*] . . . "blessed" [*eucharistēsa*] . . . "broke" [*eklasen*] . . . "gave" [*endidou*]) at Mark 8:6. Although some scholars have maintained that these actions would have been standard etiquette and thus their threefold repetition is hardly noteworthy, it is more likely that the verbal pattern serves to establish a common narrative thread. On this reading, if the two feeding miracles are indeed proleptic messianic feasts, indicative of Jesus' messianic identity and mission, then the Last Supper also promises to confirm Jesus' messianic role and his disciples' new calling in light of that role (see Table Fellowship). Thus, Mark's larger twofold preoccupation with establishing who Jesus is (Mk 1:1–8:29) and how he and his disciples are to play out their role of service and suffering (Mk 8:30–10:52) now come together climactically in the gesture of the Last Supper.

Focusing on the phrase "this is my body" as it might have been understood in the first century A.D., one might propose at least two layers of meaning. First, since Mark recounts the scene as a Passover meal, this suggests simply that the disciples' partaking the bread signals their own participation in the redemption of the new exodus, just as any first-century A.D. Jew would have signified participation in the first exodus by eating the Passover lamb (cf.

m. Pesah 10:5). Second, it is likely that Jesus intentionally laid hold of the *aphikomen*, the piece of bread traditionally set aside for the expected messiah and later identified with the messiah. If this is true, and if Mark and the other evangelists understood and sought to preserve this symbolism, then all three accounts are essentially depicting a scene in which Jesus is offering himself as the messiah, while the disciples, in ingesting the bread, are climactically confessing him as such. Such an explanation is consistent with Mark's intense interest in Jesus' messianic identity.

After distributing the *bread, Mark's Jesus takes up the cup and repeats the actions of taking, blessing and distributing (Mk 14:23). Whereas Jesus "blesses" (*eulogēsa*) the bread (Mk 14:22), now he "gives thanks" (*eucharistēsa*) over the cup. Between the two terms there is considerable overlap; the latter may have been employed simply to reinforce the connection with Mark 8:6 (where *eucharistēsa* also occurs). Some commentators understand this cup to be the fourth and last cup of the Passover ritual, which may be supported by Paul (1 Cor 11:25) and Luke's (Lk 22:20) agreement that Jesus took the cup "after the meal." However, others despair of linking Jesus' handling of the bread and cup with any particular moment in the Paschal ceremony. Part of the question here is whether Mark 14:22-25 is to be understood chronologically following Mark 14:17-21, where the meal itself is obviously under way. Nothing in either the syntax or the narrative logic of the text demands this.

Since our earliest evidence indicates that Seder participants had their own cups (Marshall, 83-84), we can, despite the paucity of data regarding first-century A.D. Passover practices, be reasonably confident that Jesus' offer of a common cup was an innovation. This creativity may have been part of an attempt to attach new significance to the gesture, perhaps emphasizing its socially integrative character (cf. 1 Cor 10:17). Jesus was giving a sharpened focus and a renewed cohesiveness to the fictive kin group that he had constituted. It is interesting that whereas Mark's Jesus interprets the bread and then invites the disciples to eat, when it comes to the cup, interpretation follows ingestion (Mk 14:24), a point that militates against the text's allegedly having been scripted as a liturgy (Collins, 656). Jesus then declares that the cup contains "my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many" (Mk 14:24). Whereas some have objected to the authenticity of this saying on the grounds that such phrasing would be linguistically impossible in Aramaic, objections of this sort have been persuasively refuted (see

Casey). In any case, the statement, rich with scriptural allusions, usually has been judged to cohere well with both the aims of the historical Jesus and the narrative interests of Mark. At least three sets of scriptural references have been recognized, none of which are mutually exclusive.

First, an appeal to Zechariah 9:11 (“As for you also, because of the blood of my covenant with you, I will set your prisoners free from the waterless pit”) is arguably at play. Zechariah 9 has already proven seminal for at least two events in Mark 11: the *triumphal entry (Mk 11:1-10), where in the style of the messianic *shepherd of Zechariah 9:9 Jesus enters Jerusalem on a colt; and the *temple action (Mk 11:11-17), where in accordance with Zechariah 9:8 Jesus defends his “house” (Mk 11:17) and “keeps watch” (Mk 11:11). If it is also correct to identify “on that day” in Mark 14:25 as an echo of Zechariah 14:9 (Marcus, 1:156-57), then the cup saying’s link to the deeply eschatological text of Zechariah 9—14 is even more secure. The Zecharian context serves to cast Jesus’ mission in return-from-exile terms and suggests that the cup is somehow instrumental in that restoration (*see* Exile and Restoration).

Jesus’ cup saying reflects an even stronger connection with Exodus 24:8: “Moses took half of the blood and put it in basins, and then half of the blood he poured against the altar. . . . Moses then took the blood and poured it on the people, and said, ‘See the blood of the covenant that the LORD has made with you according to all these words.’” That this subtext involves the establishment of the Mosaic covenant, coinciding with Israel’s national formation, is hardly incidental. Mark has already shown concern to model Jesus’ ministry on the exodus narrative. Now, as he relates the final hours of that ministry, the evangelist capitalizes on recounting the meal as a covenantal meal, at least on par with the covenant issued through Moses. Even if the text-variant reading of “new covenant” (instead of simply “covenant”) at Mark 14:24 is spurious (which is likely), this does not alter what is essentially the case: in sharing the cup, Mark’s Jesus is in fact inaugurating a new covenant. For Mark, the Last Supper is an epochal moment, marking out a new redemptive-historical era.

Finally, the phrase “poured out for many” returns to the figure of the Isaianic Suffering Servant, who “poured out his life” for the sake of “many” (Is 53:11-12) (*see* Servant of Yahweh). This same Suffering Servant has been linked with Jesus earlier in Mark’s narrative, not least in the programmatic Mark 10:45. Whatever the precise nature of the atonement presented in Isaiah 53, it is clear that the

cup saying associates Jesus with the Suffering Servant figure and therefore ascribes to Jesus’ body and blood, soon to be given up on a Roman cross, an atoning function. In associating atonement with the bread and cup, Mark’s Jesus may also be designating both as sacrificial food (the *Didache* understands the Eucharist in just this way). This in turn may constitute his disciples, as those who now handle sacrificial food, as priests. That the Last Supper was understood as such is supported by Paul’s warning against those who eat of the meal unworthily and thereby “sin against the body and blood of the Lord” (1 Cor 11:17), an argument that perhaps follows on the Jewish insistence that priestly partakers of sacrificial food be ritually pure. These implications certainly are consistent with the evangelist’s determination to depict the burgeoning Jesus movement in cultic terms. If all three scriptural allusions are sustainable, then Mark 14:24 attaches at least a twofold theological significance to the cross: Jesus’ death not only would atone for Israel’s covenantal unfaithfulness but also would seal the terms of a new covenant, affording a fresh basis for a new salvific economy.

Whereas Jesus elaborates only briefly on the bread, he has more to say in regards to the cup, adding that he will not drink of the fruit of vine a second time until he drinks it in the kingdom (Mk 14:25)—that is, at the *resurrection, when “the vine shall yield its fruit” (Zech 8:12 [cf. Is 25:6-8, 1 En. 62:13-16; 2 Bar. 29:5; 1Q28a II, 17-22; 1QS VI, 4-6]) (*see* Wine). As Second Temple Judaism understood it, the messianic feast was a celebration not only of Yahweh becoming king, but also of the people of God being ordained into a priestly order. Thus, Mark’s presentation of the Jesus movement as a burgeoning *temple order and the inaugural manifestation of the *kingdom of God blends elegantly with the priestly and royal aspects of the Last Supper.

2. Matthew.

Between Mark and Matthew there is a good deal of overlap in the Last Supper accounts. Like Mark, Matthew embeds his pericope within the context of a Passover meal (Mt 26:26 // Mk 14:22). Likewise, there is a recurrence of the verbs “take,” “break,” “bless” and “give,” also invoking Jesus’ earlier feeding *miracles (Mt 14:13-21; 15:29-39). Both evangelists connect the cup with “my blood of the covenant” (Mt 26:28 // Mk 14:24); both recount Jesus’ expectation of partaking the fruit of the vine again (Mt 26:29 // Mk 14:25). Such similarities have led scholars to conclude that whatever the precise relationship between the differing accounts of the

Lord's Supper, Matthew and Mark remain very closely related.

Yet there are a number of minor differences, several of which may help illuminate Matthew's distinctive agenda. First, whereas Mark has "Take. This is my body," Matthew, perhaps under liturgical influence, includes a second imperative, "Eat" (Mt 26:66 // Mk 14:22). Liturgical practice may also have a hand in the change from Mark's description, "They drank from it—all of them," to Matthew's quotation of Jesus, "Drink from it—all of you" (Mt 26:27). Second, in Matthew the blood being poured out "for [peri] many" (Mt 26:28) differs from Mark's "on behalf of [hyper] many" (Mk 14:24). Even though Matthew may have a general preference for *peri*, the choice of preposition nonetheless intensifies the atoning idea, especially as it links with LXX Isaiah 53:10 (Davies and Allison, 3:474). Third, Matthew adds a new phrase to the "cup" saying, unique among the Last Supper accounts: "for the forgiveness of sins." The phrase has a number of functions: it (1) alludes to one of the staple terms of the new covenant (Jer 31:31-34; cf. Mt 2:18); (2) fills out the introductory promise that Jesus will save his people from their sins (Mt 1:21); (3) provides closure to an earlier plea for divine *forgiveness (Mt 6:12); (4) gives significant backing to Jesus' controversial act of forgiveness (e.g., Mt 9:1-8). Fourth, Matthew inserts the phrase *meth' hymōn* ("with you"), which in a theologically powerful move ties the Last Supper to his special interest in the "Emmanuel principle" (cf. Mt 1:23; 17:17; 24:31; 25:34; 28:20) (Luz; Smit). Fifth, Matthew has "the kingdom of my Father" (*tē basileia tou patros mou*) in place of Mark's "the kingdom of God" (*tē basileia tou theou*), not only reflecting the first evangelist's limited use of the phrase "kingdom of God," but also recalling once again the Lord's Prayer, which asks for the ushering in of the "kingdom" of the "Father" (Mt 6:9-10) (see Prayer). Indeed, the many intertextual connections between the Lord's Prayer and the Lord's Supper, including the request for "daily bread" (Mt 6:11), have led a number of commentators, particularly patristic commentators, to interpret the former in light of the latter.

Matthew's editorial shaping of the Last Supper account may in part be explained by certain christological interests. Matthew's decision to preserve the verbal echoes of Exodus 24:8, Isaiah 53:10 and possibly Zechariah 9:11, already discernible in Mark's text, reinforces his presentation of Jesus. By modeling Jesus' actions on the covenant-making activity of Moses (Ex 24:8), Matthew seems to round out the Moses-Jesus typology, which figures so prominently

in the opening chapters: Jesus is the new *Moses, the inaugurator and mediator of a new covenant for a new-covenant people. Jesus is also decisively shown to be the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 (cf. Mt 8:17). Even if scholars disagree as to the significance of this identification, it would be hard to dispute, especially in view of the Matthean leitmotif of blood (e.g., Mt 23:30, 35; 27:4, 6, 8, 24-25), intimations of Jesus' role as righteous sufferer (Ham, 67-68). Finally, the additional possible nod to the Zecharian shepherd builds on earlier intertextually derived themes (e.g., Mt 9:36; 21:5, 12-16; 23:35), even as it anticipates further revelations of Jesus' identity as the stricken and betrayed shepherd (Mt 26:14-16, 31; 27:3-10) (Moo, 173; Wright, 560-61; Ham, 63).

Other, broader Matthean themes also intersect with his presentation of the Lord's Supper. First, if the ancients expected righteous rulers to provide food for their people, then Jesus' provision of bread in the wilderness (Mt 14:13-21; 15:32-39), following his earlier indictment of the current age (under the current authorities) as one of "hungering and thirsting" (Mt 5:6), has already marked itself off as a religio-political gesture. Now the same gesture is repeated and more tightly focused at the Last Supper (see Smit, 255-58). Second, recurring reference to the eschatological banquet (Mt 8:11-12) and more specifically to the eschatological wedding banquet (Mt 22:1-14; 25:1-13) now comes into view together in the final meal. At this point it becomes clear that Jesus' mixed *table fellowship, the source of so much criticism (Mt 9:9-13), was itself a harbinger of the heavenly banquet. Those who belong to this inaugurated banquet are those who have faith (Mt 8:10-12), who wear the appropriate garments (Mt 22:11-14) and who are sufficiently "ready" (Mt 25:11-12); these are the blessed righteous who take their places as guests of Jesus at the Last Supper (Mt 26:29). Third, and on a related point, the Last Supper scene crystalizes Matthew's interest in community self-definition, apparent from the very start (Mt 1:1-16) yet continuing through several nodal points (e.g., Mt 16:18; 18:15-35). In Matthew's composition the Lord's Supper becomes a unifying point for various important threads.

3. Luke.

Luke's version of the Lord's Supper (Lk 22:14-20) most closely aligns with Paul's (1 Cor 11:23-26), even as it shares certain features of the Markan-Matthean tradition, both in agreement with the Corinthian text and against it. Shared across the board is the fourfold action of taking the bread, giving thanks, breaking it and giving it; likewise, Jesus' identifica-

tion of the bread with his body also obtains in all four records (Lk 22:19 // Mt 26:26 // Mk 14:22 // 1 Cor 11:23-24). Between Luke and Paul alone one finds strikingly similar phrases bearing on the injunction “Do this in remembrance of me” (Lk 22:19 // 1 Cor 11:24) and the words “And he did the same with the cup after supper, saying, ‘This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood’” (Lk 22:20 // 1 Cor 11:25). Lacking in Paul but present in the triple tradition is Jesus’ statement regarding his drinking from the vine in the future (Lk 22:28 // Mt 26:25 // Mk 14:25) and his blood being “poured out” (Lk 22:20 // Mt 26:28 // Mk 14:24). As in Matthew and Mark, the future drinking from the vine will take place in the kingdom (Lk 22:18 // Mt 26:29 // Mk 14:25). This leaves a good amount of material unique to Luke, including the notice that Jesus and his apostles were reclining at the table (Lk 22:14), Jesus’ statement regarding his eagerness to consume this meal before his suffering (Lk 22:15) and the expectation of eating the bread again at the fulfillment (Lk 22:16). This makes Luke’s version the longest of the accounts, quite apart from Luke 22:19b-20 (which is omitted in the premier Western text but generally recognized as authentic).

Luke’s Last Supper is one of a number of meals, which are of special thematic interest to this evangelist. It is, of course, a meal that is distinctive in its own right. For example, even more so than in Mark and Matthew, the Lukan scene is stylized as part of a larger *farewell discourse (Lk 22:1-38), leading readers to expect a focal figure who in anticipation of his death reflects on the past and issues exhortations and promises about the future (Kurcz; Sellew, 75-77). At the same time, the Last Supper falls in line with *Mary’s expectation that the Messiah would “fill the hungry with good things” (Lk 1:53) and with the association, made explicit several times in Luke, between meals and the kingdom of God (Lk 13:29; 14:15). Luke’s reader surmises that this final meal is similar to other meals not only for *repentant sinners (Lk 5:30-32; 7:34; 15:2, 23-32; 19:7), but also for the socially outcast (Lk 14:16-24; 16:22). It also stands in contrast to other meals, particularly those with Jesus’ opponents (Lk 7:36-50; 11:37-54; 14:1-24), who give expression to and reinforce their social hierarchy through the Greek-style symposium (Smith). It is, of course, precisely this hierarchy, which through his own meals with sinners and quintessentially through the Last Supper, that Jesus seeks to deconstruct.

Within Luke’s narrative the Last Supper is a centerpiece within a triptych of meal scenes: the feeding of the five thousand (Lk 9:10-17), the Last Supper it-

self (Lk 22:14-20) and the incident on the Emmaus road (Lk 24:28-35). Like Matthew and Mark, Luke forges a link between Jesus’ specific actions at the Last Supper (taking, blessing, breaking, giving) and the same actions at the feeding miracle (Lk 9:16; 22:19); the same four verbs also occur in the meal at Emmaus (Lk 24:30). For Luke, as for Matthew and Mark, the connection between the feeding of the five thousand and the Last Supper serves to define the latter as a kind of messianic banquet to which the marginalized are invited.

For some scholars, Jesus’ eating at Emmaus—as well as the subsequent meals in Acts—is Luke’s attempt to cash out Jesus’ promise that he would eat with the disciples again in “fulfillment in the kingdom of God” (Lk 22:16). However, the very fact that Jesus promises to eat “it” (*auto* [Lk 22:16])—that is, precisely “this Passover” (*touto to pascha* [Lk 22:15])—in the kingdom militates against the suggestion: the last Passover consumed in Luke-Acts is that of the Last Supper. Like the other evangelists, Luke considers the kingdom as having already arrived yet awaiting full arrival; therefore, neither the kingdom nor Jesus eating in it can be said to be “fulfilled.” This, however, is not to disassociate the Last Supper from the Emmaus meal and the subsequent meals in Acts; rather, they are to be understood as occupying the same trajectory, heightening eschatological expectation and casting the post-Easter meals as emblems of the arriving kingdom (Green 1997, 760-61). Yet it remains appropriate that in Luke the Lord’s Supper situates itself between the feeding miracle and the Emmaus revelation, for, much like the Passover itself, it both looks back to the exodus of the past (of which the feeding is an antitype) and looks forward to the exodus to come (initiated already through Jesus’ resurrection).

Among other features distinctive of Luke’s account is the use of the word “apostles” (Lk 22:14) in reference to the disciples. True, compared to the other evangelists, Luke is relatively fond of the word (Luke, 6x; Matthew, 1x; Mark, 2x; John, none); nevertheless, inasmuch as the term draws attention to the disciples’ status as sent ones, Luke seems to be drawing a particular connection between the Twelve’s participation in the Last Supper and their call to evangelize, which is a central concern of Acts. Among the Synoptics, only in Luke do we find the disciples reclining (*anapiptō*), the posture of Passover because reclining was the posture of freedom. It is perhaps for this reason, despite the warnings issued to his disciples about the possible moral dangers of reclining (Lk 14:10; 17:7), that Luke is careful

to specify the disciples' physical position.

It is also noteworthy that in the words of institution Luke alone among the evangelists makes repeated reference to the kingdom of God (Lk 22:16, 18). In the same context he uniquely mentions the word "Passover" (Lk 22:15), and indeed this Passover is said to be fulfilled in the kingdom. Such language not only is a function of Luke's particular interest in the theme of fulfillment (Lk 1:1; 4:21; 9:31; 18:31; 21:22, 24; etc.) but also underscores the evangelist's determination to equate new exodus with the arrival of the kingdom (Lk 1:68-79; 9:28-36) (see Pao, 95-96). Assuming that the allusion to Exodus 24:8, which obtains for Mark and Matthew, is equally operative for Luke in Luke 22:20 ("blood which is poured out"), one gathers that for Luke, the Last Supper proleptically represents the unfolding climax of the kingdom, representing Jesus' sacrificial death, his resurrection, his *ascension and the parousia.

Luke's eagerness to fuse the concepts of Passover and Jesus' new exodus also comes to fore in his phrasing, paralleled in Paul (1 Cor 11:24) but lacking in Matthew and Mark, that the disciples are to "do this in remembrance of me" (Lk 22:19). Inasmuch as "remembrance" of the exodus was a key feature of the Passover (*m. Pesah* 10:5), Jesus' exhortation that the disciples re-perform the supper as a ritualized marker of a new Passover makes good sense. Yet it would be a mistake to restrict the sense of "remembrance" to mere cognition. D. Senior's remarks are worth quoting at length: "The command to 'Do this in remembrance of me' means more than continuing Jesus' practice of life-giving meals with disciples and outcasts. . . . Jesus had stated that the bread broken and cup poured out is *himself* in the act of dying for others. It is this central act of Jesus' mission . . . which the community is to 'do in remembrance of me'" (Senior, 64).

Finally, whereas Matthew and Mark have only the word "covenant," Luke, along with Paul (1 Cor 11:25), retains the phrase (from Jeremiah) "new covenant" (Lk 22:20), sharpening the connection with Jeremiah 31:31-34. Two key components of this new covenant are the inscribing of the law on the hearts of the renewed humanity (Jer 31:33) and the promise of forgiveness (Jer 31:34). If the former is given expression through Luke's extensive treatment of the Spirit in both Luke and Acts (*see Holy Spirit*), the latter also emerges through the Lukan theme of forgiveness (e.g., Lk 1:77; 4:18; 6:37). Arguably, there is no evangelist more conscious of Jesus' inaugurating the Jeremianic new covenant than Luke, and the words of institution confirm this.

4. John.

Like the Synoptic Gospels, John has an account of the Last Supper. Indeed, John's Gospel has a particular interest in the event. Wherever the supper may be thought to leave off in the narrative (a number of commentators see Jn 14:31 as its proper terminus), the essential thematic unity of the discourse of John 14-17, which naturally ties to John 13, constitutes roughly one-fifth of this Gospel, making John's account of the Last Supper by far the most expansive of any of the four. This, together with extended treatment of Jesus' flesh and blood in John 6 (see 4.3 below), may well suggest, despite some scholarly opinion (Bultmann; Lohse) to the contrary, that the meal in John's Gospel assumes a heightened theological significance vis-à-vis the triple tradition.

Of course, between John on the one side and the Synoptic tradition on the other there are notable points of difference. While John's Gospel appears to locate this meal on the evening before Passover, the Synoptics univocally describe the meal as a Passover meal and therefore on the night of the Passover. John omits the words of institution (cf. Mt 22:26-29 // Mk 14:22-25 // Lk 22:15-23) but includes instead a symbolic footwashing as a conspicuous piece (Jn 13:1-20); in the triple tradition the words of institution are pushed to the forefront with no mention of any footwashing. Whereas in the Synoptic tradition the feeding of the five thousand closes with little comment, John's narrative contains at the same point an extensive discourse, seemingly fraught with eucharistic allusions (Jn 6:51-58). Differences such as these require explanation.

4.1. The Dating of the Last Supper. While the inconsistencies between the John's Gospel and the Synoptic tradition may at first blush incline us to see these two meal accounts as portraying two distinct occasions, the shared components (a solemn farewell meal accompanied by predictions of denial and apostasy, all occurring shortly before Jesus' arrest) militate against such a conclusion. Still, there is a rather pressing problem, as the Synoptics clearly convey the Last Supper as a Passover meal, in which case we would expect that event to have occurred on the night of Nisan 15, whereas John gives various indications that Jesus was executed before the evening of the Passover (Jn 13:1; 18:28; 19:14), implying a discrepancy of roughly twenty-four hours between John's account and the Synoptics. What are we to make of this?

One possibility is that John has preserved the correct dating, which means that Jesus expired on the afternoon of Nisan 14, as the Passover lambs

were being slaughtered in preparation for the proscribed evening meal. (Recall that ancient Jews regularly counted sundown as the start of the day.) If so, this then raises the question of whether the Synoptic tradition has led centuries of readers down a garden path by presenting the meal as a Passover. J. Jeremias's definitive study, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, presents an impressive list of reasons why this is unlikely. Among other lines of argument, he points out that the meal (1) takes place in Jerusalem (a requirement for those eating the Passover); (2) occurs at night, as proscribed by Passover tradition, as opposed to the normal mealtime of late afternoon; (3) includes an interpretation from the host, an element that would have been expected, though certainly in different terms and with different references, in the Passover *haggadah*. Details such as these are hardly superficial and unlikely to have been merely tacked onto an antecedent tradition.

An alternative solution is to take the Synoptic record at face value, leading us to believe that the Last Supper was indeed a Paschal meal, and that John has left a misleading impression. A common explanation in support of this position is that John has moved the date of Jesus' death to Nisan 14, so that, even as the Passover lambs were being slaughtered at the temple, Jesus might become the replacement Passover lamb more fully. A variation on this approach is to harmonize John in the direction of the Synoptic account by giving a fresh reading of the relevant chronological indicators (e.g., Jn 13:1; 18:28; 19:14), which generally have been misunderstood as entailing Jesus' death falling before the Passover. Although arguments along this line have succeeded in making at least a partial case, one wonders whether this approach requires too much special pleading (see Marshall, 68-70).

A third general line of approach seeks to reconcile John and the Synoptics by positing either that Jesus intentionally took his Passover early (France; Wright) or that he adhered to a calendrical reckoning that was different from that of the temple (Jaubert; Strack and Billerbeck, 2:847-53). While no explanation is ironclad, the arguments of A. Jaubert and P. Billerbeck continue to find sanguine support in current scholarship (see Instone-Brewer; Nodet). Harmonizing proposals, if not strained, have the advantage of dispensing with the dubious assumption that the evangelists sat loose to chronological details, which, on account of the foundational nature of the event, would come to matter so deeply to the earliest believers (cf. 1 Cor 11:23-26) (see Synoptics and John).

4.2. *John's Omission of the Words of Institution.*

Given John's interest in the Last Supper, the absence of the words of institution is all the more conspicuous. This omission has been explained in various ways. One possibility is that the author of the John's Gospel was simply unaware of the tradition (Kysar, 259; Koester, 432-33). Alternatively, it has been suggested that John, unlike the Synoptic writers, was keen to preserve the words of institution as a secret mystery, preventing casual outside readers from becoming privy to the ritual (Jeremias, 125-37; Ball, 65). A third approach, quite popular for the better part of the twentieth century, ascribes John's silence to his supposedly antisacramental stance, which, according to this interpretation, is hardly undermined by rather clear allusions to the sacrament in John 6:51-58, since the same passage is to be explained as a late interpolation (Bultmann, 154-57; Lohse). A fourth approach, a softer version of the preceding option and one that allows for the essential unity of John 6, argues that John is not rejecting the sacrament wholesale but rather is emphasizing the meal's christological focus in the face of an overly high sacramentology, discernible in, for example, the early second-century writing of Ignatius (Ign. *Eph.* 20:2) (Dunn; Marshall, 133-39). Finally, it is also possible that John is aware of the Synoptic accounts and/or an oral eucharistic liturgy and is simply assuming as much on the part of his readership without polemical intent (Petersen, 207-8).

The foregoing competing explanations for John's failure to produce the words of institution have won varying numbers of adherents in the current discussion. That John was simply ignorant of the Eucharist is a position that, though maintained by several reputable Johannine scholars, is not generally supported. Neither has the second model, that John was intent on perpetuating the eucharistic tradition as a secret tradition, commanded a broad following. The third approach, which sees the text contained in John 6:51c-58 (plus or minus a verse or two) as late redaction, has also fallen on hard times; today the overall unity of John 6 seems all but secure (Culpepper 1997, 257; Petersen, 201-11). This leaves in play the final two approaches cited above: either John deliberately chose to omit the words of institution as part of a larger attempt to (re)direct his readers' attention to Christ (as opposed to the sacrament), or the evangelist simply presupposed the tradition, and consequently a polemical background can hardly be inferred from its omission. Here the possibility also remains open that John omitted the words of institution as part of a larger, positive theological point that

was not necessarily polemical.

Toward resolving the problem of John's omission, it may be relevant that scholars have found eucharistic undertones at various locations within this Gospel. Not surprisingly, these undertones occur at various "volumes" and enjoy varying levels of scholarly support. For example, some detect allusion to the Eucharist in the wedding at Cana (Jn 2:1-11), even if the more skeptical line on this question (represented by, e.g., Macgregor; Lindars) seems to have held the day. Suggestions and doubts (but mostly doubts) have also swirled around the putative eucharistic character of John 19:34; 20:19-29. Such passages betray only the softest hints of eucharistic theology, if present at all.

Yet there are also passages that carry a higher degree of resonance and thus also more probative weight as intentional allusions to the sacrament. For example, it is not out of the question that eucharistic allusion is bound up in Jesus' statement to be the "true vine" (Jn 15:1, 5) (Barrett; Scholtissek, 350). In favor of this position, it is *a priori* unlikely for Jesus to have invoked "the vine" in connection with the eucharistic cup (cf. Mt 26:29 // Mk 14:25 // Lk 22:18) and then a second time—assuming a harmony between the Johannine and Synoptic accounts—in the same meal setting (Jn 15:1-8) with no association whatsoever; against this suggestion is the problem of how Jesus' self-identification with the vine in John 15 relates to the eschatological vine of the Synoptics. For a number of readers of John 21, who find impressive links between John 21 and John 6, the meal-setting restoration of Peter is even more deeply tinged with shades of Eucharist (Culpepper 2006, 400). Here, it may be argued that when John 15 and John 21 are triangulated with John 6, one may discern an accumulation of evidence that the evangelist interpreted certain elements of the Jesus story through sacramental lenses. Interestingly, in both chapters a common thread is found in the notion of utter self-giving (Jn 15:12-13; 21:15-19).

This observation in turn may shed some light on why John includes the footwashing scene precisely where one would expect the words of institution. In John 13 Jesus, after performing the menial task of washing his disciples' feet, interprets his action as a norming pattern for his followers to follow (Jn 13:14-17) (*see* Slave, Servant). On the assumption (again commonly accepted) that John knew the words of institution and self-consciously "replaced" these with Jesus' highly symbolic footwashing, it may be surmised that the evangelist intended the humble action as a kind of dramatic commentary on the

Lord's Supper (Schnackenburg; Beasley-Murray 1987, 225-26; Henrici, 148-50). John seems to imply that just as Jesus indicated his self-giving death through the bread and cup, so too should Jesus' followers order their lives along the pattern of ultimate self-giving, instantiated in very concrete terms in the act of footwashing. Some have expanded the point, arguing that it may be not just the footwashing scene (Jn 13) but indeed this chapter, together with the whole of Jesus' discourse (Jn 13-17), that constitutes John's creative re-presentation of the Lord's Supper (Beasley-Murray, 474). The appeal of this overall explanation lies not only in its apparent heuristic value for a more robustly theological reading of John, but also in its willingness (often missing in earlier, more narrowly focused approaches) to appreciate the narrative contours of the evangelists' theological strategy (Schröter). Whether this explanation or another wins the day remains to be seen.

4.3. *The Bread Discourse in John 6 (Jn 6:51c-58).*

Quite apart from John 6 as a whole, John 6:51c-58 remains one of the most debated passages in Johannine studies. This is understandable because the text not only has remained at the center of eucharistic debates (at least from the time of Trent) but also involves a set of interpretive issues requiring separate judgments regarding the function of metaphor within John's Gospel. On the one side are those who maintain that Jesus' mention of his flesh and blood refers strictly to the Eucharist, either sitting uneasily alongside the christological content of John 6:35-51b, prompting speculation regarding its composite nature, or introducing a new line of thought ultimately compatible with the same passage. On the other side are those who insist that the author's primary interest is christological. Within this latter camp are (1) those who see a christological focus with absolutely no reference to the Eucharist (an older position seldom held today); (2) those who see a christological focus rhetorically served by the use of well-established eucharistic terms; (3) those who see a christological focus signified by eucharistic terms as part of a secondary strategy to convey teachings on the Eucharist.

The eucharistic reading tends to rely on the following exegetical considerations. First, on a general level, since John's audience would have likely recognized these terms as eucharistic, the burden of proof falls on those who wish to dispute the face-value reading of the text, which is that in John 6:51c-58 the evangelist has in mind nothing less than the Eucharist itself. Second, whereas the bulk of the discourse identifies Jesus as the bread come down from

heaven, in the section beginning with John 6:51c the bread of heaven is now, quite differently, identified as Jesus' flesh and blood. Third, there is a contrast between the Father giving the bread of heaven (Jn 6:32) and Jesus giving the bread (Jn 6:51c): the distinction of source suggests that these breads are distinct in kind. Fourth, the use of "eat" (*phagō* [second aorist of *esthiō*]) in the early part of the discourse requires a metaphorical interpretation, but the introduction of "chew" (*trōgō*) suggests a concrete reality and therefore suggests a literal as opposed to figurative bread. Such exegetical points, less than exhaustive, certainly are weighty enough to merit careful consideration.

Those who advocate a christological reading of the same passage in turn advance their own arguments. The following are representative. First, given the historical backdrop, John is almost certainly alluding to the Second Temple Jewish belief that manna contained within itself the life-giving *wisdom of Yahweh (Philo, *Leg.* 2.86; *Mut.* 253-263; *Mek. Exod.* 13:17; CD-A VI, 4); thus, his point is to identify Jesus as the true and superior bread, true wisdom—that is, true food and drink (Jn 6:55) (Borgen, 61-67; Petersen, 208-25). Along these lines, the images of bread and blood introduced in John 6:51-58 need not introduce an entirely new field of reference but may instead be understood as a metaphorical elaboration on the theme of belief already initiated in John 6:47. Second, if John was primarily interested in invoking the eucharistic tradition, it is unclear why he makes recurring use of *sarx* ("flesh") (Jn 6:51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 63) rather than employing what would have been the much more familiar synoptic/Pauline term *sōma* ("This is my body"), which presumably was the standard liturgical term as early as the mid-first century. Third, it is urged that the use of *sarx* in John 6 should be interpreted in light of the prologue, where the same term is most naturally to be identified with the incarnate Lord (Jn 1:14), who gives himself on behalf of the world (Jn 3:16) (Moloney, 115). Fourth, if John has the Eucharist foremost in mind, then he is also proposing the Eucharist as a sufficient condition for eschatological resurrection. But if this is his intent, then certainly he does himself no favors by including John 6:40, which makes *faith the sole condition for resurrection. Even more difficult to reconcile is the phrase "the flesh [*sarx*] counts for nothing" (Jn 6:63).

In recent decades commentators have been increasingly persuaded by both John 6:51-58's organic connection with John's Gospel as a whole and the merits of the christological reading. Yet given that

this Gospel was written at a time when the Lord's Supper was already well established within the early church, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the passage is performing a kind of double duty, illuminating first and foremost the nature of Jesus' death and secondarily at least certain aspects of the Eucharist. Whereas in the first three Gospels (and Paul) the Lord's Supper was understood simultaneously as a covenantal meal and a meal of remembrance, here in John familiar sacramental terms are deployed to express the spiritual activity of believing and *abiding, signifying and perhaps even in some sense effecting a divine transaction. Along these lines, R. Daly rightly remarks that in John's treatment of the Lord's Supper "the Eucharist has become a 'sacrament'" (Daly, 13).

See also BREAD; DEATH OF JESUS; FAREWELL DISCOURSE; FEASTS; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; TABLE FELLOWSHIP; WINE; WORSHIP.

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LATINO/LATINA CRITICISM

Latino/Latina criticism in the United States is concerned with interpreting the biblical text from the perspective of Latinos and Latinas. The terms *Latino* (masc.) and *Latina* (fem.) are the Spanish words for the term *Latin*, and they refer to people of Latin American origin. "Latino/a criticism" refers not to a particular method but rather to a critical perspective applying a plurality of approaches. Latino/Latina criticism as a whole has been dominated by the intention to respond to the socioeconomic realities of Latinos/as in the United States. It considers the sociocultural context of Latinos/as as the focal point of interpreting the biblical text and finds the social configurations within the Hispanic American reality as its departure point. Latino/a criticism is a relatively young area of study, emerging within for only the last four decades. Not all Latino/a theologians use this perspective. This article surveys the development of Latino/a criticism, methodologies and major themes/characteristics.

1. Development of Latino/a Criticism and the Study of the Gospels
2. Methodologies
3. Major Themes/Characteristics
4. Conclusion

1. Development of Latino/a Criticism and the Study of the Gospels.

1.1. Beginnings. As a discipline, Latino/a criticism began to surface in the 1980s probably with the writings of V. Elizondo, a Roman Catholic priest; J. González, a Methodist theologian; and O. Costas, a missiologist and Baptist pastor. Their writings became the origins of what was later called

"Latino/a perspective." Their research was based on the Gospels.

In his 1983 book *Galilean Journey* Elizondo deals with the subject of the prejudices and marginalization by Judean Jews against *Galilean Jews in the Gospels (e.g., Mk 14:70; Lk 22:59). Elizondo compares the marginalization of Galilean Jews (who had a particular accent) by the Jews who lived in Judea with the experience of Mexican Americans in the United States. Around the same time, González, working on a series of sermons based on the story of Jesus' passion, discovered the theme of the marginalization of Galileans by Judeans and how it played an important role in the text. Likewise, Costas's essays "Evangelism from the Periphery: A Galilean Model" and "Evangelism from the Periphery: The Universality of Galilee" were published in 1982. These three theologians developed the theme of Galilean marginality from different perspectives and unbeknownst to each other.

1.2. From the 1980s to the 2010s. In the 1980s an important window opened up for the development of a Latino/a perspective in theology with the publication of the journal *Apuntes*, in 1981, under the editorial direction of J. González and through the Mexican American program of Perkins School of Theology. O. Espín states that Latino/a theology in the United States was born in the 1980s and the 1990s "at the intersection" of European, European American, and Latin American theology and within the "diverse context of the U.S. Latino/a communities" (Espín, 22). Espín recognizes that Latino/a theology "borrowed heavily from Latin American liberation theology" (Espín, 22), but it is clearly different in "methodological styles" and in "categories of analysis and topics" (Espín, 48-49). The same differences exist with regard to European and European American theologies.

Around the 1990s Latino criticism began to locate itself within the field of theology. The creation of La Asociación para la Educación Teológica Hispana (1991), founded by J. González, and the publication of the *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology* (1993) also promoted theological reflections among Latino/a theologians. The creation of La Comunidad (the Community) of Hispanic Scholars in Theology and Religion (1990) within the American Academy of Religion placed Latino theology in the academe. The last several decades have witnessed a rapid development of Latino/a criticism, resulting in a transformation within a globalized Latin American culture as well as within the field of Latino/a criticism.

2. Methodologies.

Various methodologies are used by Latino/a theologians, among them liberation hermeneutics, social-science methodologies, social location, *postcolonial criticism, cultural studies, literary criticism (especially reader-response), epistemology and *feminist criticism. According to Espín, the "first generation of Latino/a theologians were educated in either U.S., European, or Latin American universities" (Espín, 48). Therefore, the methodological tools of this first generation of theologians were from those schools and were predominantly European and American. Over time, the essays and articles that treated Latino/a criticism from different perspectives have proven to be literatures of various methodologies. This section surveys three main methodologies used by Latino/a theologians.

2.1. A Liberation Hermeneutic. Latino/a criticism in the United States has emerged in dialogue with Latin American liberation theology. Latin American liberation theology is interested in the socio-political situation of the poor, popular culture and religion. Vatican II, lead by Pope John XXIII, brought fundamental changes to the Catholic Church. It had an impact in Latin America with its liberationist themes on human dignity, freedom and social justice. These movements occurred in the Catholic and Protestant churches in Latin America. In 1971 G. Gutiérrez, a Catholic priest, first published his book *Teología de la liberación: Perspectivas* ("Liberation Theology: Perspectives"). He emphasizes the development of a theology based on God's interest in and relationship with the poor, and a theology that calls for a liberating praxis. The argument of God's identification with the poor is supported by the prophetic writings in the OT and by the NT, especially the Gospels. Jesus himself identifies with the marginalized and the poor, and by his cross he liberated them. Liberation figures prominently in Jesus' message and mission, especially in the Gospel of Luke (e.g., Lk 4:16-21). Liberation theology seeks to restore human dignity, justice and equality.

The social picture of the Latino/a community in the United States is one of marginalization. Given this social situation, the voices of Latino/a theologians have been inclined to embrace liberation theology and its preference for the poor, the oppressed and the marginalized. Although Latino/a criticism in the United States was born out of the development of liberation theology in South America, its foundational insight is based on the United States contexts. Latino/a criticism formulates an interpretation in the context of experience of marginaliza-

tion and identifies struggles of the Latino/a community in the United States. J. González discusses three *parables: the lost sheep (Lk 15:3-7), the lost coin (Lk 15:8-10) and the prodigal son (Lk 15:11-32). He asserts that these parables originally were spoken not to the marginalized people, but rather to “those who have never been lost,” the *Pharisees and the *scribes (González 1996, 45). Jesus “is not merely speaking of God’s love for the margin, but he is speaking of those who think they belong at the center” (González 1996, 45). To be true servants of God, those who are at the center have to seek the lost. Studying these parables from a Latino perspective allows us to identify matters that are pertinent to the situation of marginality of Latino/a community.

2.2. The Interpreter’s Social Location and Social-Science Methodologies. The social location of the interpreter and his or her community plays a significant role in Latino/a criticism. It is a highly contextual criticism that incorporates the analyses of socio-cultural, sociohistorical, economic and political locations. Latino/a criticism does not seek for a sole meaning of the text or universal truths. Rather, it searches for an interpretation of the text influenced by the social location of the interpreter and for the people within those particular locations. Also Latino/a criticism does not claim total objectivity, in line with R. Bultmann’s principle affirming that objective interpretation is impossible to achieve. What the interpreter finds in the text depends on what he or she brings to the text. The Mexican American theologian L. Guardiola-Saenz uses identity as a hermeneutical lens. She studies the story of the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28) as an encounter of “two cultures in contest” (Guardiola-Saenz, 92). She proposes that “it is a story of borderland conflicts between the original inhabitants and those who have dispossessed them” (Guardiola-Saenz, 94). She interprets this story from her own sociohistorical condition of being dispossessed from the borderlands of the United States. The Canaanite woman, who is used by the author to affirm Israel’s election, is also used “to confront the one who has advised his disciples to “go nowhere among the gentiles” (Mt 10:5) (Guardiola-Saenz, 95). Guardiola-Saenz holds that the Canaanite woman is not a humble dog begging for crumbs; she is a dispossessed woman who has awakened from her position as oppressed and now demands the right to be treated as human (Guardiola-Saenz, 95). Guardiola-Saenz’s Latina perspective brings other possible interpretations of this passage about the Canaanite woman.

The importance of social location can be seen in

the work of J. González. He has developed a theology of *mañana* (“tomorrow”), in which Latino/as in the United States are the “people of the exile.” Its central element is what he calls a reading of the Bible “in Spanish,” which means “reading it with the clear awareness that we are not before a dead text, for the text that we address addresses us in return”; it is a “reading of ourselves and our situation” (González 1990, 86-87). González also studies the Gospel of Luke, and he asserts that the central theme of this Gospel is its “subversiveness” or “upsidedownness” that questions the existing order (González 2010, 127). This reversal appears also in Mark and Matthew. In Luke there is a contrast between the powerful, who cannot hear the message (Lk 2:1-2), and the powerless, who do (Lk 2:8-18). The Magnificat (Lk 1:46-55) and the passage describing the beginning of Jesus’ ministry (Lk 4:16-30) are subversive. In particular, in Luke 4:16-30 Jesus is rejected when he gives the “example of God’s preferring the Syrian Naaman and the Sidonian widow over the people of Israel” (González 2010, 129). From a Latino/a perspective, Jesus is rejected not for what he claims to be; rather, he is rejected by those who considered themselves to be in a position of advantage (González 2010, 129). Another upsidedownness that appears in Luke, Matthew and Mark is that Jesus has come to those who are considered inferior and disobedient to the law. It is in opposition to the strictly religious people and the Pharisees. González says that this reversal is important for Latinos/as, who often are dubbed “illegal” (González 2010, 129). Latino/a criticism proposes a new reading of the Bible from the perspective of the marginalized.

The social sciences are very important for Latino/a criticism, precisely because of the emphasis of Latino/a theology on social location. Latino/a criticism uses social-science methodologies as a means of accessing the social reality of Latinos/as in the United States and then “theologize[s] from the reality described by the social data” (Espín, 26).

2.3. Teología en Conjunto. *Teología en conjunto* (“collaborative theology”) is a collaborative dialogue among Latino/a theologians, scholars in other fields, and the faith community. It is the practice of gathering together to discuss a particular topic. Scholars bring their own expertise to the discussion, and the community discusses the text out of its own experience. Therefore, *teología en conjunto* goes beyond the academic setting. Through dialogue, the issues, concerns and struggles faced by Latino/as are addressed. This collaborative endeavor seeks to develop a theology grounded in the situation of mar-

ginalized people and to transform the church in order to be agents of change. Not all Latino/a theology has been developed in *conjunto*. But Latino/a theologians emphasize the communal over an individual style of doing theology. Latino/a criticism sees the Bible as the possession of a community rather than an individual interpreter (González 2010, 125). There is also a greater sense of and opening to ecumenism, especially among Protestant and Catholics. The collaborative and ecumenical dialogue of Latino/a theologians is framed by a common objective of cultural and social struggle.

3. Major Themes/Characteristics.

3.1. *Mestizaje*. *Mestizaje* is one of the major themes in Latino/a criticism. This term refers to the blending of people and culture. It generally is used to refer to the mixture of Spanish and Native American cultures. J. Vasconcelos, a Mexican philosopher, educator and politician, developed the concept of *mestizaje* (which had been a negative label with a connotation of illegitimacy) as a philosophical idea. In his treatise *La raza cósmica* ("The Cosmic Race") Vasconcelos presents the mixed cultural identity of Mexican and Latin American as a challenge to theories of racial superiority based on Western elitism. For Vasconcelos, the mixing of races is a natural direction for humankind.

Within this framework, V. Elizondo was the first to develop a theology of *mestizaje* based on the historical and cultural realities of Mexican Americans in the borderlands between the United States and Mexico. Elizondo uses the concept to develop a theology of identity. *Mestizo* persons make up their identity from their heritage cultures. Mexican Americans experience cultural marginalization because they are not totally accepted by either of their heritage cultures, Mexican and Anglo-American. Elizondo's theology is rooted in the writings of the NT, especially the Synoptic Gospels. He compares the Mexican American experience with Jesus' experience as a *mestizo* from Galilee who was marginalized by many Jews and Gentiles. The Galilean *mestizo* became the redeemer of those marginalized and of humankind. In Jesus, God becomes "the marginated, shamed, and rejected of the world" (Elizondo 1995, 19). God chose Jesus, who had a Galilean identity, to be the Savior, transcending ethnic boundaries that divide human beings. Jesus' message and work were liberating and inclusive, and they anticipated the experience and liberation of Mexican Americans.

Elizondo proposes that Mexican Americans, as rejected and chosen people, can be instruments to

bring "unity between the people of the two Americas" (Elizondo 1983, 100). Bilingualism and biculturalism as social location allow one to engage in cultural critique, formation and change and to point the way to the new life. Other Latino/a scholars have built upon Elizondo's work, with multiple appropriations (types, views, meanings) of *mestizaje* (e.g., *satos* and *mulatos*) (Martell-Ortero, 675).

3.2. *Praxis and Popular Religiosity*. Latino/a theologians seek to locate the theological task within the praxis of their communities. One of the main characteristics of Latino/a criticism is its ongoing dialogue with the experiences of the people and the Latino/a church. It produces a theology that emerges from the church; it intertwines the thought of Latino/a scholars with the church and its needs. It is a "praxis-based theology" (Goizueta, 71).

Another characteristic of Latino/a theology is that it takes into account the religious nature of the culture and faith expressions of the people. "Popular religiosity" can be defined as those practices, rituals, symbols and expressions that derive from the community of faith in which they enhance their awareness of the gospel and their faith in Christ. O. Espín states that popular Christianity is "a bearer of culture and identity"; for Espín, the rites and symbols of popular Christianity are "like doors" through which one may sense the faith of the people and their struggles (Espín, 35). Through cultural and religious symbols the marginalized express their experiences of oppression and their hopes. The expressions of popular religiosity are more present in Catholicism than in Protestantism.

Popular religiosity reveals praxis as "inherently communal" and "celebratory, or aesthetic" (Goizueta, 67). Popular religious praxis affirms community in the face of the experience of marginalization, and it becomes a "crucial source of empowerment and liberation" (Goizueta, 69).

3.3. *Emphasis on Scripture*. Latino/a criticism places "great stress on Scripture"; in particular, Protestant interpreters give priority to Scripture (González 1998, 12). J. González says that Latino/a Protestant theologians begin their interpretation of a particular text by "the actual reading of Scripture"; it is the first stage (González 2010, 119). Latino/a criticism sees the Bible as "an effective weapon in the struggles against marginalization and discrimination and a faithful ally in the struggle for liberation" (Segovia 1992, 49).

4. Conclusion.

Latino/a criticism has made distinctive contribu-

tions to theological fields. Latino/a perspectives and approaches to the Gospels may enable readers to identify values and discover meanings that might be unclear or not identifiable with other approaches. A Latino/a perspective and its different approaches unveil marginality and challenge traditional approaches of interpretation. Latino/a scholars who use this criticism ground their interpretation in their culture, creating a theology that responds to the Latino/a social realities and brings insights that can serve the church in general. Latino/a criticism also has helped move biblical interpretation toward becoming more globalized and “less eurocentric or Western” (Segovia 1998, 20).

At the same time, this criticism emerging from the social context of Latino/a Americans needs to be addressed “in full dialogue with contemporary theology and biblical hermeneutics” (Segovia 1992, 49). Latino/a criticism needs to become self-conscious and aware that the experience of marginalization will not become the only or the normative context for the interpretation of the Scripture.

See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN CRITICISM; FEMINIST AND WOMANIST CRITICISMS; POSTCOLONIAL CRITICISM; THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPELS.

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A. González-Tejera

LAW

The issue of the law in the NT, the Jewish law, the Torah, has usually been focused on the writings of Paul. Paul was the one who, in opening the *gospel to all who believe, including *Gentiles, refused to demand that Gentile believers become proselytes—that is, accept circumcision and conform to the law. In consequence there has been a strong tradition in interpreting the NT that infers from Paul’s letters that gospel and law are antithetic, polar opposites. But what was the attitude toward the law of Jesus and the Gospels?

1. The Controversy over Jesus and the Law
2. Jesus the Pious Jew
3. Disputes on Points of Law (Mark)
4. More Disputes (Q and Matthew)
5. Love as Motivation
6. The Impact of Jesus’ Teaching

1. The Controversy over Jesus and the Law.

A regrettable feature of the history of Christianity has been a tendency to distance itself from *Judaism. In the modern quest of the historical Jesus this was

expressed in the unwillingness to recognize the Jewishness of Jesus. The key issue was Jesus' attitude toward the Torah, the Jewish law. The controversies with the *Pharisees attested in all four Gospels, which will be examined below, provided reason to conclude that Jesus had rejected the law and even "broken" with Judaism. Even eminently responsible critics such as J. Jeremias found that Jesus had "criticized" the Torah, abolished some of its precepts, and "rejected" the halakah (the Pharisaic interpretations of the law) "in a radical way" (Jeremias, 204-11). And M. Hengel could assert Jesus' "sovereign liberty over against the letter of scripture, indeed over against the Mosaic Torah in general" (Hengel, 47).

The whole picture was darkened by the conviction, stemming from the Reformation, that the Judaism of Jesus' time was legalistic in character, with the Pharisees being seen as the representatives and enforcers of a religion unhealthily dominated by the law. The Gospels' representation of Jesus' confrontation with Pharisees could then be seen as already embodying the gospel's rejection of the law, of Judaism's legalism. And, typically through most of the twentieth century, Jesus could be portrayed as the one who proclaimed the nearness of God in contrast to a Judaism, which interposed the law between God and his worshippers. The law was seen as essentially a problem, and the Judaism that centered on the law was seen as passé ("late Judaism" = the last Judaism!).

The last generation, however, has seen a fresh assessment of Jesus and the law, largely, though not exclusively, due to E. P. Sanders. Sanders pointed out, with greater effect than his protesting predecessors, that the Judaism of Jesus' time was not at all so legalistic as had been represented in Christian scholarship. The keeping of the law was what Israel had committed itself to as its response to and part in the covenant that God had made with Israel. To be obedient to the law given at Sinai was to be faithful to the covenant, to be a good Jew, much as Christians believed themselves to be similarly obligated to live lives expressive of their commitment to Christ as Lord and obedient to his lordship. The motivation of Pharisees, as desiring to show how the law applied to the different circumstances of Second Temple Judaism, more liberal than the ruling Sadducees, were more to be applauded than denigrated. Consequently, Jesus could be seen as a dialogue partner to various Pharisees, in arguing about how the law should be interpreted (Sanders; Vermes). Or he could even be regarded as a Pharisee himself (Falk; Maccoby).

When such diametrical opposition in opinion is

possible, it becomes all the more important to consider the evidence with care and with as little presupposition, prejudicial or otherwise, as possible. In this instance it is desirable to avoid the more traditional method of inquiry, which looks for what distinguished Jesus and set him apart from his context within Second Temple Judaism. Rather, the more recent approach, sometimes designated the "third quest of the historical Jesus," indicates the desirability of seeing Jesus within that context. Some of this will be unavoidably speculative, but quite a lot can be said with confidence about the context within which Jesus came to adulthood. And since that will also be the context within which Jesus conducted his mission and taught regarding the Torah, it will in any case be important for any evaluation of the motivation and impact of his teaching.

2. Jesus the Pious Jew.

We can be confident that Jesus was brought up as a pious Jew. His parents gave his brothers names that evoked Israel's famous patriarchs ("James/Jacob," "Joses/Joseph," "Judas/Judah," "Simon/Simeon" [Mk 6:3]), and Jesus himself was named after Joshua. In his childhood and youth he no doubt attended the local *synagogue regularly and learned Torah, together with attendant prophets, psalms and other writings. The picture painted in the Gospels of his knowledge of and familiarity with Israel's Scriptures is entirely plausible (e.g., Mk 2:25-26; 7:6-8; 10:5-8; 12:26).

At least some pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the great *feasts can be assumed of Jesus. The story in Luke 2:41-51 suggests that (preparation for) Jesus' transition to manhood was regarded as a particularly appropriate occasion for a pilgrimage. At any rate, he would have been familiar with the *temple and its functionaries, *priests who served locally as teachers and magistrates (Mk 1:44), and the requirements of tithing (Mt 23:23 // Lk 11:42) and purity (Mk 1:40-44; 7:15-23; Mt 23:25-26 // Lk 11:39-41). In attending the temple, he would, of course, have observed the necessary purity rituals. We can also assume that the adult Jesus observed the *Sabbath, attended the synagogue, and "gave every seventh day over to the study of our customs and law" (Josephus, *Ant.* 16:43), even though only Luke 4:16 indicates that synagogue attendance was his normal custom. The references to the "tassels" of Jesus' garment (Mt 9:20 // Lk 8:44; Mt 14:36 // Mk 6:56) suggest that he was a pious Jew who took his religious obligations seriously. He certainly would have encountered Pharisees and have been familiar with their con-

cerns to interpret the Torah for their own time.

The same degree of what may properly be called “Torah piety” is evident in Jesus’ own mission. He is remembered as observing the law on leprosy (Mk 1:44 par.; Lk 17:14; cf. Lev 13:49), and as directing the rich young man who inquired regarding eternal life to the second table of the Ten Commandments (Mk 10:19 par.). He is depicted as basing his own teaching foursquare on the Torah (Mk 7:10; 10:6-7; 12:26, 29-31). Matthew records a saying in which Jesus assumes continued participation in the temple sacrifices (Mt 5:23-24). Another passage has him being consulted on what was an issue of inheritance law (Lk 12:13). And overall, the Jesus tradition’s many echoes of Scripture, Isaiah and Psalms in particular, attest the extent to which “Jesus lived in the Old Testament” (Jeremias, 205-6). As will become evident, Matthew’s portrayal of Jesus as so devoted to the law must be rooted to at least a fair degree in such memories of Jesus’ Torah piety.

At the same time, Jesus is remembered as ignoring accepted tradition and practice with regard to the Sabbath, accepting physical contact with those thought to be virulently unclean (Mk 1:41; 5:1-34), and welcoming *table fellowship with “sinners”—that is, those regarded as condemned by the law (Mt 11:19; Mk 2:16-17; Lk 15:2). These attitudes and practices provoked Pharisaic criticism and pose the issue of Jesus and the law more sharply.

3. Disputes on Points of Law (Mark).

The most relevant passages in the Gospels are the accounts where Jesus is engaged by Pharisees on whether his teaching or conduct (or that of his disciples) was in breach of or disregard for the law. The sequence of episodes described by Mark provides the agenda.

3.1. The Sabbath. All three Synoptic Gospels relate two vivid episodes in which Jesus or his disciples were criticized for failure to observe the Sabbath: plucking grain on the Sabbath (Mt 12:1-8 // Mk 2:23-28 // Lk 6:1-5) and healing a man with a withered hand on the Sabbath (Mt 12:9-14 // Mk 3:1-5 // Lk 6:6-11). In addition, Luke recalls two other or variant episodes (Lk 13:10-17; 14:1-6), and John retains the memory of criticisms made of Jesus for failure to observe the Sabbath (Jn 5; 7; 9).

Although the vividness of the retelling could indicate some early Christian enhancement of the issues, we know from pre-Christian Jewish texts that Sabbath halakic rulings had already been well developed by the time of Jesus (*Jub.* 2:17-33; 50:8-12; CD-A X, 14—XI, 18). For example, CD-A XI, 12-17 includes

these rulings: “No one should help an animal give birth on the Sabbath. And if [it falls] into a cistern or a pit, he should not take it out on the Sabbath. . . . And any living man who falls into a place of water or into a [reservoir?], no one should take him out with a ladder or a rope or a utensil.” Thus, when Jesus responds to Pharisees’ criticism by pointing out that they themselves would rescue a sheep that had fallen into a pit on the Sabbath (Mt 12:11 // Lk 14:5), the reader is immediately transposed into the halakic disputes of Jesus’ time, in which it seems that Pharisaic Sabbath halakah was not so strict on this point as *Essene or Qumran halakah (cf. *m. Yoma* 8:6).

So the episodes fit well into the context of Jesus’ mission and give us a vivid impression of the sort of halakic disputes that must have been a feature of the factionalism of Second Temple Judaism. In this case, the most obvious probability is that some Pharisees who had come down from Jerusalem to gain a first-hand impression of the teacher from Nazareth criticized Jesus for a latitude with regard to Sabbath halakah that they judged to be in breach of Sabbath law.

Jesus’ response highlights two aspects of his attitude to the law. First, Jesus had a high regard for the Sabbath as a gift from God: “The sabbath was made for humankind” (Mk 2:27). There is no hint that he ignored the Sabbath completely or wanted to abolish the Sabbath law. The fundamental point was that the Sabbath was provided for Israel’s benefit; to make Israel subservient to the Sabbath was to miss the point of the Sabbath. Given this role of the Sabbath, then, the issue was simply about what conduct was appropriate on the Sabbath in that role.

Second, Jesus’ response to the second criticism, “Is it lawful to do good or to do harm on the Sabbath, to save life or to kill?” (Mk 3:4), highlights the danger of allowing traditions that have gathered around a particular law to obscure more fundamental concerns and responsibilities. It surely could not be wrong, never be wrong, to do good or to save a life on the Sabbath! The danger, then, is that an over-protective attitude toward an important law or legal ruling can actually constitute an abuse of the law itself. Secondary laws should not be allowed to obscure or hinder the fundamental obligations of relationship to God and to others.

3.2. Qorban. In Mark 7 three disputes on matters of Jewish law are run together. The middle one, in which Jesus is recorded as entering into a broader debate about “tradition of the elders,” focuses on a practice that presumably had begun with a halakic ruling (“tradition”) and was in effect running counter to one of Israel’s most basic covenant obligations

(Mk 7:9-13 // Mt 15:3-6). The obligation was that of children to honor and respect their parents (Ex 20:12; 21:17). But a prevalent ruling evidently allowed a child to say to the parents, "What you would have gained from me is Qorban" (i.e., a gift [to God]); in this way, the child became free from the obligation to the parents. This would be based on the law regarding vows: "When a man vows a vow to the Lord, or swears an oath to bind himself by a pledge, he shall not break his word; he shall do according to all that proceeds out of his mouth" (Num 30:2). Evidently, there was some dispute as to whether and how far the strict principle enunciated in Numbers 30:2 could be alleviated (*m. Ned.* 9:1 bears directly on the present case). But at the time of Jesus, it seems that a dominant ruling prevailed among some or most Pharisees to the effect that a vow made in the circumstances indicated could not be retracted.

Here again Jesus is remembered as pressing through the halakic debate to what he regarded as more fundamental, particularly the Decalogue's commandment that children should honor their parents. If Numbers 30:2 was in the background, then in effect Jesus was ranking that commandment, or at least rulings that could be drawn from it, as secondary to the Decalogue's commandment. The implication that there has to be a prioritizing between different laws within the Torah became a crucial hermeneutical key for the first Christians.

3.3. Hand Washing. The main issue dealt with in Mark 7 is a debate about purity halakah, sparked off by the issue of whether individuals should wash their hands before partaking of a meal (Mk 7:1-8 // Mt 15:1-3). It is not clear from *rabbinic sources whether the related halakah was already being observed. But the fact that an entire Mishnah tractate, *Yadayim* ("Hands"), is devoted to the subject indicates a long tradition history of halakic concern. And Mark obviously is drawing on earlier material, since he has to explain the concerns being expressed, including the uniquely Jewish sense of the word "common"—that is, not set apart to be holy and therefore "unclean, defiled" (Mk 7:2, 5). So the representation of a tradition ("the tradition of the elders") that was already well established in Pharisaic table fellowship is entirely plausible, even if Mark exaggerates in attributing the practice to "all the Jews" (Mk 7:3).

According to Mark, Jesus does not immediately address the purity issue, but rather he highlights once again the danger of "traditions of men" replacing or obscuring "the commandment of God" (Mk 7:8). In particular, quoting from Isaiah 29:13, he fo-

cuses on the danger of an expanding halakic tradition that actually interferes with or even prevents genuine *worship of God. (The point could have been made as well by reference to the Hebrew text rather than the Greek LXX, though Mark naturally quotes the Greek). Of course, the defense would have been mounted that the traditions of the fathers (the halakah) were a way of spelling out what the commandment of God required. But Isaiah had already warned of the danger of superficiality in worship and of treating human formulations too unquestioningly (Mk 7:6-7; cf. Is 29:13). And Jesus added his warning that "the tradition of the elders" was succumbing to that danger in the case in point.

3.4. Purity. In the second half of the same sequence the subject returns to the issue of purity (Mk 7:14-23 // Mt 15:10-20), whether one should be greatly concerned about ritual impurity caused by the eating of impure foods (*see* Clean and Unclean). The question of what Jesus actually said becomes of particular importance because the versions of Mark and Matthew diverge. According to Mark, Jesus explicitly denied that food coming from outside a person could defile that person: "There is nothing from outside a person that by going into him can defile him" (Mk 7:15). Jesus goes on to explain, "Whatever goes into a person from outside cannot defile him, since it enters, not into the heart but into the stomach, and goes out into the sewer" (Mk 7:18-19). To this Mark adds an interpretative gloss: "Thus he declared all foods clean" (Mk 7:19). In Mark's version, then, Jesus affirms that impurity is caused not at all by what a person eats, but instead entirely by the evil that comes "from within" that person. In which case, Mark infers, the laws of clean and unclean (*see* Lev 11:1-23; Deut 14:3-21) are no longer relevant.

Matthew avoids the sharp either/or of Mark's version and omits Mark's interpretative addition. Instead, the contrast is simply between inner and outer purity, with the clear implication that the ritual impurity of unclean food is nothing in comparison with the impurity that comes from the heart. The contrast is similar to the warning of the prophets that observation of feasts and sacrifice is of no avail if they serve as a cover for injustice. Such a warning was not a call to abandon feast or sacrifice, but rather to get priorities right.

The problem with Mark's presentation (and interpretation) is that if Jesus so taught, then the law-abiding character of the Jerusalem church (including observance of the laws of clean and unclean) is hard to explain. As also Luke's account of Peter's protest in Acts 10:14: "I have never eaten anything that is com-

mon or unclean.” As we will see, Mark’s version is more readily explained as the reading/interpretation of the episode that became current in the *Gentile churches. Matthew, on the other hand, probably tells it the way it was told in Jewish churches.

In modern inquiry after the historical Jesus it has often been assumed that the version in Mark (the earliest written Gospel) was a faithful representation of Jesus’ teaching. Indeed, the Markan version became the principal support for the long-standing prevalent view that Jesus had abrogated the law and renounced it as a way of defining or determining a person’s relation with God. But if so, once again the puzzle remains of how such an unyielding loyalty to the laws of clean and unclean could be attributed to Jesus’ leading disciple (Acts 10:14). Equally puzzling is how Matthew could present Jesus as similarly so unyielding in his loyalty to the law (Mt 5:18-19). A more plausible explanation is that Jesus did indeed contrast ritual purity and inner purity and emphasized that the latter was important above all, as other Jewish teachers emphasized that circumcision of the heart was more important than circumcision of the flesh. Mark and Matthew show how the teaching was interpreted in different contexts and churches.

Here again, then, we probably see Jesus, when confronted with a matter given importance by the law, and by those whose religious praxis was determined entirely by reference to the law, ready to go behind the law to issues and principles more important than the particular rulings of the law or of the halakic interpretations drawn from the law. He did not assume that God’s priorities could be read straightforwardly from the law, particularly not from specific laws given priority in defining (in an either/or way) what counted as covenant loyalty. Such focus on the obedience expressed in spoken formula and ritual act could distract from and prevent recognition of what was of first importance in relationship with God and in living in community with his people.

3.5. Divorce. A last episode in Mark of direct relevance to us at this point is Jesus’ teaching on *divorce (Mk 10:2-12 // Mt 19:3-9). Again some Pharisees initiate a debate on a point of law, in this case on the law regarding divorce. Jesus refers them to *Moses’ ruling on the point: “Moses allowed a man to write a certificate of dismissal and to divorce” his wife (Mk 10:4; cf. Deut 24:1). But Jesus points out that from the beginning of creation, “God made them male and female” (Gen 1:27), and further adds, “For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall

become one flesh” (Gen 2:24). From which he concludes, “So they are no longer two, but one flesh,” and “Therefore what God has joined together, let no one separate.”

The memory is of Jesus in debate with Pharisees with regard to the interpretation of Deuteronomy 24:1, which evidently was in some dispute. What was the nature of the “indecency” (**erwâ*) in his wife that would permit a husband to dismiss her as his wife? Apparently, **erwâ* could be interpreted very liberally (from the husband’s perspective): “even if she spoiled a dish for him” (*m. Giṭ* 9:10). Jesus, however, does not allow the debate to focus on the interpretation of the word used in Deuteronomy. Once again he cuts behind the Torah ruling to the more fundamental issue of the relation of man and woman: the creation of humankind as man and woman (Gen 1:27; 2:21-23) and the characterization of marriage in Genesis 2:24.

From this principle or ideal of male-female relation and of marriage, Jesus evidently concluded that divorce was a falling short of that ideal and turned his face against divorce and remarriage in principle. As harsh as this may seem, it should be recalled that in a patriarchal society, where only a husband could initiate divorce and could dismiss his wife for very little reason, an absolute prohibition of divorce was a way of protecting the wife. That Jesus was remembered as teaching on divorce is also attested in Q (Matthew and Luke’s other source [Mt 5:32 // Lk 16:18]), and Paul refers to Jesus’ teaching on the subject (1 Cor 7:10-11).

4. More Disputes (Q and Matthew).

Two passages in the non-Markan material shared by Matthew and Luke (Q) call for some attention.

4.1. Tithing. Tithing was also important within Judaism (Lev 27:30-33; Num 18:24-32; Deut 14:22-29; 26:12-15), and it became a matter of significant concern for the later rabbis (see especially the Mishnah tractate *Demai*). Matthew and Luke share a tradition on the subject (Mt 23:23 // Lk 11:42), which suggests that there was debate already current in the pre-A.D. 70 period on tithing certain herbs (mint, dill, cumin). According to the passage, Jesus is remembered not as denouncing such concerns as overly trivial or wrong, but rather, once again, as reminding his hearers that there are more important things to be concerned about—notably “justice and mercy”—wholly in the spirit of and with a probably intended echo of Micah 6:8. To the same effect is Jesus’ attitude as implied in the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Lk 18:9-14). The Pharisee’s

practice of tithing is not criticized, any more than is his praying. But Jesus makes it clear that neither the prayer nor the tithing forms a basis or reason for the Pharisee's acceptability to God. Once again, there are more important issues than formal obedience to a particular law.

4.2. Filial Duty. Whereas Sanders disagrees that Jesus was entirely at odds with Pharisees on matters of the Torah, he is willing to recognize that Jesus "superseded the requirements of piety and the Torah" in one passage: Jesus' command to the would-be disciple, "Leave the dead to bury their own dead" (Mt 8:21-22 // Lk 9:59-60). "Disobedience of the requirement to care for one's dead parents is actually disobedience to God" (Sanders 1985, 253). The claim may be weakened if the man's response, "Let me go and bury my father," to Jesus call to follow him actually meant "Let me go and serve my father while he is alive, and after he dies I will bury him and come," or if there was a general recognition that a special religious duty could transcend even basic family obligations. Even so, the episode gives us still another example of a situation where a law-enscribed duty was deemed less important than what Jesus deemed to be God's priority of proclaiming and living for the *kingdom of God.

4.3. Antitheses. The antitheses in Matthew 5:21-48 form a major part of the contribution from Matthew regarding Jesus' attitude toward the law. The sequence may well be the work of Matthew himself, perhaps gathering and framing Jesus tradition for catechetical use. The introductory formula of each antithesis ("You have heard that it was said") appears nowhere else within the Jesus tradition, so it may be a stylistic marker of the teacher who made this collection of Jesus' teaching (Matthew himself?). But there is wide agreement that the Matthean collection is based on earlier tradition (Mt 5:21-22, 27-28, 33-37) that recalled teaching that Jesus himself gave and to which Matthew has appended other dominical sayings. The sequence is quite consistent with the sort of teaching that, as we have seen, Jesus was remembered as giving in dispute with particular Pharisees.

The point is that the antitheses are best understood as pressing behind several specific laws to more fundamental issues. Several of the antitheses are best seen as a radicalization, not an abrogation, of the law. Not just murder is condemned, but unjustified anger, insult or sneering dismissal of another (Mt 5:21-22); not just adultery, but lust (Mt 5:27-28); not just false oaths, but casual oath taking and calculating equivocation (Mt 5:33-37). Similarly, the

teaching on divorce, as already indicated, looks not for a slackening, far less an abandoning, of the law, but looks rather for a stricter application of the law (Mt 5:31-32). The one antithesis that seems to "abolish" a law (Mt 5:38-42), the *lex talionis*—the law on retaliation (Ex 21:24; Lev 24:20; Deut 19:21)—is again better heard as pressing behind the law to reinforce the social principle behind it. The antithesis in effect makes the point that behind a law that was specifically intended to limit retaliation and to prevent blood feuds from developing lies the more fundamental issue of right and responsibility as expressed in a practice of nonretaliation and positive response when personally threatened.

Overall, the antitheses call for a more fundamental reorientation of human and social relationships than can be achieved or maintained by legislation. Doing what is right cannot be reduced to outward acts and set formulae. This strongly suggests that Jesus' Torah piety was not "letter of the law" piety, limited to surface observance, but rather sought to realize the inner spiritual principle expressed in the particular law. Nor should it cause surprise that he reacted strongly against those who did limit their Torah obedience to the letter, especially when elaboration of the letter ran counter to the inner spirit of the law in question. The attitude expressed in all this is not best described in terms of Jesus setting himself over against Moses and the Torah (Käsemann) or of Jesus' "sovereign liberty" (Hengel) in relation to the Mosaic law. It is not a libertarian disregard for the law, far less a denial of its continuing relevance and importance. It is more a matter of digging deep into the law to discern the divine rationale (justice) in its particular *mišwōt* (commandments). To do the will of God was still the primary goal (Mk 3:35 // Mt 12:50; Mk 14:36 par.; Mt 6:10; 7:21; 21:31; Lk 12:47), with the reminder that God's will could not be discerned simply by reference to the letter of the Torah or its halakic elaboration.

Finally, if it remains likely that Jesus' own emphases were determined in large part by his eschatological perspective (the imminence of the coming kingdom of God), we should also note that this factor has not left many distinctive marks on the tradition at this point. What is commended in all this is not a pattern of conduct necessary for entry into the kingdom, nor an "interim ethic" (Schweitzer) required only for the interval before the coming of the kingdom, but instead (by implication) a quality of kingdom life, the character of living appropriate for those who look for the kingdom's coming and who seek to live already in its light.

5. Love as Motivation.

Probably the most distinctive feature of Jesus' teaching on the law was the prominence that he gave to *love, love of neighbor, as the way to do or fulfill the law, presumably as the only way to do it effectively, in accordance with its inner spirit.

5.1. *Matthew 22:35-40 // Mark 12:28-31 // Luke 10:25-28.* Various told, all three Synoptic Gospels narrate Jesus' response to the challenge to say what is the greatest or first *commandment, the key to eternal life. In each case Jesus replies by pointing to the immediate corollary of Israel's basic creed, the Shema ("Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one" [Deut 6:4]), probably recited by most Jews on a regular basis (cf. Deut 6:7): "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength" (Mk 12:29-30; cf. Deut 6:5). But in all three Synoptic Gospels Jesus continues by pointing to a further corollary, a second commandment: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev 19:18). In different ways, the Synoptic evangelists stress the importance of both commandments: "There is no other commandment greater than these" (Mk 12:31); "On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets" (Mt 22:40); "Do this, and you will live" (Lk 10:28). Luke also appends the parable of the good Samaritan as illustrating what loving your neighbor as yourself can involve in practice (Lk 10:29-37). In John's Gospel the emphasis is somewhat different—to love one another—but the emphasis on love is the same, indeed presented as a "new commandment," a love modeled on Jesus' sacrificial love, a love that should identify Jesus' disciples (Jn 13:34-35).

What is so striking about the Synoptic Gospels' accounts is that Jesus was clearly remembered as doing something that had not been done previously. He had selected one commandment from a diverse sequence in Leviticus 19 and exalted it above all others, giving it a status, as the key to doing the will of God, to living as God intended in giving the law, a status that it had not hitherto received. Explicit references to Leviticus 19:18 are lacking in Jewish literature prior to Jesus, and such allusions as there are give it no particular prominence. Consequently, the subsequent opinion attributed to Rabbi Akiba (early second century A.D.), that Leviticus 19:18 is "the greatest general principle in the Torah" (*Sipra* on Lev 19:18), may owe more to the innovation and precedent established by Jesus than has usually been recognized.

We can therefore be confident that Jesus did in-

deed exalt the importance of loving one's neighbor as well as loving God as the heart of the law, as the epitome of a life oriented to doing God's will, as the character of living that God looked for in his covenant people. The love command sums up Jesus' attitude toward the law, as penetrating behind particular commandments to the inner motivation that should always drive the concern for obedience and should enable discernment as to when particular rulings are running counter to the love command (as in the Sabbath controversies).

It is important to note that in Jesus' response the command to love one's neighbor is put second to the primary command, to love God with all one's being (Mk 12:30). The implication is that the two go together, and perhaps also that the second is only possible in long-term reality as the corollary to the first. Perhaps too Jesus found significance in the fact that each is both a deeply rooted emotional commitment and an act of resolute will ("with all your heart . . . with all your might"). Also worth noting is the realism in the way the command is formulated. It does not call for the disciple to love everyone, as though that might be possible, a vague love for the world. Rather, the call is to love the neighbor—that is, as the good Samaritan illustrates, whomever God gives as neighbor on the road of everyday life. Moreover, it does not call for a love beyond human capacity, or for a love that requires hatred of the self as a corollary, but for the care that one naturally bestows on oneself to be the measure of the love shown to the neighbor.

5.2. *Matthew 5:43-48 // Luke 6:27-28, 32-36.* More striking still is a passage preserved in the *Sermon on the Mount/Plain, which in Matthew is the last of the antitheses. Jesus is remembered as calling for more even than "love of neighbor" as the acme of Torah obedience. It is not that love of neighbor can be complemented with hatred of enemy, as Qumran taught (1QS I, 10-11), without the love being compromised. The neighbor can include the enemy. So Jesus' call is "Love your enemies" and "Pray for those who abuse or persecute you" (Mt 5:44 // Lk 6:28). Love is not love if it depends on a loving response being returned. Love that does not go beyond gratitude for what has been received is not the love that Jesus called for (Mt 5:46-47 // Lk 6:32-35). Only a love that stretches to embrace the enemy truly reflects the love of God (Mt 5:48 // Lk 6:36).

The unnaturalness of this call to love the enemy is so extreme and counterintuitive that it must have derived from an exceptional religious teacher. In this instance, above all, we catch a glimpse of

how radically Jesus was prepared to press a different motivation and ideal for community and for discipleship under pressure. And not just as an individualistic ethic, but as a breaking through a concept of neighbor love determined primarily by mutual belonging (somewhat lost in John's "new commandment" [Jn 13:34]). Love should be the first and the final criterion for conduct and for all social relationships. As Luke's appending the parable of the good Samaritan illustrated the call to love one's neighbor, so the teaching that Matthew puts immediately prior to this, under the preceding antithesis, illustrates the outworking of such an attitude and priority (Mt 5:38-42). For it urges not simply nonretaliation, but rather a positive outgoing generosity ("Let him have your cloak also; go with him a second [mile]"). This is how love responds to provocation.

5.3. Matthew 7:12 // Luke 6:31. The aptly named "Golden Rule" likewise expresses the outreaching motivation for the welfare of others that evidently was at the heart of Jesus' teaching and lifestyle: "Whatever you wish that people should do for you, so also do for them." Matthew adds, "for this is the law and the prophets," indicating that this positive concern for others was seen to be of a piece with Jesus' focusing the law in such concern. The essential principle was well known, both within Second Temple Judaism and beyond, usually in the negative form: "Do not do to others what you would not want others to do to you" (e.g., Tob 4:15; *Let. Arist.* 207; *T. Naph.* 1:6; *b. Šabb.* 31a). But the fact that in Christian tradition (*Did.* 1:2; Acts 15:20, 29a [Western text]) it is the negative form of the rule that is quoted indicates that there was no great Christian concern to trumpet the positive form of the Golden Rule as distinctively Christian. Nevertheless, the positive form of the Golden Rule, when set in the context of Jesus' other teaching on the love command, can be seen as characteristic of his whole understanding of life lived in the light of the coming kingdom: it is not a grudging admission that some actions/policies might have adverse effect on others, not an assumption that doing the minimum or observing the letter of the law will be sufficient, not a ducking away from responsibility that can be shifted to others, but rather a concern for the benefit of others that goes beyond the conventional and the box-ticking mentality—a concern neatly summed up in terms of doing for others what you would like others to do for you. Self-love is not denounced or ridiculed, but again is set as the due measure for love of the neighbor.

6. The Impact of Jesus' Teaching.

The impact made by Jesus' teaching on the law is most readily visible in the influence of his teaching as evidenced in the earliest Christian writings and by the different ways in which the four NT evangelists present his teaching.

6.1. The New Testament Letters. The greatest impact, understandably, came from the importance that Jesus placed on the love command and from what his self-sacrificial death on the cross exemplified. There is no doubt that the injunction "Love your neighbor as you love yourself" became a central principle and key motivation in earliest Christian paraenesis; the attestation puts that beyond question (Rom 13:8-10; Gal 5:14; Jas 2:8; *Did.* 1:2; 2:7; *Barn.* 19:5). That love of neighbor was seen consistently as fulfilling the law, indeed as the summation of the whole law (Gal 5:14), is clear testimony that the chief point in Jesus' attitude toward the law had been well taken in early Christian paraenesis. Such a consistent singling out of just this commandment (Lev 19:18) can hardly be coincidental. Nor is it likely that the emphasis was due to some unknown teacher, or that it arose spontaneously at the same time in several Christian circles; as already noted, there was no known precedent for such a singling out of Leviticus 19:18. So, when the Jesus tradition contains such a clear memory that Jesus had elevated Leviticus 19:18 to such prominence, the most obvious explanation is that it was the impact of just that teaching that ensured its continuing importance among those who named Jesus as Lord.

Paul's characterization of active concern for others as "fulfilling the law of Christ" (Gal 6:2) probably is an expression of the same conviction that Jesus' love command and life revealed what the law was all about (Rom 15:2). And in the same spirit is the consistent Pauline exhortation to consider others (as in Rom 12:9-10; 15:1-2; Phil 2:1-5). Likewise, the consistent emphasis on love of brother and sister in the Johannine writings attests the same impact (Jn 13:34-35; 15:12; 1 Jn 3:11, 14, 23; 4:7-12), with 1 John 4:20-21 confirming the symbiotic relation between love of God and love of others implied in Jesus' original teaching.

Similarly, Jesus' elaboration of his call to love one's enemies, requiring a positive response to the enemy and persecutor, is recalled in early Christian teaching. Both Romans 12:14 and *Didache* 1:3 clearly echo the Lukan form of the call to bless the persecutor (Lk 6:28); the same teaching seems to have influenced the formulation of 1 Corinthians 4:12 and 1 Peter 3:9. Likewise, the strong echo of the fourth of Matthew's

antitheses in James 5:12, “Do not swear either by heaven or by earth, but let your ‘Yes’ be yes and your ‘No’ be no,” indicates that Jesus’ teaching on the subject (Mt 5:34-37) had been heard and was held up as a measure to be aspired to in community relations.

The impact of Jesus’ teaching was not lost even when circumstances called for modification of particular teachings. Mark’s account of the Sabbath controversies indicates that Sabbath was still a matter of concern for many Christian communities, the question still being not whether the Sabbath should be observed, but rather how it should be observed. This in itself is a decisive indication that the stories drawn on by Mark took their present shape in a firmly Jewish context. Had Jesus disowned the Sabbath, it is unlikely that the Jewish Christian missionaries opposed to Paul in Galatia would have been able to insist on it quite so strongly (Gal 4:10). But even when the necessity to observe the Sabbath became a matter of question in Gentile communities (Rom 14:5), the principle that Jesus enunciated in handling his own disputes (acting in love) still applied (Rom 14:15), but now to encourage liberty for those whose conduct was constrained by traditional scruples.

Jesus’ insistence that inner purity was more important than outward ritual purity, as enacted in his readiness to share a table with “sinners,” became a primary justification for the first Christians’ refusal to allow the laws of clean and unclean to determine whether Jewish and Gentile believers could eat together (particularly Acts 10:1-14, 28; 11:2-18; Gal 2:11-16); as Jesus responded to Jewish “sinners,” so Paul responded to Gentile “sinners.” The issue of clean/unclean remained important for many traditionalist Jewish believers (Rom 14:2-3), and though Paul had been persuaded by Jesus’ teaching that nothing is unclean in itself, he recognized that for some, laws of clean/unclean were still important rules of conduct (Rom 14:14). Here again, love of brother and sister was the primary determinant of conduct (Rom 14:15). The related issue of eating meat that had been sacrificed to an idol raised the same sensitivities (1 Cor 7:7-13; Rev 2:14); but for Paul, love more than knowledge or undisciplined liberty pointed the way forward (1 Cor 8:1).

Of particular interest is the way Jesus’ teaching on divorce was handled. Mark retained the ideal formulated by Jesus: the question posed by some Pharisees, “Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife?” (Mk 10:2) is answered in effect in the negative: no divorce (Mk 10:9). But Matthew transposes the discussion by adding to the initiating question the phrase “for any cause” (Mt 19:3). Thus, it is Matthew who indi-

cates that the debate was about the interpretation of the second clause of Deuteronomy 24:1: “if then she finds no favor in his eyes because he has found some indecency [*‘erwá*] in her.” In effect, Matthew retells the episode as a contribution to the debate between the Pharisaic schools of Hillel and Shammai on how rigorously Deuteronomy 24:1 should be interpreted. In adding to the ruling on divorce, “except for unchastity [*porneia*]” (Mt 19:9; also Mt 5:32), Matthew shows Jesus to support what was remembered as Shammai’s more rigorous interpretation. But in so doing, he changes a point of ideal principle back into one of practical law.

Paul dealt with the issue somewhat similarly. Asked for advice on divorce and related issues, he quotes Jesus as commanding “that the wife should not separate from her husband (but if she does separate, let her remain unmarried . . .), and that the husband should not divorce his wife” (1 Cor 7:10-11). He thus confirms that Jesus’ teaching a high ideal for marriage was well remembered. However, in Corinth Paul was confronted with the problem of a marriage in which only one partner had become Christian: if the unbelieving partner wished to separate or divorce, the Christian should accept that; the marriage bond (Gen 2:24) had been broken (1 Cor 7:15).

Neither Matthew’s version nor Paul’s counsel should be read as an abandonment of Jesus’ teaching, but rather as a recognition that the ideal he held forth could not always be attained or maintained. In each case the principled assertion of Jesus is retained, even when continuing human “hard-heartedness” once again causes the ideal practice to be hedged around with qualification. It could even be said that the more fundamental principle highlighted by Jesus (concern for the other’s welfare) prevented the ideal from becoming another unyielding law.

6.2. The New Testament Gospels. Very fascinating is the different ways in which each of the NT evangelists presented Jesus’ attitude to the law.

On the assumption that Mark was the first Gospel to be written and was used by Matthew and Luke in the writing of their Gospels, it is notable that Mark presents a radical Jesus. His teaching on purity is clear-cut: nothing from outside can render a person impure (Mk 7:15, 18); Jesus’ teaching amounted to the abrogation of the laws of clean and unclean (Mk 7:19). This accords with Paul’s understanding of Jesus’ teaching (Rom 14:14) and presumably reflects the way Jesus’ teaching had been interpreted in the Gentile mission. Similarly, it is Mark who presents

Jesus' teaching on divorce in its most high-principled mode: divorce is counter to the will of God in ordaining marriage (Mk 10:6-9).

Matthew, however, pulls back from Mark's interpretation of Jesus' teaching on purity and probably is able to draw on a less antithetical version of Jesus' teaching (Mt 15:11, 17). And, as already indicated, he sets Jesus' teaching on divorce within a then current debate as to what divorce "for any cause" could cover (Mt 19:3, 9). This fits with the most strikingly distinctive Matthean presentation of Jesus' attitude toward the law (Mt 5:17-20), in which Jesus explicitly denies any intent to abolish the law and, apparently, reinforces the importance both of the letter of the law (what it actually says) and of even the commandments deemed to be of lesser importance. There is little doubt that Matthew here impresses his own priorities on the tradition, but had his presentation been totally unfounded and at odds with Jesus' elsewhere remembered teaching (Mt 5:18, after all, is drawn from tradition common to Lk 16:17), it is unlikely that Matthew's attempt to redraw the Jesus tradition so conservatively on this point would have been so successful. Rather, for Matthew, Jesus came to "fulfill" the law—that is, presumably as documented in the following antitheses, to bring to light and to reinforce the deeper principles that the individual commandments were intended to safeguard. Nor should it be forgotten that in Matthew's Gospel Jesus' teaching on the primacy of love is stronger than in the other Gospels.

In Matthew the focus of Jesus' criticism in regard to the law seems to be rather directed against the Pharisaic halakot. This is implied in the formulation of the antitheses, in which Jesus sets himself against not the law as such, but rather against the traditions that had gathered round the law ("what had been said to those of past times") (Mt 5:21, 33), and is implied also by the sharp critique of Pharisaic halakot in Matthew 23:16-26. And it is Matthew who presents Jesus as voicing again earlier prophetic critique on the point, by inserting two references to Hosea 6:6: "I desire mercy, not sacrifice" (Mt 9:13; 12:7). Matthew evidently saw Jesus' stance on the Sabbath as making the same critique, and his presentation of Jesus' teaching on purity and divorce fits well into the same picture. Reflected in all this, presumably, is the fact that Matthew wrote his Gospel for Jewish Christian communities, for whom Torah loyalty continued to be a prime concern, and for whom dispute with the post-A.D. 70 rabbis was a major factor in communal life.

Luke's approach to the issue of Jesus and the law is

somewhat curious. He omits/ignores two of the most important passages in Mark (Mk 7:1-23; 10:2-11). This probably is part of his strategy to leave important issues (the law and the temple) to emerge in the course of his second volume (Acts 6-7; 10-11). But though he does give more prominence to Jesus' concern for "sinners" than do the other evangelists (Lk 5:29-32; 7:34, 37-50; 15:1-10; 18:10-14; 19:1-10), and though he also emphasizes Jesus' love command (Lk 6:27, 35; 7:47; 10:25-37; 11:42), it appears that Jesus' attitude toward the law was not a primary concern for Luke.

In John's Gospel controversies regarding the law seem to have fallen into the background. The criticisms of his healing on the Sabbath are still present, with Jesus pointing to other anomalies in traditional keeping of the law (Jn 7:22-23). But in other episodes the fact that Jesus healed on the Sabbath (Jn 5:9-10, 16; 9:14) becomes the occasion for the much more important debate about the status of Jesus (Jn 5:18; 9:16). This underscores the point that for John, the law, important as it was, has been eclipsed by the coming of Christ (Jn 1:17). In relation to Christ, the law's chief function is to testify to Jesus (Jn 1:45; 5:45-47).

See also BLASPHEMY; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN; COMMANDMENT; DIVORCE; ETHICS OF JESUS; FASTING; JUDAISM, COMMON; MOSES; OATHS AND SWEARING; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; RABINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS; SABBATH; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.

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J. D. G. Dunn

LAZARUS

This article concerns the Lazarus of John's Gospel, the brother of Martha and Mary, who lived in Bethany and was raised from the dead by Jesus (Jn 11:1—12:11). It begins with the question of the historicity of the raising of the dead Lazarus and then focuses on the identity of Lazarus and the literary features of the Lazarus account as a Johannine sign.

1. Historicity of the Lazarus Story
2. Identity of Lazarus
3. Literary Features of the Lazarus Account

1. Historicity of the Lazarus Story.

The story of the raising of Lazarus is found only in *John's Gospel, and some have questioned its historicity. The question of what really happened cannot be established with certainty (for discussion, see Meier, 798-873). It seems appropriate, however, to place it on a par with other *miracle stories of Jesus in general and stories of raising the dead in particular, which include the raising of the daughter of Jairus in Markan tradition (Mk 5:21-43 // Mt 9:18-26 // Lk 8:40-56), the raising of the son of the widow of Nain in Lukan tradition (Lk 7:11-17), and Jesus' saying that "the dead are raised" in the *Q tradition (Mt 11:5 // Lk 7:22). The absence of the Lazarus story in the Synoptic tradition seems to indicate that it belongs to the Johannine tradition of the miracle stories.

The Lazarus account is sometimes described as "the Fourth Gospel in miniature" (Lincoln, 232), but it cannot be explained completely as the editorial work of the Fourth Evangelist. The narrative seems to go back to some experience in the life of Jesus and Lazarus, which early Christians believed to be real (Henneberry, 64; Torrance). That the story appears toward the end of Jesus' public ministry, leading to his passion and death, is the work of the evangelist (Rochais, 137). The story becomes a powerful means for both the self-revelation of Jesus as the source of life, which in turn reveals the *glory (*doxa*) of God, and the presentation of the Johannine theology of death and eternal *life.

2. Identity of Lazarus.

Lazarus is one of the named disciples in John's Gospel. The name "Lazarus" is derived from the shortened Hebrew name "El-azar" ("God helps"). Another person named "Lazarus" appears in the Lukan parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31),

but he is not to be identified with the Lazarus in John's Gospel. Lazarus appears twice in John's Gospel: first as the dead man raised by Jesus (Jn 11:1-44), then as one of those present at the meal when Mary anointed the feet of Jesus (Jn 12:1-11). Although he has a name, his characterization is underdeveloped (see Lincoln, esp. 212). The miracle seems to have been performed for the benefit of others: God, Jesus, the disciples, Mary and Martha and the Jews in the story. Moreover, the narrator shows no interest in Lazarus's personal responses to the act of Jesus.

John presents Lazarus as one who was loved by Jesus (Jn 11:3, 5, 36) and as a friend of Jesus (Jn 11:11). Only two male figures in John's Gospel are explicitly said to be loved by Jesus: Lazarus and the anonymous "disciple whom Jesus loved." Some commentators identify Lazarus with the *Beloved Disciple of John's Gospel (for discussion, see Charlesworth, 185-92, 288-91; Stibbe, 77-82, 154-58). There are six references in this Gospel to the "disciple whom Jesus loved" (Jn 13:23-26; 19:25-27; 20:2-10; 21:7, 20-23, 24). All of these references to the disciple whom Jesus loved occur after the raising of Lazarus, whom Jesus loved. The question in John 21:20-23 as to whether the Beloved Disciple would die makes better sense in the case of the resuscitated Lazarus. But the identification of Lazarus with the Beloved Disciple seems unconvincing. It is difficult to believe that the named Lazarus in John 11-12 is mentioned anonymously as the Beloved Disciple in the subsequent chapters of John 13-21 (Brown, xcv). If Lazarus is the Beloved Disciple, the one who is responsible for the Fourth Gospel, then why should the later redactors make him anonymous? It seems more probable that the two are distinct figures. The Beloved Disciple is someone known to the readers but is not named in John's Gospel.

Lazarus seems to be better understood as a representative figure in John's Gospel (Esler and Piper, 80-36). Lazarus is called by name and hears the voice of Jesus, and so he is depicted as belonging to the sheep of Jesus (cf. Jn 10:14-16). The Lazarus whom Jesus loved seems to be a representative figure of all those whom Jesus loves, the *sheep or the beloved disciples of Jesus—that is, Christians (cf. 3 Jn 15).

3. Literary Features of the Lazarus Account.

The raising of Lazarus, the seventh miracle in John's Gospel, functions as a transitional episode. Preceded by the public ministry of Jesus and followed by his farewell discourses, it concludes the first part of this Gospel (Jn 1-12) and introduces the second part (Jn 13-21). The Lazarus account fulfills the

prophecy of Jesus in John 5:25 ("The dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live"). The raised Lazarus reveals Jesus' life-giving power and anticipates the end-time resurrection (Lincoln, 214; see also Thompson, esp. 242). As a Johannine sign, the narrative is highly symbolic. The point of a sign is to invite the readers to respond to the significance of the event in the narrative (Lincoln, 215-16). Meant to reveal the glory (*doxa*) of God, it has christological overtones and implications (Jn 11:4). By raising Lazarus, Jesus continues the life-giving activity of God. The miracle here is not primarily the restoration of Lazarus to physical existence; it directs the readers to *God as Jesus, who has God's life in himself (Jn 5:26), bestows God's life on Lazarus (Thompson, 243-44). The sign reveals the nature of God as life-giving and testifies to the life everlasting.

The sign evoked two different responses among the crowd: some believed in Jesus, and others became more hostile to Jesus. On the one hand, the raising of Lazarus causes the disciples and some of the bystanders to believe in Jesus (Jn 11:15, 45), and on the other hand, the faith response generated by the raising of Lazarus caused the authorities to decide that Jesus must die (Jn 11:47-50) (see Schneiders, esp. 47-52). Jesus' death is understood in this Gospel as his glorification, as it reveals God's immense *love. In sum, Lazarus's sickness, death and subsequent resuscitation are the means by which the glory (*doxa*) of God is revealed, the faith of the disciples is deepened, and Jesus is glorified.

See also GLORY; MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES; RESURRECTION.

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LEPROSY

The Greek term *lepra*, which appears only in the Synoptic Gospels in the NT, is commonly translated as "leprosy" in English translations (e.g., NRSV). Nowadays, however, there is general agreement among scholars that it denotes neither Hansen's disease nor other specific skin diseases. The conditions in view rendered people (and objects) ritually unclean according to Jewish law.

1. The Problem of Translation
2. *Lepra* as Unclean
3. *Lepra* / *Lepros* in the Gospels

1. The Problem of Translation.

It is rarely thought that the Hebrew term *šāra'at* ("leprosy") in the OT includes Hansen's disease, since the symptoms of *šāra'at* in persons described in Leviticus 13 are different from those of Hansen's disease. According to Leviticus 13–14, *lepros* refers to a variety of conditions of the surfaces of persons (Lev 13:1-46), clothing (Lev 13:47-59) and houses (Lev 14:34-53). Leviticus 13–14 consists not of medical directions but rather is a ritual guideline for the diagnosis of "clean" and "unclean." The purpose of the expulsion of a *lepros* ("a person with a skin disease") is not to prevent the spread of infection in a medical sense but rather to keep the "unclean" out of God's community. Hence, *šāra'at* is a ritual term, not a medical one (see Clean and Unclean).

The LXX translators use the Greek *lepra* for the Hebrew *šāra'at*. In classical Greek *lepra* refers to a variety of skin conditions but not to a specific disease, while another Greek term, *elephantiasis*, which does not appear in the NT, may refer to a

skin disease similar to Hansen's disease. It is more accurate and appropriate to translate *lepra* as "serious skin disease" or simply as "skin disease."

2. *Lepra* as Unclean.

The idea of "clean and unclean" lies behind the expulsion of a *lepros*. In the Synoptic accounts in which the word *lepra* appears, the Greek verb *katharizō*, which means "to make clean," is used for "to heal leprosy" instead of other verbs such as *iaomai* and *therapeuō*, both of which mean "to cure." *Katharizō* is a ritual term for the elimination of ritual uncleanness. Hence, the healing of leprosy carries religious rather than physical implications.

The OT law suggests a variety of causes of defilement such as childbirth, leprosy and discharges from sexual organs. Those who become unclean in these ways are isolated from the community (Num 5:1-3). A *lepros* pollutes the holiness of God's people. Those whom the priest regards as having "leprosy" must announce their condition and remain outside the community (Lev 13:45-46). It is also true that in the time of Jesus *leproi* were forced to live outside of cities and were prohibited from having contact with others (see Josephus, *J.W.* 5.227; *Ag. Ap.* 1.281-282; 11Q19 XLVIII, 14-17). In Luke 17:12 ten *leproi* stand "at a distance" from Jesus.

Anthropologists (e.g., M. Douglas) describe why the sufferers of leprosy were recognized as "unclean." Skin disease represents the danger of breaching the boundary of the body. When God created the universe, everything was arranged in order—for example, the water above and below the firmament, and the land separate from the water. Likewise, the body is arranged in order and bordered by its outer walls. Skin is the wall separating the body from the external universe. Therefore, either the emission of the body's vital fluids or the failure of its skin indicates that the body is going counter to what God created.

Beside the idea of purity, the OT often considers that the cause of leprosy is divine punishment for *sins committed against God (note how leprosy appeared in Miriam [Num 12], Gehazi [2 Kings 5:19b-27] and Uzziah [2 Chron 26:19-21]). A sin offering is required for the purification of leprosy. In addition, Philo, who interprets Jewish purity rules allegorically, connects leprosy with voluntary sins (see *Deus* 123-135).

According to OT laws, only priests have the authority to diagnose one as unclean or clean (Lev 13–14). In the larger OT picture the diagnosis is the task of a priest, and healing is the task of the proph-

ets (e.g., Elisha [2 Kings 5:1-19a]). This bifurcation of duties is observed also in cleansing stories in the Synoptic Gospels. That is, Jesus does not usurp the priest's function but rather plays the role of a *prophet (Mk 1:44 par.; Lk 17:14).

3. *Leprosy* / *Lepros* in the Gospels.

In the account of the cleansing of a *lepros* (Mk 1:40-45 par.), after cleansing the man by touching him, Jesus sends the man to a priest for his cure to be declared as well as for accompanying sacrifices. Furthermore, in the account of ten *leproi* (Lk 17:11-19) Jesus similarly sends them to a priest, and on their way to the priest they are cleansed. One of them (a *Samaritan) feels no need to go to the priest, so he returns to Jesus and falls upon his face at Jesus' feet to give thanks (Jesus' feet are considered an appropriate place for *worship [cf. Lk 8:35, 41; 10:39; Acts 4:37; 10:26]). Only this cleansed Samaritan recognizes Jesus as the divine agent and his authority over that of the priests.

In reply to a question put by John the Baptist's messengers, "Are you the one who is to come?" (Mt 11:3; Lk 7:20), Jesus lists those to whom the *gospel is announced (Mt 11:5; Lk 7:22). Lepers are listed with the blind, the lame, the deaf, the dead and the poor. Moreover, in Matthew 10:8 Jesus orders his disciples to "cleanse the lepers" as well as "cure the sick, raise the dead" and "cast out demons." The rules of the Qumran community list the blemished among those excluded from their community (see 1Q28a II, 5-7; 1QM VII, 4-6). Those religious outsiders, including the leper, become recipients of the gospel that Jesus proclaims.

In Mark 14:3 (// Mt 26:6) Jesus is a guest of Simon the Leper in Bethany. According to the *Temple Scroll* of the Qumran community (11Q19 XLVI, 16-18) (see Dead Sea Scrolls), the isolated areas of "the lepers, those suffering from a flux, and men who have had a (nocturnal) emission" are set apart in the eastern section of the city. Bethany, which stands to the east of Jerusalem and toward the east slope of the Mount of Olives, is assumed to be an isolated village for the sufferers of leprosy (Yadin). This suggests that Jesus is willing to enter such a village and stay at the house of the leper.

Despite playing an important role in the Synoptic Gospels, *lepros* is not referred to in the rest of the NT. However, the sufferers of leprosy appear as the recipients of charity in the sermons of the church fathers (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa).

See also CLEAN AND UNCLEAR; HEALING.

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LIBERTY. See FREEDOM.

LIFE, ETERNAL LIFE

There are three terms for "life" in the Gospels: *bios*, which refers to natural or material existence experienced between birth and death; *psychē*, which speaks of one's basic selfhood, the whole that constitutes a person and the self-consciousness of selfhood; and *zōē*, the primary NT term that takes on soteriological force in describing the gift of life from *God and eschatological force in depicting the future hope of life in eternity. In the Gospels there is also related terminology, such as "repentance," "forgiveness of sins" (especially in Luke) and "enter the kingdom of God."

1. Mark
2. Matthew
3. Luke
4. John
5. Conclusion

1. Mark.

"Life" in the first written Gospel appears four times as *zōē* and seven times as *psychē*, with the concomitant ideas of *repentance and entering the *kingdom appearing in this sense a further ten times. From this, it is easy to see that "life" in this soteriological sense plays an important role in Jesus' kingdom message according to Mark. The concept begins with the messianic forerunner, John, preaching "a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (Mk 1:5), preparing for Jesus' message, which also centered on "repenting" and "believing the gospel" (Mk 1:15 [cf. Mk 6:12, where the disciples also preach repentance]). This forms the precursor for finding life with God.

Zōē appears in two passages: the warning about causing others to stumble (Mk 9:43, 45), and the interaction between Jesus and the young man who wants to "inherit eternal life" (Mk 10:17, 31). In the first passage the phrase "enter the kingdom of God" in Mark 9:47 parallels "enter life" in Mark 9:43, 45,

and it is clear that these refer to the same outcome: entering the kingdom signifies entering eternal life. All three passages contrast eternal punishment in Gehenna/hellfire with the future inheritance of the follower of Christ. In Mark 10:17, 31 the wealthy young man is told by Christ that his desire to experience eternal life at the end of this present existence (note the emphasis on final rather than realized eschatology) is dependent on how faithfully he lives for God in this present life. Still, the hundredfold return in Mark 10:30 of what is sacrificed for Jesus in this life (home and family) has a double function: it promises incredible blessings in this present world (primarily in the church, where the hundred fathers, mothers, etc. will be found), while at the same time serving as a proleptic foretaste of what will be given at the eschaton ("eternal life").

This theme is carried on in the *psychē* passages. Often it is used anthropologically for "the *principle of life* . . . over against physical death" (Sand, 501), as in Mark 10:45 ("give his life as a ransom"), or in the contrast, "to save life or destroy" (Mark 3:4). Yet there is double meaning in Mark 8:35-37 ("whoever wants to save their life will lose it"), as Jesus refers both to temporary earthly life and to eternal heavenly life. Life in this world is a precious possession and is to be lived for God rather than self. Moreover, how one's natural life is lived in relation to God and Christ is directly related to future destiny. God has created this life and provides every necessity for living this life, so all is related to him. The priorities in this life will determine one's destiny in the next. Living only for temporary benefits will produce eternal loss. In the other two passages (Mk 12:30: "Love the Lord . . . with all your soul"; Mk 14:34: "My soul is overwhelmed with sorrow") Jesus is referring to the whole person, especially in terms of relationship with God.

In conclusion, for Mark, "life" emphasizes the need to make God and Christ central in one's present earthly existence, for that will determine one's eternal relationship with true "life" in its final sense. Life is a gift from God and entails the reversal of the death and decay that results from sin.

2. Matthew.

The same themes from Mark continue in Matthew, but with the great emphasis on final eschatology in Matthew. The "eternal" aspect receives even more stress. There is an extensive emphasis in this Gospel on the last *judgment (Mt 3:7, 10; 5:22, 29-30; 7:13, 19, 21-23; 8:12, 29; 10:15, 28; 12:36-37, 41-42; 13:40-42, 49-50; 16:24-28; 18:8-9; 19:28-29; 22:13; 24:40-41, 51;

25:12, 30). With this extensive thrust, a strong futuristic sense of "life" is distinctive. In Matthew 7:14, at the conclusion to the "Sermon on the Mount, we find the Jewish metaphor of the two paths, the "narrow" one that leads to "life" and the "broad" one that leads to destruction. Matthew retains the Marcan material on the danger of causing others to stumble (Mt 18:8-9) and the wealthy man (Mt 19:16, 17) but adds to his understanding of *zōē* two new emphases. First, he removes the present blessings in the conclusion of the interaction with the young man, centering entirely on the promise to "inherit eternal life" (Mt 19:29), which is added to the final promise that the disciples will "sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes" (Mt 19:28). That is, he centers entirely on the final or eternal aspects of God's "payback" for surrendering all for him. Second, he concludes the Olivet discourse with an allusion to Daniel 12:2, establishing the absolute nature of divine justice in the sense that the wicked "will go away to eternal punishment, but the righteous to eternal life" (Mt 25:46). The emphasis is on the future and eternal nature of the two opposite destinies. Here, and throughout the NT, eternal life "is the motivation for a life of sacrificial service to God, the church and the very world that rejects and persecutes God's people" (Osborne, 939).

Passages that use *psychē* contain both aspects. The section on anxiety in the Sermon on the Mount begins, "Do not worry about your life [*psychē*]" (Mt 6:25), a clear reference to earthly existence, and this is the theme in other places (Mt 11:29; 12:18 [*psychē* = "I"]). Several parallel Mark (e.g., Mt 16:25-26 = Mk 8:35-37; Mt 20:28 = Mk 10:45; Mt 22:37 = Mk 12:30; Mt 26:38 = Mk 14:34). Finally, some speak of one's eternal destiny: (1) Matthew 10:28 commands Jesus' followers to fear "the one who can destroy both soul and body in hell"; (2) Matthew 10:39 sums up the discipleship sayings of Matthew 10:32-39 by establishing the eternal parameters of discipleship: "Whoever finds their life [= seeking the world's rewards] will lose it, and whoever loses their life for my sake will find it [for eternity]." To live for present pleasure means to lose the future. The emphasis is on the eternal consequences of rejecting God, eternal punishment versus everlasting life.

The same emphases take place in Matthew's distinctive "kingdom" theology. It has long been recognized that "entering the kingdom of God/heaven" in Matthew is equivalent to the divine gift of eternal life. It is stated negatively (Mt 5:20; 7:21; 18:3; 23:13) and positively (Mt 19:23-24; 21:31), but the meaning combines the realized (life in Christ

now) and final (life eternal) aspects of the concept. The metaphor is critical. With Christ, the kingdom has come near (Mt 3:2; 4:17) and indeed has arrived (Mt 12:28). “God’s reign” has begun. Christ’s preaching is kingdom teaching (Mt 13:11, 51-52); indeed, the Sermon on the Mount presents the new *ethic for the kingdom people, and those who follow him are kingdom people. As members of the kingdom community, they must exemplify a higher ethic (Mt 5:20, with “greater righteousness” referring to “right” living based on God’s standards). With belief in Christ and a life lived God’s way, people “enter” the kingdom of God’s reign, and eternal life will be their inheritance.

3. Luke.

In Luke-Acts, with its strong emphasis on soteriology, “repent for the forgiveness of sins” becomes a primary theme, found in Luke 1:77; 3:3; 24:47; Acts 2:38 (“be baptized”); Acts 5:31; 10:43 (“receive”); Acts 13:38 (“proclaim”); Acts 26:18 (“receive”). In addition, repentance is stressed eleven times in Luke-Acts, as opposed to once each in Matthew and Mark (with the verb found fourteen times versus seven times). Repentance and faith are two sides of the same coin, the one entailing the setting aside of sin, the other embracing a life of trust in Christ. Luke states clearly that repentance is correlated with *forgiveness of sins from God, and this redemptive act makes it possible for the believer to receive eternal life, the supreme gift of God. Luke’s *ordo salutis* (order of salvation) is as follows: first the *gospel is proclaimed and heard (Lk 4:43; 8:1; 16:16; 18:29; Acts 2:37; 4:4; 8:6), leading to repentance and belief (Lk 1:45; 8:12-13, 50; Acts 4:4; 5:14; 8:12; 9:42). With repentance comes forgiveness of sins and then eternal life (Marshall, 192-95).

“Life” entails the presence of salvation in following Jesus and the promise of eternal life in the future. Yet, in Luke it is closely aligned with the process of salvation noted above and centers on finding salvation Jesus’ way, especially in relation to the issue of earthly possessions. The theological point begins with Luke 4:4, where Jesus quotes Deuteronomy 8:3 in response to his first temptation, “One does not live by bread alone,” reiterating Israel’s failure in forgetting God and living for the prosperity of the land (Deut 8:11-17). In the context of the parable of the good Samaritan Jesus commands, “Do this [love God and neighbor], and you will live,” with the new life in God primary. In the parable of the rich fool, in Luke 12:15 Jesus says, “Life [*zōē*] does not consist in an abundance of possessions,” so that the “fool” is the

one whose treasure is the possessions accumulated in this world with no regard for God. Then, in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Abraham told the man, “Remember that during your life [*zōē*] you received good things and Lazarus bad things.” The point is that the *ordo salutis* contains a reversal of roles from this life to the next. Those who “live” for temporary wealth and refuse to share (Lk 16:9) will have nothing in the next life. This relation to material possessions is a major emphasis in Luke’s theology of life (see Lk 1:51-53; 3:7-14; 4:18; 6:20-26; 9:62; 10:36-37; 11:42, 46; 12:15, 21, 33-34; 14:18-20; 15:11-32; 16:1-13, 19-31; 17:26-29; 18:18-30; 19:1-10, 11-27).

4. John.

Most studies of “life” in the teachings of Jesus center on John because of the centrality of this theme in his Gospel, where the verb *zaō* appears seventeen times and the noun *zōē* thirty-six times. The two primary emphases are Christology (with Jesus both God and the living revealer of God) and soteriology (with John being an “encounter” Gospel, centering on “believing” in Jesus by coming to “know” and “see” him as God’s final “truth,” leading to “[eternal] life”). Thus, “life” culminates the movement of John and appears in nearly every chapter as the goal for all people in God’s mission to the world. “Life” contrasts with death, and in synonymous fashion “light” contrasts with “darkness.” Physical death is a primary reality for all human beings, but in Jesus God’s people have passed “from death to life” and thereby “will never die” (Jn 8:51; 11:26). All this is possible only because Jesus is “the resurrection and the life” (Jn 11:25). Physical death for the believer is a transition to eternal life. Five areas highlighting this motif in John may be noted.

4.1. Jesus as the Embodiment of Life. The divine Jesus embodies life in himself. In John 6:35, 48 he is “the bread of life,” which could be an objective genitive (“the bread that produces life”) but could also be epexegetical (“the bread that is life”). The latter understanding is made viable by John 1:4 (“in him was life”); John 5:26 (“As the Father has life in himself, so he has granted the Son to have life in himself”); John 14:26 (“I am . . . the life”). There is an ontological connection between the Father/Son and life. The life that he has given to those who believe reflects the very being of the Godhead. When Jesus speaks, his words are infused with life (Jn 6:63); by his very essence Jesus contains “the words of eternal life” (Jn 6:68).

4.2. Life as New Creation. There is a dimension of the new creation in the gift of life from Jesus to his

followers (see Brown). Jesus “the Word” is the agent of creation, and since he embodies life (see 4.1 above), it is the prerogative of Jesus-God-who-is-life to bestow life on his new-creation community. In John 4:10, 14 Jesus promises the Samaritan woman that he can “give” her “living water” that can “well up to eternal life.” Life is under his control and is a salvific gift presented by the divine giver (Schnackenburg, 1:426) “to anyone he wants” (Jn 5:21); in other words, he has complete authority over its bestowal. Jesus is “the bread of life” (Jn 6:35) who alone can “give eternal life” (Jn 6:27, 33) by yielding his “flesh” “for the life of the world” (Jn 6:51), producing security for the recipients of the gift (Jn 10:28; 17:2). Jesus as the giver of life is portrayed in the two healing miracles in John 4:46–54 (“Your son will live”) and John 11:1–44 (Lazarus raised on the third day). Jesus raises people from both physical and spiritual death. The latter is the greater miracle.

4.3. Life and Light. This life is synonymous with the “light” image in John, as it is clear in John 1:4 (“In him was life, and that life was the light of all human-kind”). This is part of an emphasis on the universal salvific will in John’s prologue, with John 1:5 (the light “shining in the darkness”) leading to John 1:7 (the Baptist coming “as a witness concerning the light”) and then to John 1:9 (Jesus “the true light that gives light to everyone”). Jesus as “the light of the world” makes possible “the light of life” (Jn 8:12; cf. Jn 9:4–5). He is the divine Shekinah fulfilling Psalm 27:1 (“The LORD is my light and my salvation”). In John’s Gospel experiencing salvation is tantamount to leaving the darkness of this world and entering the light of the new realm of Christ (Jn 3:19–21; 12:35–36, 46). As A. Köstenberger states, the life and light images are “inextricably wedded” and “attest to the blessing resulting from Jesus’ coming into the world: new, eternal life resulting from his substitutionary death” (Köstenberger, 348–49).

4.4. Life Through Belief. In John’s Gospel life results from the individual coming to “belief” in Jesus and is the true purpose of the this Gospel (Jn 20:31). Whereas Paul centers on the concrete reality of *pistis* (“faith”), John uses only the verb *pisteuō* (“believe” [98x]) to bring out the dynamic nature of the process of the encounter. The divine encounter of the sinner with the light and life of God in Jesus produces conviction of sin, and there ensues a call to believe—synonyms: receiving him (Jn 1:12; 3:11, 33; 4:36; 5:43), coming to him (Jn 5:40; 6:35, 44; 7:34, 37; 8:21), drinking the living water (Jn 4:13–14; 6:35, 53–56; 7:37–38). For this Gospel, “faith” contains its own *ordo salutis*, for “seeing” (114x) and “knowing” (141x)

are not part of the process that results in faith but rather are constituent elements of faith itself. Divine sovereignty and human responsibility function together in the act of coming to faith. The result is life. The basic statement is made twice in a row at the end of Nicodemus’s speech (Jn 3:15) and the beginning of John’s expository summary (Jn 3:16): “everyone who believes may have eternal life.” It is clear: every person without restriction has access to eternal life through faith in Christ. This is stated several times in the “bread from heaven” discourse (Jn 6:40, 47, 51; cf. Jn 6:53–56) (see Bread), where Jesus makes clear that consuming his flesh is concomitant with a deep-seated “belief” in him and enables one to experience “eternal life.” Jesus demands a total encounter with himself as the true meaning of “belief.”

4.5. Eternal Life as Present Possession. There is a strong realized aspect to John’s *eschatology, and this influences his presentation of the doctrine of “life.” It has been said that John’s present-oriented view of salvation has replaced the future eschatology of the Synoptics (Bultmann, 2:75–92), but that is a vast overstatement, for the ideas of future judgment and final salvation/resurrection are firmly presented in John (Jn 5:25, 28–30; 6:39–40; 11:23–26; 12:48; 14:2–4; 21:22). Thus, there is arguably an inaugurated thrust to the presence of the kingdom (Jn 3:3, 5; 18:36) and the reality of *salvation, with a distinct emphasis on the present possession of eternal life by the believer. The “already but not yet” tension in John’s Gospel is distinctly central, for the one who believes “has [present tense] eternal life” (Jn 3:15; 5:24a) and also “will not be [future tense] judged” (Jn 5:24b), because such persons have already “crossed over from death to life” (Jn 5:24c). A change of realms has taken place (cf. Rom 5:12–6:11), and eternal life is a present possession. This is restated in John 6:54, where those who fully encounter Jesus (see 4.4 above) immediately “have eternal life,” and Jesus will “raise them up at the last day” (cf. Jn 10:10; 17:3).

5. Conclusion.

The Gospels echo with the OT theme that all life begins with God, the source and creator of this life. All life is the creation of the living God, who alone is life (Deut 5:26; Is 40:18–26). The view is synthetic: life does not consist of entities such as body, soul and spirit; rather, it is holistic and to be viewed as God’s gift set in opposition to death. With human life viewed as a whole, Jews and Christians did not see it as scientific (as did the Greeks); they viewed life in relation to the world that humans inhabit—not theirs “to dispose of,” but “as duration, the days of a

man's life which are granted him by Yahweh, the Lord of life" (Link, 478). God alone is the giver of life, the one who breathes life into existence and who takes it away (Gen 2:7; 6:3, 7). God's word is life; he speaks it into existence ("And God said" before each day of creation in Gen 1—2), and all live on the basis of his words (Deut 8:3) and find true life by obeying them (Josh 1:8; Pss 1:2-3; 119:9-16). Thus, life in both the earthly and the eternal sense is a gift from God, which comes from the Father (Ezek 37:1-14), the Son (Jn 6:27, 33) and the Holy Spirit (Is 44:3-4; Ezek 36:26, 27; Jn 7:37-39).

See also *ESCHATOLOGY; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; RESURRECTION; SALVATION*.

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of "light versus darkness" as a root metaphor, a symbol of good versus evil, and the Judeo-Christian tradition is no exception. Consequently, there is debate regarding the proper background against which to understand the use of "light and darkness" imagery in the Gospels, and in John's Gospel in particular.

1. Background
2. Synoptic Gospels
3. Gospel of John

1. Background.

Light and darkness has been attached to the OT tradition, the Qumran sect, Hellenistic philosophy, the *Hermetica* and any number of Eastern religious traditions. Any combination of those probably is possible; likewise, it may well be that "light versus darkness" is simply a universal, archetypal metaphor that nearly every culture understands, and no particular borrowing needs to be implied. That is, light and darkness appear to be universally recognized symbols for the ongoing struggle between good and evil.

An appreciation for some of the literature nearest the Gospels is, nonetheless, helpful to understanding the use of light and darkness in those Gospels. In the OT these images are found frequently, most notably in creation accounts. Genesis 1 has light created first, overcoming the dark void. The creation psalms employ the same imagery (e.g., Ps 104). One also thinks of darkness as a plague on Egypt, typifying the evil that has fallen upon them, contrasted to the frequent use of "light" in conjunction with "life" (e.g., Job 3; Ps 49; Is 53).

At least some Jewish sects came to use the metaphor of light versus darkness with reference to a grand cosmic battle between the forces of good and evil. The sect at Qumran is worth mentioning, as their texts frequently use the phrases "sons of light" and "sons of darkness" as protagonist and antagonist in this apocalyptic conflict (see esp. *1QM*; *4QWar Scroll*) (see *Dead Sea Scrolls*).

One also finds "light" and "darkness" in Greek philosophy (see, e.g., Plato, *Resp.* 514a-541b; Plutarch, *Adv. Col.* 1114 b). These terms most typically are used to refer to intellectual enlightenment, which is a kind of "life" and a metaphorical extension of the archetypal meaning. One thinks of Plato's allegory of the cave in which we are said to be living in darkness in this world, but are encouraged to look to the light to understand a more perfect way.

2. Synoptic Gospels.

The Synoptic Gospels do not often use the metaphor of "light," especially in comparison to the John's

LIGHT AND DARKNESS

Light and darkness are two of the oldest and most universally recognized symbols in the world. Nearly every culture and religion in history has some sense

Gospel. “You are the light of the world” (Mt 5:14) is typical, along with the surrounding sayings about a city on a hill (Mt 5:14), a light on a lampstand (Mt 5:15) and shining forth one’s own light (Mt 5:16). The standard metaphorical usage of light is employed here: the light is the truth and goodness of Jesus’ message that the disciples are responsible for spreading. The Synoptics also use “light” to accompany revelatory activity. The *transfiguration (Mt 17:1-9 par.) involves imagery of light and brightness. Here, light accompanies the unveiling of Christ’s identity. Similarly, note Luke 2:32, where Simeon declares Jesus to be “a light for revelation to the Gentiles.”

3. Gospel of John.

The Gospel of John is marked by its use of dualities, such as light/darkness, above/below and flesh/spirit. This sort of dualistic worldview reflects a belief in a cosmic struggle between good and evil. It is in John’s Gospel that the metaphor of light and darkness reaches its full fruition in the NT. The metaphor begins in the prologue, where the concepts of “light” and **“life”* and **logos* are tied closely together. Nearly every commentator notes the obvious echoing of Genesis 1, where it is said that light and life were created by the spoken word. In John’s prologue, foreshadowing the rest of this Gospel, the *incarnate Word brings true light and life, concepts that are regularly paired and equated. It is also notable that the light “shines” (Jn 1:5) and “enlightens” (Jn 1:9), and “the life was the light of all humankind” (Jn 1:4). Light, then, is an active entity, something that brings life and knowledge.

The rest of John’s Gospel continues this trajectory. Jesus claims to be the “light of the world” (Jn 8:12; cf. Jn 9:5; 12:46). Light and darkness are in conflict with one another, and the people find themselves on one side or the other (Jn 3:19-21) based on their good or evil deeds. Jesus commands his followers to “walk in the light” (Jn 12:35) rather than in darkness, which becomes something of an ethical metaphor. There is no middle ground; one is either on the side of light or on the side of darkness. It is here that the phrase “sons of light” (Jn 12:36) is reminiscent of what is found at Qumran, reflecting a cosmic battle between two very distinct sides. The phrase “sons of light” occurs only here in John, and only in Luke 16:8 among the Synoptics.

Jesus is the source of light. *John the Baptist is merely a witness to that light (Jn 1:6-8), as are those who walk in the light (cf. Jn 12:35; see also 1 Jn 1:7), but they themselves are not the light. Jesus is also able to give light to those who have none. Consider

the man born blind in John 9. The man has no sight, and thus he lacked light also (see Blindness and Deafness). Jesus heals the man’s sight while making a pronouncement about bringing light to the world (Jn 9:5). All of these examples should be contrasted with characters who appear in the darkness. Nicodemus (Jn 3:2) comes to Jesus at night, and symbolically he is in the dark; Judas (Jn 13:30) leaves at night to betray Jesus; and Jesus is arrested in the darkness of night, and the arresting mob is said to carry “torches, lanterns, and weapons” (Jn 18:3). The Fourth Gospel clearly understands the story of Christ as the playing out of a cosmic conflict between good and evil, most potently expressed as a conflict between light and darkness.

See also BLINDNESS AND DEAFNESS.

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LITERARY CRITICISM. See NARRATIVE CRITICISM.

LITURGY, LITURGICAL FEATURES. See WORSHIP.

LOGOS

Logos is the Greek word for “word, saying, statement, message” and also has the meanings “reason” and “account [to be settled].” While these meanings are

found throughout all four Gospels, *logos* is well known as a designation for Jesus in the opening verses of the Gospel of John. Diverse backgrounds have been suggested for understanding this use of *logos*. Each possible background offers insight into the function of the term in John's Gospel and the way in which *logos* is employed in Johannine *Christology.

1. *Logos* in the Synoptic Gospels
2. Literary Use of *Logos* in John
3. Background of the *Logos* in John
4. Logos Christology in John's Gospel

1. *Logos* in the Synoptic Gospels.

In the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke) *logos* most often refers to the spoken word, either as a short saying, statement, or message, or as a longer discourse when used in the plural (Mt 7:28; 26:1). Anyone may speak *logos* or *logoi* ("words"): the Syrophoenician woman (Mk 7:29), Gabriel (Lk 1:20, 29), Herod (Lk 23:9), the disciples (Mt 10:14; Lk 24:17) and others (Mk 5:36). *Logos* may indicate an account to be settled (Mt 18:23; 25:19; Lk 16:2), a report about someone or something (Mt 28:15; Lk 5:15; 7:17) and a saying from the OT (e.g., "as it is written in the book of the *logoi* of Isaiah" [Lk 3:4]). Mark and Luke more often than Matthew use *logos* to refer to a word spoken by Jesus, but there are only a few instances where the Synoptic Gospels emphasize the *logos* or *logoi* as specifically those spoken by Jesus (Mk 8:38 // Lk 9:26; Mk 13:31 // Mt 24:35 // Lk 21:33; Mt 7:24 // Lk 6:47; Mt 7:26, 28) (see Gundry, 6-7). Another significant use is found in the beginning of Luke's Gospel, where *logos* refers to everything that was handed down from the eyewitnesses about Jesus—the *gospel message (Lk 1:2; cf. Lk 1:4).

All three Synoptic Gospels portray the seed in the *parable of the sower as *ho logos* ("the word" [Mk 4:14]). Matthew and Luke offer further description of the seed as "the *logos* of the kingdom" (Mt 13:19) and "the *logos* of God" (Lk 8:11). This seems to indicate that in this instance *logos* is used to refer to Jesus' proclamation of the *kingdom. In addition, Luke correlates Jesus' teaching and the word of *God in that those who listen to Jesus hear the word of God (Lk 5:1; 8:21; 11:28).

2. Literary Use of *Logos* in John.

In the Gospel of John *logos* can be used to refer to words or speech such as sayings, statements and discourses as in the Synoptic Gospels. Similar to the Synoptic Gospels, there are also examples of *logos* meaning "report" (Jn 21:23), a saying from the OT (Jn 12:38; 15:25) and the sum total of Jesus' teaching

(Jn 8:37; 15:20). In John, Jesus is the main speaker of *logos*, and the *logos* often is declared as Jesus' *logos* (see Gundry, 4-5). For example, Jesus says that anyone who keeps *ton emon logon* ("my word") will never see death (Jn 8:51; also Jn 4:41; 8:43). When *logos* is used of Jesus' words, there is an emphasis either on hearing his words (Jn 5:24), keeping his words (Jn 8:51; 14:23) or remaining in his words (Jn 8:31; cf. 5:38) (see Dodd). Similar to Luke's Gospel, but more evident in John, there is overlap between Jesus' *logoi* and God's *logoi* because all that Jesus speaks comes from the Father (Jn 8:28; 12:49-50; 17:14). Jesus speaks the *logos* of God (Jn 14:24).

In what is known as the "prologue" of John's Gospel (Jn 1:1-18), Jesus is called *ho logos* ("the Word") and is depicted as preexistent, with God, and as God (Jn 1:1-2). The *logos* acted in creation, has made eternal life possible in that in him was *life (Jn 1:3), and has given those who receive him and believe in his name the right to be called "children of God" (Jn 1:12; cf. 5:24). Grace and truth came through the *logos*, in contrast to the *law that was given through Moses (Jn 1:17). The most significant aspect of *logos* in John's Gospel is that the *logos* has been made flesh, dwelt among his people, and is equated with the human person of Jesus (Jn 1:14) (see Incarnation).

3. Background of the *Logos* in John.

Although Stoic views of the *logos* as the rational ordering principle of the world and gnostic understandings of the *logos* in relation to a gnostic redeemer myth have previously been suggested (see Bultmann), the more plausible backgrounds for the use of *logos* in the Gospel of John include the OT, *wisdom traditions, Philo's writings, and the *memra* ("word") of the Lord in the Jewish Targumim.

3.1. Old Testament. The opening of Genesis is unarguably part of the background of the first few verses of John's Gospel (see Evans). Both begin with the phrase "in the beginning," and they share similar themes of light, darkness, life, humanity and, of course, word (Gen 1:1-5, 26-27; 2:7; Jn 1:1-5, 9). Although no term for "word" is used in the Genesis account, God creates through the act of speaking (Gen 1:3). John 1:1-3 declares that all things were made through the *logos*, who was with God and was God.

However, not all of what is said of the *logos* in John 1:1-18 has its background in Genesis 1-2. The wilderness wanderings of Israel and the giving of the law to Moses at Sinai are also reflected in the Johannine account. The most obvious connection is the echo of the Lord's descent on the tabernacle in the wilderness with the tabernacling of the *logos* in John, both of

which involve *glory (Ex 40:34; Jn 1:14). Further, there is a noticeable contrast between Jesus the *logos* and *Moses. Jesus has glory that can be seen and beheld, while Moses requests to see the Lord's glory (LXX Ex 33:18; Jn 1:14; cf. 2:11). The law came through Moses (Ex 34—35), but grace and truth came through Jesus the *logos* (Jn 1:17) (see Evans, 79–83).

In addition, Isaiah 55:10–11 describes the way in which God's word comes from heaven like rain and snow that cause growth and produces food. This word of the Lord will accomplish what God sent it to do. In John's Gospel Jesus' descent from heaven (Jn 3:13, 31) and his doing and speaking what the Father tells him indicate similarity with Isaiah 55 (Jn 5:30, 36; 8:28; 12:49–50). These OT passages reveal the close connection between the OT and the understanding of *logos* in the opening verses of John (see Köstenberger, 25–27).

3.2. Wisdom. The wisdom traditions of the OT and of Second Temple Jewish writings also suggest an association between John's *logos* and *sophia* ("wisdom") (see Dodd, 274–75). Both the *logos* and wisdom are preexistent with God (Prov 8:22–31; Jn 1:1), engage in creation (Prov 8:30; Wis 7:22; 9:2; Jn 1:3) and are personified (Prov 8:22; Wis 18:15–16; Sir 24:3–22; Jn 1:1–2, 14). Like the *logos*, wisdom is said to dwell or encamp (*kataskēnoō* [Prov 8:12; Sir 24:4, 8]; *skēnoō* [Jn 1:14]) and is characterized by glory (Sir 24:16–17; Jn 1:14). In addition, there are instances where *logos* and wisdom are spoken of in parallel (Wis 9:1–2).

Although these links between *logos* and wisdom exist, there are some differences. Wisdom is created (Sir 1:4; 24:8; Prov 8:22), which is not the case with the Johannine *logos* (see Scott, 95–96). The wisdom tradition is not consistent on the acceptance of wisdom. In Sirach 24:8–12 wisdom dwells in Jerusalem and takes root among the people, whereas in 1 Enoch 42:1–2 wisdom cannot find a home among humanity (cf. Jn 1:10–11) (see Ashton, 366–83). Further, the *logos* is equated with *light in John 1:3–4, but wisdom is spoken of as surpassing the light (Wis 7:29–30) (see Tobin, 254–55). Baruch 3:9–12 connects wisdom with the law, while John 1:17 contrasts the law and Jesus as *logos*. All these connections between *logos* and wisdom are noteworthy, but still they leave unanswered questions regarding the background of the *logos* in John 1:1–18.

3.3. Philo. T. Tobin has argued that although there are parallels between wisdom and John's *logos*, the likely place for the connection between them is found in the biblical interpretation of Philo (cf. Dodd, 276–81). As in Wisdom of Solomon 9:1–2, wis-

dom and *logos* are correlated in Philo's writings (*Somn.* 2.242–245). For Philo, the *logos* of God is the divine plan of God and is responsible for the creation of the world (*Opif.* 17–18, 24–25; *Cher.* 126–27); God's *logos* is the image of God and the model to which he shaped the world (*Fug.* 101; *Somn.* 2.45). Similar to the Johannine *logos*, the *logos* of God is referred to by Philo as God's "firstborn" (*prōtogenos* [*Conf.* 146]; cf. *monogenēs* in Jn 1:14, 18), and Philo describes the *logos* as the second God (*ho deuterios theos* [QG 2.62]). In addition, Philo argues that the *logos* of God was intended to guide humans in the ascent of the soul (*Conf.* 40–41; 62–63; 146–47) (see Tobin, 260–61).

Philo's understanding of the *logos* shares similarities with the Johannine portrait in the role of the *logos* in creation (as with wisdom) and as being the firstborn of God. The idea of the *logos* guiding humans to God resembles the act whereby the Johannine *logos* gives authority to those who believe in him to be called "children of God" (Jn 1:12).

3.4. Memra of the Lord in the Jewish Targumim. *Memra* is the Aramaic term for "word" in the phrase "word of the Lord" in the Jewish Targumim, and it functions most often as a circumlocution for the divine name "YHWH." As with the Johannine *logos*, the *memra* acted in creation (*Frg. Tg.* Ex 3:14; *Tg. Neof.* Gen 1:26–27), and it is through or by the *memra* that the world was made (*Tg. Onq.* Deut 33:27; cf. Jn 1:10). The targumic *memra* was understood to be God (*Tg. Neof.* Gen 17:7–8; *Tg. Onq.* Ex 19:17). Light and life come through the *memra* (*Tg. Neof.* Gen 1:3; *Frg. Tg.* Gen 1:3), and the glory of the *memra* is seen (*Tg. Ps.-J.* Deut 5:24; cf. *Tg. Isa.* 6:1, 5, 8). Further similarities with John 1:1–18 can also be established (see Ronning, esp. 13–45; Evans, 114–24).

Some difficulties in understanding the *memra* of the Lord as the background of the Johannine *logos* include the later dating of the Targumim and the reality that the *memra* is primarily a way to refer to God without using the divine name. The *memra* of the Lord is clearly the same as God, so how can it be "with God" if it is God (Jn 1:1)? There seems to be less of a distinction between the Lord and the *memra* than we find between God and the *logos* in the Gospel of John.

3.5. Synthesis. Given the strong verbal and thematic connection between John 1:1–5 and Genesis 1:1–5, undoubtedly the use of *logos* in John is intended to echo the act of creation through God's spoken word. The narratives of Israel's wilderness wanderings are reflected in the tabernacling of the *logos*, and the coming of grace and truth through the

logos contrasts the giving of the law through Moses. Affinities also exist with the wisdom traditions found particularly in Proverbs 8; Sirach 24; Wisdom of Solomon 7–9, specifically wisdom’s tabernacling, glory and role in creation.

Both Philo’s interpretation of God’s *logos* and the *memra* in the Targumim reveal many intriguing parallels with the Johannine *logos*. These parallels imply that some sort of relationship between them may be posited. However, it is difficult to argue for dependence either way between the Gospel of John, Philo’s exegesis and the *memra* of the Lord, especially considering their most significant difference: the incarnation of the Johannine *logos*. It is plausible that their similarities indicate that the description of the *logos* in the prologue of John’s Gospel coheres well with first-century A.D. Jewish interpretations of the *logos* of God (see Evans, 144–45). The possibility exists that the author of the Gospel of John was aware of some of these understandings.

4. *Logos* Christology in John’s Gospel.

Scholars have previously argued for the existence of a Logos hymn (Jn 1:1–18) that was joined to the beginning of the Gospel of John (see Songs and Hymns). The verses John 1:6–8, 15 are seen as insertions into the original hymn that served to relate the hymn with the rest of this Gospel. As a result of this understanding of the Logos hymn, it has been generally considered that the Logos Christology of John 1:1–18 is nonexistent in the rest of John (see Bultmann).

R. Gundry has argued that in actuality there is a strong Logos Christology, which is discernible throughout the Gospel of John (Gundry, 1–50). In other words, there remains an emphasis on Jesus as the *logos* beyond John 1:18. For instance, Jesus says that God’s word is truth (Jn 17:17), and yet he himself is the truth (Jn 14:6), implying that Jesus is the *logos* (cf. Rev 19:11–13). In addition, to have God’s *logos* remain in the believer is equivalent to having Jesus the *logos* remain in the believer (Jn 5:38; 8:31; cf. Jn 14:23; 1 Jn 1:10; 2:14) (Gundry, 22–23). The Logos Christology is also noticeable in the concentration on Jesus’ act of speaking. Jesus reveals himself to the Samaritan woman and the man born blind as *ho lalōn* (“the one speaking” [Jn 4:26; 9:37]). His mother tells the servants to do whatever Jesus *legē* (“tells”) them to do (Jn 2:5). When challenged about his teaching, Jesus says that he has spoken openly (Jn 18:19–20). Even the double “Amen” sayings highlight Jesus’ words (Gundry, 9–10).

Everything that Jesus speaks he has heard from the Father (Jn 8:28, 38; 12:49–50), and like the words

that he speaks, he himself has been sent from God (Jn 3:34). Jesus is both the *logos* of God and the content of his own words (Jn 14:24). He is both the revelation of God and the revealer of that revelation (see Ashton), both the proclaimer and the proclaimed (Gundry, 49). However, because of the tabernacling of God’s *logos*, the *logos* of God is no longer merely spoken and heard (see Dodd, 267). The message of the incarnation is that God’s audible *logos* has become visible and has been revealed (Jn 1:14; 15:22, 24; cf. 1 Jn 1:1). Jesus’ opponents have neither heard God’s *phonē* (“voice”) nor seen his *eidōs* (“form”), nor do they have his *logos* remaining in them (Jn 5:37–38), but Jesus is the audible and visible *logos* of God, which can be heard and seen and can remain in the believer. The Logos Christology of John’s Gospel emanates through the embodied *logos* of God and his words.

See also CHRISTOLOGY; GLORY; INCARNATION; WISDOM.

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LORD

The term *kyrios* (“Lord”), the central Christian confession regarding Jesus for the early church (cf. Rom 10:9; 1 Cor 12:3; Phil 2:11), had a wide variety of uses in antiquity. It is necessary to explore some of these before examining how and whether Jesus, the earli-

est Christians and then the evangelists used this term or its Aramaic equivalent to say something essential or even extraordinary about the central figure of the Christian faith.

1. Greek Usage
2. Jewish Background
3. The Origin of Christian *Kyrios* Usage
4. Jesus as *Kyrios*
5. *Kyrios* in the Gospels
6. *Kyrios* in Acts
7. Conclusion

1. Greek Usage.

The term *kyrios* was used both in religious and secular contexts in the NT era. Both national and mystery religions, especially in the East (i.e., Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, but also in Greece and elsewhere), frequently used the term *kyrios* or its female equivalent, *kyria*, to refer to gods and goddesses such as Isis, Sarapis or Osiris (see *Gods, Greek and Roman*). It is quite clear in these contexts that the term *kyrios* connotes a deity who can answer prayers and deserves thanks for divine help. This development seems to go beyond the use of *kyrios* in the period of classical Greek, when the term referred to the great power a god had over a person or group of persons but did not yet seem to have been a divine title (cf. Pindar, *Isthm.* 5.53; Plato, *Leg.* 12.13).

Equally important for our purposes is the fact that the Roman emperor was, as early as the time of Nero, called *kyrios* with the sense of divinity (see *Rome*). Yet even though he was divinized, he was also known to be a human being. For instance, an ostrakon dated August 4, A.D. 63, reads, "In the year nine of Nero the Lord [*tou kyriou*]. . . ." Even before this time, however, in the eastern part of the empire and in Egypt in particular the emperor was being called *kyrios* in a more than merely human sense. Thus, for instance, Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1143, which dates to A.D. 1, speaks of sacrifices and libations "for the God and Lord Emperor [Augustus]." Even from 12 B.C. we have an inscription to Augustus as *theos kai kyrios*, "God and Lord" (BGU 1197, I, 15).

As A. Deissmann long ago argued, it is quite likely that the early church deliberately and polemically ascribed to Jesus titles that had already been applied to the emperor (Deissmann, 349-51). The meaning of the term within the Pauline communities—an absolute divine being to whom one belongs and owes absolute allegiance and submission—becomes all the more evident in light of the Pauline language of self-reference. Paul speaks of himself and others as *douloi* ("slaves") in order to

indicate their relationship to Jesus "the Lord" (Rom 1:1). The *doulos* who served a *kyrios* was not free but rather was the property of his or her Lord. This was the normal terminology in various Eastern religions to express the relationship of the adherent to the deity. No doubt to a significant degree this usage was derived from the more ordinary usage in the institution of slavery (see *Slave, Servant*). The term *kyrios* had a perfectly normal, nonreligious sense in both classical and Koine Greek, meaning "master" or "owner" of some property (including human property).

The vocative form *kyrie* frequently was just a polite form of address like the English term "sir." This latter usage is evident not only in secular Greek literature but also in the NT (e.g., Mk 7:28; Jn 12:21). It is likely, however, that the use of *māri*, the Aramaic equivalent of *kyrie*, was, at least in the context of Jesus' inner circle of disciples, already taking on a deeper significance than a mere respectful form of address (see Vermes, 109-15).

From these examples we can readily observe the scope of usage of the term *kyrios* in Greek literature. On the one hand, it can have a perfectly mundane use, referring to the master or owner of slaves or some other sort of property, such as a household or business. The term in the vocative could also be used as a respectful way of addressing a person, in particular a superior, who was not one's owner or employer. This second sort of usage had become so conventional that it often meant little more than our own use of the address "Dear Sir" in a letter. Yet early in the first century B.C., at least in the eastern part of the empire, the term *kyrios*, in the sense of divinity, was being applied not only to mythological gods, such as Sarapis or Osiris, but also to one particular human being, the Roman emperor. In such a context it is understandable why Paul might say that there are many so-called gods and lords, yet for Christians there is but one Lord, Jesus Christ (1 Cor 8:5-6). Because of the use of *kyrios* in these more religious senses, W. Bousset argued that it was not until Christianity reached a mainly Greek or Hellenistic environment that the title "Lord" was applied to Jesus, and then under the influence of pagan usage. This conclusion can be shown to be incorrect by a study of the Jewish usage of *kyrios* and its Aramaic cognate.

2. Jewish Background.

In the Septuagint (LXX) the term *kyrios* occurs over nine thousand times, and in some 6,156 occurrences it is used in place of the proper name of God, "Yahweh." This amounts not to a translation of the per-

sonal name Yahweh but to a circumlocution meant to aid in avoiding saying the sacred Tetragrammaton. There are, however, some doubts as to whether the original compilers of the LXX actually in every case translated the Tetragrammaton with *kyrios*. Some older manuscripts have the Hebrew *YHWH* in the Greek text in some places, and at least one LXX manuscript from Qumran uses *IAO* for the Tetragrammaton instead of *kyrios*. The copies of the LXX that do have *kyrios* for *YHWH* date from the fourth century A.D. on and appear to be Christian copies with Christian modifications. Yet J. Fitzmyer has produced evidence that early Jews did use the Greek *kyrios* as well as *ādōn* or *mārē* of Yahweh, and thus it is not impossible that early Jewish Christians transferred such a title from Yahweh to Jesus (Fitzmyer 1979; 1998). But we can no longer say with any assurance that this was done under the influence of the LXX. When in the LXX and other early Jewish literature *kyrios* is used to translate the Hebrew word *ādōn*, it is a matter of translation and not a circumlocution. Some 190 times in the LXX *ādōn* is translated as *kyrios* and refers to those who were lords or commanders in some sense.

Examples of *kyrios* used of Yahweh can be found not only in Josephus and Philo but even as early as the Wisdom of Solomon (some 27x; see Wis 1:1, 7, 9; 2:13). In fact, there is also some evidence that *ādōnāy* was being used as a substitute for *YHWH* in some cases at Qumran in their Hebrew biblical manuscripts. Equally interesting is the use of *ādōnāy* in prayers of invocation at Qumran (cf. 1QM XII, 8, 18; 1Q 34).

The Aramaic word for “lord” is *mār*, which is almost always found with various suffixes. The use of *mārē* or *mārā* to refer to God as Lord can be traced back at least as early as Daniel 2:47; 5:23, even though in these texts the term is not yet used in an absolute sense as a title. Evidence of a different sort can be found in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen). This Qumran document probably dates from about the turn of the era and has examples of God being addressed in Aramaic as *mārī*, “my Lord.” This is the only known example of this usage in Aramaic. However, it is quite common to find the more mundane use of *mārī* by a wife or servant of the husband or head of the household. In *Targum of Job* (11Q10) we have *mārē* as a rendering of the Hebrew word *šadday* (“almighty”). There is also a fragment from Cave 4 from the Enoch literature where *mārē* is used of God (4Qen^c ar 4; cf. 1 Enoch 89:31-36), and the Greek version has *ho kyrios* in related passages (1 Enoch 89:42, 45). Further important evidence comes

from the temple discovered at Gaza, called the Marneum, where a god called *mār* was worshiped (Johnson, 151).

L. Hurtado has amassed material demonstrating the complex nature of early Jewish thought on such subjects as divine agents (Hurtado 1998). He has shown that there is plenty of evidence that in early Judaism the Jewish concept of the uniqueness of God could coexist with the idea that God could give a unique place and role to a particular heavenly figure or agent. This included the idea that exalted patriarchs (e.g., Enoch or Moses) and principal *angels (e.g., Michael) could speak and act for God with divine *authority and power. This evidence is significant because it indicates a larger context of divine agency in early Judaism by which even the first Jewish Christians could have understood Jesus.

3. The Origin of Christian *Kyrios* Usage.

Aramaic evidence of singular importance for this study can be found in 1 Corinthians 16:22 and in what is probably the earliest of extracanonical Christian works, the *Didache* (see *Did.* 10:6). Here Jesus is referred to as Lord by the earliest Aramaic-speaking Christians using the phrase *maran atha*, or more likely *marana tha* (cf. Rev 22:20, which is likely a Greek translation of this phrase; this last text makes it clear that it is Jesus who is in view, as is also evident in 1 Cor 16:22-23). There are three ways the phrase *marana tha* could be rendered: (1) “Lord, come”; (2) “Our Lord has come”; or (3) even as a prophetic perfect, “The Lord will come.” Whichever rendering one chooses (especially in view of Rev 22:20, the first of the three seems most likely), a person who has died is being referred to as Lord. Since the first translation is the most probable, C. F. D. Moule’s pointed remark is significant: “Besides even if ‘our Lord’ is not the same as ‘the Lord’ absolutely, and even if the Aramaic *mārē* had been used mostly for humans and not for God (which we have seen reason to question) one does not call upon a mere Rabbi, after his death, to come. The entire phrase, *Maranatha*, if it meant ‘Come, our Master!’ would be bound to carry transcendental overtones even if the *maran* by itself did not” (Moule, 41).

It is not completely clear whether *maranatha* was used to invoke Christ’s presence in worship or was a wishful prayer for the return of Christ from heaven. Nevertheless, on the basis of strong evidence that the Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians, during and likely before Paul’s time (i.e., the earliest Jewish Christians), called Jesus “Lord,” or at least “our Lord,” we must reject Bousset’s argument for the ori-

gin of the christological title *kyrios* in the Hellenistic mission of the early church.

It is striking that Paul, writing in the 50s to Greek-speaking Christians who very likely did not know Aramaic, does not bother to translate *maranatha*. This surely must mean that he assumes that they understood the meaning of the phrase, which in turn suggests that it had long been a common invocation used by Christians, originating from Judean Christianity, and especially the Jerusalem church (Hurtado 2003, 174-75). Consequently, the apostle sees no need to explain or translate it. The origin of the Christian use of the term "Lord" for Jesus must be traced at least back to the earliest Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians. Can it be traced back even further?

4. Jesus as *Kyrios*.

Several texts seem to go back to a historical setting during the lifetime of Jesus. They raise the question of whether and in what sense Jesus may have been called "Lord" during his earthly ministry. We have already dealt with texts in which the vocative *kyrie* was used, and we will not return to them here, as they probably offer little help (with some possible exceptions in the Fourth Gospel [see 5.4 below]). Of more importance may be texts such as Mark 11:3, where Jesus tells his disciples to go and get him a colt to ride into *Jerusalem and to tell anyone who questions their action, "The Lord has need of it." The Greek reads *ho kyrios*, and presumably, if this goes back to an actual command of Jesus, it is a rendering of the Aramaic *mārē* (see *Languages of Palestine*). The meaning here is much like what we find in Mark 14:14, where Jesus is reported to have said, "The teacher asks, Where is my guest room?" If so, then "Lord" here may be no more than a respectful way of referring to a master teacher, just as we might speak of a master craftsman. It does suggest one who sees himself as having authority to command or requisition things of people, whether they are disciples or not. It is not clear whether this particular usage of *mārē* bears more significance than this.

Support for this can be found in several places in the Fourth Gospel, where we find the two terms "teacher" and "lord" are juxtaposed (Jn 13:13-16). We should also note that in the resurrection account of John 20 we find Mary Magdalene calling her deceased teacher "my Lord" (Jn 20:13), and when she actually recognizes the voice of Jesus speaking to her, she cries "Rabbouni" (Jn 20:16), which is translated "Teacher." This text also seems to suggest that Jesus not only was called *rabbi* or *rabbūnī* during his

ministry, but also probably was addressed by the term of respect *mārē*, which would have connoted that Jesus was a great teacher who exercised authority over his disciples. The disciples looked to Jesus as master in that sense. Another piece of evidence that may support this line of reasoning is the use of "slave/master" language (Jn 15:15, 20) in referring to the relationship between Jesus and his disciples.

A much more crucial passage for this discussion is Mark 12:35-37. Here Psalm 110:1 is quoted: "The Lord said to my lord, 'Sit at my right hand.'" Jesus then asks, "David himself calls him Lord; so how is he his son?" This text should not be abruptly dismissed as reflecting the later theology of the early church, especially inasmuch as there is extensive evidence that Jesus saw himself in messianic terms and at least indirectly made messianic claims (see Witherington 1990). Indeed, Mark 12:35-37 reflects precisely the sort of allusive, or indirect, manner Jesus seems to have used in public to indicate how he viewed himself. His method was to allude to his significance in such a way as to lure his audience into careful and deep reflection on this important matter. The form of teaching here is characteristic of early Jewish teachers. Taking a puzzling text, they would raise questions about it in such a way as to challenge common misconceptions, in this case the nature of the Messiah (see Christ) as the *son of David.

Also favoring the authenticity of this tradition is the fact that it seems to suggest that Jesus challenges the idea that Messiah must be of Davidic origin, a fact that the early church went to some lengths to demonstrate (e.g., Mt 1:1-20; Lk 1:27; 3:23-38). In the text as it stands, Jesus is suggesting that the Messiah is David's Lord, and as such he stands above and exists prior to David. This is why Jesus raises the question of why the scribes call Messiah "David's son." The idea of preexistence was commonly predicated of God's divine agents in early Judaism (Hurtado 1998, 13).

It is, then, not inconceivable that Jesus here could have alluded to himself not only as Messiah but even as preexistent Lord and been understood by his audience (Taylor, 492-93). This means that ultimately the proclamation of Jesus as Lord goes back to something that Jesus suggested about himself, albeit obliquely, during his ministry and in public. Yet this does not explain when and at what point Jesus' followers took the hint and really began to see Jesus in this light. We have noted that the evidence is at best scant that during his ministry Jesus' disciples thought of him as *mārē* in any sort of transcendent sense (Lk 6:46 may suggest this; see also Johannine

exceptions discussed below). What, then, prompted the confession of Jesus as Lord? Here we may consider clues from several sources.

First, there is the primitive confessional material that Paul uses in Romans 1:3-4. This text certainly suggests that Jesus assumed new functions, authority and power as a result of his resurrection. Indeed, he was given the new title "Son of God in power" as a result of the resurrection. Another piece of evidence comes from what is probably a christological hymn that Paul quotes in Philippians 2:6-11. Here we are told that because of Jesus' giving up of the status and prerogatives of "being equal to God" and taking on of the form not merely of a human being but of a slave, being obedient to God's plan even to the point of death, he has now been highly exalted and given the name that is above all names. Jesus moves from being a *doulos* to the *kyrios*. In the context of the hymn, that name which is above all others is not "Jesus," a name that he already had, but rather the throne name that he acquired when he assumed the functions of deity, ruling over all things. This name is *kyrios*. Acts 2:36, which may reflect some of the early apostolic preaching, says, "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified." In view of the fact that Luke readily calls Jesus *kyrios* in his Gospel, it is most unlikely that he would have created a text such as this, which suggests, if not states, that lordship is most appropriately predicated of Jesus after his death. But what does it mean that God "has made" Jesus *kyrios*? E. Franklin argued that for Luke the decisive eschatological event was the ascension of Jesus, through which his universal sovereignty was actualized and publicly recognized (Franklin, 53-54). Whether or not one agrees with Franklin's thesis that the ascension (not resurrection) was the moment of Jesus' glorification (Franklin, 30), he is correct that there is both continuity and discontinuity between Jesus' identity as *kyrios* before and after his exaltation.

Another hint comes from John 20:18, which suggests that the earliest post-Easter proclamation of faith was "I have seen the [risen] Lord." In short, the evidence suggests that the confession "Jesus is Lord" arose as a result of the earliest disciples' experiences with the risen Christ (see Resurrection). Indeed, Paul suggests that such a confession could not arise until after the Lord had risen and the Spirit (see Holy Spirit) had descended on Jesus' followers, for he says, "No one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor 12:3).

Although the ultimate ground for the confession

of Jesus as Lord seems to go back to something that Jesus alluded to during his ministry, the formal point of departure for such a confession by the disciples was their encounters with the risen Lord on the day of and after the resurrection, as well as their reception of the Holy Spirit. As best we can tell, the first to so confess Jesus seems to have been the person who first claimed to have seen Jesus risen: Mary Magdalene. In light of the negative view regarding a woman's word of witness that existed in many places, but especially in Palestine, in the first century A.D. (see Witherington 1984), it is not credible that the early church invented the idea that Mary Magdalene was the first to claim, "I have seen the Lord." Indeed, the early witness list in 1 Corinthians 15:5-8 is indicative of the tendency in the early church to move in quite the opposite direction and claim the prominence of the Twelve and the apostles as *witnesses of the resurrection.

We find further evidence that the experience of the risen Lord led to the full confession of Jesus' significance in John 20:28, where the climactic confession in a Gospel full of confessions is *ho kyrios mou kai ho theos mou* ("My Lord and my God"). It may be that this material is included here because the evangelist, writing toward the close of the first century, knew of the emperor Domitian's (A.D. 81-96) practice of naming himself *dominus et deus noster* ("our Lord and God") in official correspondence (Suetonius *Dom.* 13.2). The Fourth Evangelist may have been countering such a claim. But even if this is so, it seems rather clear that John wishes to convey to his audience that the true confession of Jesus first came about as a result of seeing the risen Lord, in the cases of both Mary Magdalene and Thomas. Christological convictions and confessions were first generated by the experience of the risen Lord and his Spirit, not by an influence from Greco-Roman religions (see Hurtado 1988, 121; cf. Hurtado 2003, 64-74). This leads us to examine how the term *kyrios* came to be used by the evangelists, who likely were composing their Gospels during the last third of the first century A.D.

5. *Kyrios* in the Gospels.

The Synoptic Gospels, and Luke in particular, include nearly the whole range of uses of the term *kyrios* as have been discussed here. There are some 717 passages where the term *kyrios* occurs in the NT, and 210 of them can be found in Luke-Acts (another 275 are found in Paul's writings). The fact that the majority of uses of *kyrios* are found in the writings of Luke and Paul may be explained by the fact that they

were mainly addressing Gentile audiences, or at least they were writing to people in areas where the Greek language and culture were the predominant influences. In contrast to Luke, *kyrios* occurs only 18 times in Mark and 80 times in Matthew, while there are 52 instances in the Fourth Gospel.

5.1. *Kyrios in the Synoptics.* A sampling of the various uses not referring to Jesus can now be given. In Mark and the Q material God is never called *kyrios* except in Mark 5:19; 13:20, but both Matthew and Luke (especially in the birth narratives) call God *kyrios* (cf. Mt 1:20, 22, 24; 2:13, 15, 19 with Lk 1:6, 9, 11, 15, 17, 25, 28, 38, 45, 58, 66; 2:9, 15, 22, 23, 24, 26, 39). We also find *kyrios* used of God in the resurrection material in Matthew 28:2 and in two instances unique to Luke: Luke 5:17; 20:37. *Kyrie* as a conventional address of respect is always used in the Gospels whenever a slave speaks to a master. However, it can also be found on the lips of Jews addressing Pilate (Mt 27:63) (see Pontius Pilate), of workers speaking to the owner of a vineyard (Lk 13:8), of a son to his father when he works for him (Mt 21:30), of Greeks addressing Philip (Jn 12:21), and of Mary to the gardener (unknowingly addressing Jesus) (Jn 20:15).

Kyrios can be used to refer to the lord or owner of some property or estate, such as the owner of a vineyard (Mk 12:9 par.). We have already noted that Mark 11:3 and its parallels likely reflect the same sort of usage. The term can also be used either of the master of a (free) steward (Lk 16:3) or of an owner of slaves (almost always with a qualifier like “his” or “my” [cf. Mt 18:25; 24:45; Lk 12:37, 42; 14:23]). But we do not find the Gospels using *kyrios* either for the emperor or for any pagan deities, although the verbs *kyrieuō* (Lk 22:25) and *katakyrieuō* (Mk 10:42; Mt 20:25) are used of Gentile rulers.

There are, however, some examples where *kyrios* seems to refer to the ability and right to exercise authority and power. In these cases it amounts to a nontitular use without any transcendent implications. For instance, in Mark 2:28, when Jesus says that the “Son of Man is “lord of the Sabbath,” he means that he is one who exercises authority over the rules that govern the Sabbath. Of a similar nature is the nontitular use in Luke 10:2, where God is said to be the one who controls the harvest; he is “the lord of the harvest.”

Before we examine individual Gospels, a word of caution is necessary concerning the use of the vocative *kyrie* in the Gospel narratives. The vocative form of the word could be simply used as a respectful address, and many characters in the Gospels ad-

dress Jesus in this manner. Although this may be the case in the original historical situation during Jesus’ earthly ministry, when read in a Gospel narrative, the address *kyrie* could attain additional significance, especially in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. With respect to Luke’s Gospel, C. Rowe convincingly argues that individual occurrences of the word *kyrie* must not be examined in isolation from the entire narrative context, which was written from a postresurrection perspective. Even though from the perspective of the narrative characters Jesus is no more than a “sir” or “master,” the evangelists and their readers know that he is much more than that. Using the literary device of narrative irony, Luke makes use of the ambivalence of the word *kyrie* to characterize Jesus in his Gospel. For Luke, *kyrie* “is thus both christologically ‘Lord’ and historically ‘sir/master’” (Rowe 2006, 216).

5.2. *Kyrios in Luke.* Regarding the absolute use of the noun *kyrios*, Matthew and Mark do not use the term in a transcendent sense within their narrative frameworks of the sayings of Jesus (Mk 11:3 is probably not an exception). Luke, on the other hand, does employ such usage. For instance, in Luke 7:13 we read, “And the Lord [*ho kyrios*] had compassion on her.” Or in Luke 10:1 the evangelist writes, “And the Lord [*ho kyrios*] appointed seventy others.” Luke, as a Gentile writing exclusively to a Gentile audience, shows no reticence in using *ho kyrios* of Jesus, thereby implying the transcendent religious sense of the term. This is not to say that Luke is being totally anachronistic, for he usually is careful not to place the term on Jesus’ own lips or those of his interlocutors in a manner uncharacteristic of Jesus’ ministry. Some probable exceptions are found in Luke 1:43, where Elizabeth speaks of Mary as “the mother of my Lord”; Luke 2:11, where Jesus is identified as “Lord” to the shepherds (but in this case the speaker is an angel); and Luke 1:38, where Mary is called “the servant of the Lord,” though here *kyrios* seems to refer to Yahweh.

Numerous other references in Luke’s Gospel indicate the evangelist’s regular use of *kyrios* within the narrative framework of his account of Jesus’ ministry (cf. Lk 7:19; 10:1, 39, 41; 11:39; 12:42; 16:8; 17:5, 6; 18:6; 19:8a; 22:61; 24:3, 34). When he is speaking of Jesus, Luke is not reluctant to use the Christian title “Lord.” The implication may be that Luke is suggesting that at least in being, if not yet fully in action or recognition, Jesus was already the *kyrios*. There is some justification then for H. Conzelmann’s claim that for Luke, Jesus is first of all the *kyrios* who was given dominion by God and rules over the

Christian community by means of the Spirit (Conzelmann, 176-79).

Rowe argues that for Luke, the title *kyrios* is of crucial importance for the identity of Jesus. On the one hand, Jesus is inseparably bound with God as they share in identity as *kyrios*, although Rowe is careful to describe this identity as a bound, not mixed, one. On the other hand, Jesus' identity as *kyrios* guarantees the continuity of his earthly and heavenly ministries (Rowe 2006, 27).

5.3. Kyrios in Matthew. In Matthew's Gospel strangers, enemies and Judas Iscariot never refer to Jesus as *kyrie*, but rather always greet Jesus with *didaskale* or *rabbi*. Alternately, the disciples and those who seek out Jesus for healing always address Jesus as *kyrie* (Kingsbury 1989). While it is possible that J. Kingsbury has made too much of Matthew's use of the vocative *kyrie*, there is justification for understanding Matthew's narrative use of the vocative *kyrie* spoken of Jesus as infused with greater christological import (as in Luke [see 5.2 above]).

In fact, Matthew as narrator is not shy about using *kyrios* of Jesus. For example, in Matthew 3:3 (following Mk 1:3) he quotes Isaiah 40:3 ("prepare the way of the LORD") and implicitly applies to Jesus a title originally referring to Yahweh. This reference, however, only becomes evident from what follows in the narrative, not from the quotation itself. Matthew 7:21-22 provides another case where *kyrie* is attributed to Jesus, this time with Jesus referring to himself as "Lord" (vocative), with a sense of his right to receive allegiance.

There is a notable stress on the lordship of Jesus as Matthew's Gospel works to its climax. Thus, for instance, in Matthew 22:44 Jesus is clearly implied to be Lord, and in Matthew 24:42 Jesus refers to himself as "your Lord" (note the parallel with Son of Man in Mt 24:39). Additionally, Jesus' final teaching in Matthew includes reference to Jesus as "Lord" (vocative, *kyrie* [Mt 25:37, 44]) by those on his right and left in a final judgment scenario, in analogous fashion to the saying in Matthew 7:21-22.

Kingsbury offers some helpful conclusions about the use of *kyrios* in Matthew, particularly his observation that the word is most often used in Matthew as a relational term—the master as opposed to the slave, the owner as opposed to the worker, even the father as opposed to the son (Mt 21:28-30) (Kingsbury 1975). However, none of these examples come from passages of christological significance. Yet it is telling that in the christological passages that we have examined the relational character of the term is indicated by (1) the use of the vocative "Lord, Lord"

in Matthew 7:21-22; 25:37, 44; (2) the use of "your Lord" in Matthew 24:42; and (3) the use of "my Lord" in the citation of Psalm 110:1 in Matthew 22:44. Kingsbury has shown, however, that *kyrios* is not Matthew's premier title for Jesus. When it does bear christological weight, it usually is explained or qualified by another title, and thus at most it should be regarded as an auxiliary christological title in Matthew's Gospel. There is also a certain allusive or indirect character in some of the christological passages (cf. Mt 3:3; 22:44).

5.4. Kyrios in John. John's christological use of *kyrios* is scant compared to Luke's, yet more evident than Matthew's. The titles "Son," "Son of God" and "Messiah/Christ" occur in John more frequently than "Lord." This may seem surprising, given the likelihood that John is the latest of the canonical Gospels, written well after the confession "Jesus is Lord" would have been established in the church. Although the address of the paralytic (vocative, *kyrie*) in John 5:7 should not be counted as having christological weight, the reference to Jesus as "the Lord" in John 6:23 is a christological usage (if the few Western manuscripts [D, 091, arm et al.] that omit the relevant phrase are not followed).

Peter's address to Jesus, "Lord [*kyrie*], to whom shall we go?" in John 6:68 may be intended as more than a respectful form of address, especially in view of Peter's confession in John 6:69. A christological meaning is possible but not as likely in the addressing of Jesus as *kyrie* by the woman caught in adultery (Jn 8:11), though this pericope was probably not originally part of this Gospel.

A very interesting case is the healed blind man in John 9, where the different nuances of the vocative *kyrie* are appropriately reflected in several translations (e.g., NIV, NRSV). Having asked by Jesus about the identity of the Son of Man, his initial address to Jesus in John 9:36, "Who is he, sir [*kyrie*]?" is clearly a respectful form of address. After Jesus revealed his identity as the Son of Man, however, the man responds to him as such, "Lord [*kyrie*], I believe," and worships him (Jn 9:38).

In John 11, the editorial comment in John 11:2 provides us with a clear Christian use of *ho kyrios*. Also, Martha's address to Jesus in John 11:27, uttered together with a christological confession, is probably more than a respectful way of addressing her teacher, but the other uses of *kyrie* in the chapter (Jn 11:3, 12, 21, 32, 34, 39) could be rendered as "sir." But even here ambiguity remains: the presence of the christological use of *kyrios* in John 11:2, 27 may force John's readers to see more than a respectful address to a

great teacher in this narrative.

The blessing at the *triumphal entry in John 12:13 (citing Ps 118:25-26) likely refers to God, not Jesus, as *kyrios*. John 12:38, citing Isaiah 53:1, should likely also be seen in this way. Peter's address of "Lord" in John 13:6, 9, in the narrative of Jesus' washing the disciples' feet, may have some christological implications in light of Peter's earlier use of the term in John 6:68-69. But we should not discount the possibility that *kyrie* here is used as a term of respect for one's teacher. The same can be said of Peter's words in John 13:36-37 and Thomas's address of Jesus in John 14:5.

It may be of some significance that in the Fourth Gospel (1) Jesus does not call himself *kyrios* in the clearly transcendent sense; (2) the evangelist clearly does call Jesus *kyrios* in his editorial remarks and within the narrative framework (although there are only three instances of this prior to the resurrection [Jn 4:1; 6:23; 11:2], only the last of which is free of textual problems); (3) up until John 20, whenever the term is found on a disciple's lips, it is always in the vocative, and few of these instances are clearly christological. It is important to note that when a narrative character uses *kyrie* in a christological manner, it is in his or her confession of faith in response to Jesus' self-revelation as a transcendent being (Jn 9:38; 11:27). The words of Mary Magdalene in John 20:13 ("my Lord"), which are not cast in the absolute form, are the first nonvocative use of *kyrios* by a character within the narrative, and even here they may not bear christological meaning.

On the other hand, John 20:18; 20:28; 21:7, and possibly the multiple examples of the vocative in 21:15-21, are clearly instances where a character in the narrative calls Jesus *kyrios* in the transcendent sense. John repeatedly narrates how the disciples "saw" *ho kyrios* (Jn 20:18, 20, 25), which leads to Thomas's climactic christological confession in John 20:28, "My Lord [*ho kyrios mou*] and my God!" where *kyrios* and God are unambiguously juxtaposed. This strongly suggests that the Fourth Evangelist is consciously trying to avoid anachronism in his use of this title and wishes to indicate that Jesus was only truly known and confessed to be Lord as a result of the disciples' encounters with the risen Lord. However, in John the line between preresurrection and postresurrection periods is not rigid, as even during Jesus' earthly ministry some people could recognize Jesus' identity as Lord, when Jesus chose to reveal himself to them as such.

In any case, Luke and John clearly share the basic understanding of Jesus' identity as *kyrios*: Jesus was

kyrios even before the resurrection, but the decisive epistemological shift on the disciples' part took place only when they encountered the risen Lord (Rowe 2006, 229).

6. *Kyrios* in Acts.

Not surprisingly, the use of *kyrios* in Acts reflects the same sort of phenomena found in Luke's Gospel. The term appears frequently and is used in a variety of ways. Since Acts reflects the period of time after the resurrection of Jesus, it is hardly surprising that the confessional use of the term is even more evident here than in the Gospel. Thus, for instance, Acts 1:21 provides us with the first juxtaposition of the absolute form of "Lord" with the name "Jesus" (*ho kyrios Iēsous*), a phenomenon that occurs regularly in the Pauline Epistles (cf. also Acts 15:11; 20:35). Also, at the very beginning of the book the risen Jesus is addressed in prayer as *kyrios* (Acts 1:24; cf. Acts 7:59-60). We also find OT passages referring to Yahweh as Lord now being applied to Jesus (Acts 2:25, using Ps 16:8-11).

Acts 2:36 has already been referred to, but note that in Acts 2:34-35 there is yet another use of Psalm 110:1 referring to Jesus, this time by Peter. J. D. G. Dunn argued that this text played a crucial role in the Christology of the earliest Christian community in Jerusalem: Psalm 110:1 brought home to the earliest Christians the importance not only of the resurrection but also of the exaltation of Jesus (Dunn, 218-19). The title *kyrios* for Jesus as the exalted one "carried with it overtones of authority, mastery and supremacy" that required absolute submission (Dunn, 219). According to Dunn, however, the fully divine Christology was only a later development of this "somewhat unreflective use of Ps. 110.1 in reference to Jesus as the second Lord installed by the Lord God at his right hand" (Dunn, 221). Other scholars disagree. Noting the fact that this psalm was never applied in Second Temple Judaism to the Messiah or to any of the exalted heavenly figures, R. Bauckham argued that "the exaltation of Jesus to the heavenly throne of God could only mean, for the early Christians who were Jewish monotheists, his inclusion in the unique identity of God" (Bauckham, 23; see also 173-76). Hurtado also doubted that this Acts narrative misrepresents the devotion of early Judean believers to Jesus as *kyrios*, concluding that at the very least Jesus' lordship acquired a heavenly, transcendent dimension in the early development of the movement (Hurtado 2003, 180-81). Furthermore, Hurtado argued that in the practice of the cultic invocation of Jesus as *kyrios*, reflected in Acts

2:21, the title clearly functions as a divine title, and that this practice goes back to the earliest stage of Judean Christianity (Hurtado 2003, 182). To these may be added an observation by N. T. Wright: “The high Christology to which [the early Christians] were committed from extremely early on—a belief in Jesus as somehow divine, but firmly within the framework of Jewish monotheism—was not a paganization of Jewish life and thought, but, at least in intention, an exploration of its inner heart” (Wright, 577). Thus, we can conclude that from the very beginning the Christian movement regarded Jesus as the exalted, heavenly *kyrios*.

Another important passage is Acts 10:36. Here Peter explains to Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, the universal lordship of Jesus: “Jesus Christ, who is Lord of all [*houtos estin pantōn kyrios*].” Here, two things need mention. First, the universal lordship of Jesus is presented against the lordship claim of the Roman emperor, who is also called “the lord” (*ho kyrios*) by the governor Porcius Festus (Acts 25:26). Rowe pointed out the importance of the word *houtos* in Acts 10:36 and argued that Luke’s implication is that “*this one*—and not someone else—is the *kyrios* of all” (Rowe 2005, 291). The two kinds of lordship are not necessarily incompatible with each other, as long as the emperor is content with a subordinate status as merely a lord under Jesus, who is the “Lord of lords” (Pinter, 114). At least for Luke, however, the emperor is not content to be subordinate, as Luke presents Caesar Augustus as exercising dominion over the whole world (*oikoumenē*) (Lk 2:1).

Second, the universal lordship of Jesus provides a theological basis for the faith community that consists of both Jews and Gentiles, and thus for Gentile missions. “The Lordship of the Christ initiates a community of salvation” (Rowe 2009, 124), and this salvation is available to all precisely because Jesus is the Lord of all.

One might also note that in Acts 17:24 Paul calls God “*kyrios* of heaven and earth.” In light of the shared identity of Jesus and God as *kyrios* in Luke’s Gospel, the universal lordship of Jesus and that of God are not contradictory but complementary: “God’s universal Lordship is expressed in the Lordship of Jesus Christ” (Rowe 2009, 112). In fact, just prior to Peter’s declaration that Jesus is the Lord of all, Cornelius says to him, “Now we are all here in the presence of God to listen to everything the Lord [*ho kyrios*] has commanded you to tell us” (Acts 10:33), in which *ho kyrios* most likely refers to God.

These examples are sufficient to show that the full range of early Christian uses of *kyrios* is found in

Acts in a way that is not true of the Gospels, even Luke’s. The use of the phrase “the Lord” continued to be Luke’s favorite designation for Jesus in his narrative material (see, e.g., Acts 11:21, 23, 24; 15:35, 40).

7. Conclusion.

A somewhat clear development of the use of the term *kyrios* for Jesus of Nazareth can now be traced. The usage begins with indirect hints during the time of Jesus’ ministry, through accounts of encounters with the risen Lord, to the use of *maranatha* in early Palestinian Jewish-Christian contexts, to evidence of the christological use of the term in the narrative framework of Luke and John, and finally to the variegated use of the term in Acts. In Acts it is used in combination with the name “Jesus” and the title “Christ,” as a form of address to the exalted Christ, and in the transfer of reference from Yahweh to Jesus in quotes from the OT.

Interestingly, we do not find the use of the absolute or transcendent *kyrios* in the narrative frameworks of Matthew and Mark, and there is some attempt by both Luke and, to a lesser degree, John to avoid anachronism by not placing the full Christian use of the term on narrative characters’ lips during the ministry of Jesus. It is also significant that Luke-Acts and John intimate that the confession of Jesus as Lord decisively arose as a result of the resurrection experiences. This, of course, did not prevent the evangelists from sometimes calling the Jesus of the ministry “Lord” in their narratives, for it was “this same Jesus” (Acts 1:11) whom God had raised from the dead who took on the tasks of Lord in earnest when he joined God in heaven. In other words, the continuity of the usage of *kyrios* from before and after the death and resurrection in the Gospels reflects the belief in the continuity of personhood between the historical Jesus (see Quest of the Historical Jesus) and the risen Lord.

The title *kyrios* for Jesus also has an ecclesiological significance. Since the term *kyrios* presupposes the relationship between the “lord/master” and those under the lordship of the former, the recognition of Jesus as *ho kyrios* inevitably leads to the identity of the community of those who recognize Jesus as such (Thompson, 103), regardless of their ethnic origins. Thus, the “people of God” is no longer defined by the traditional notion of ethnic Israel (Yamazaki-Ransom, 3). This common allegiance to the lordship of Jesus sometimes conflicts with the Roman emperor’s claim to lordship. As we have seen, this is evident in Acts, but even in Luke’s Gospel the newly born Jesus is proclaimed by angels as

“Christ the Lord” (*christos kyrios* [Lk 2:11]), which can be seen as a counterclaim to the alleged lordship of Augustus (Yamazaki-Ransom, 73).

Thus, the title “Lord” was of decisive importance in how the early church understood Jesus. The use of the term *kyrios* in a religious sense was certain to imply Jesus’ divinity, especially in the eastern part of the Roman Empire and in Gentile contexts. The evidence suggests that this remarkable mutation in the Jewish concept of monotheism took place in the earliest Palestinian Jewish Christian community as a result of some hints from Jesus himself and especially as a result of the encounters with the risen Lord as shared by some of the eyewitnesses to the life of the historical Jesus. The evidence indicates that the high Christology of the early Christian church was not a new development of the late first century A.D.

See also CHRIST; CHRISTOLOGY; GOD; ROME; SON OF DAVID; SON OF GOD.

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LORD’S PRAYER. See PRAYER.

LORD’S SUPPER. See LAST SUPPER.

LOVE, LOVE COMMAND

The love command appears in different forms in the canonical Gospels, and close study highlights their nuances. But among the Gospels, John offers a unique and detailed engagement with this topic, which is best understood in relation to the Johannine letters and community.

1. The Love Command of Jesus in the Canonical Gospels
2. The Theology of God’s Love in Johannine Literature

1. The Love Command of Jesus in the Canonical Gospels.

The canonical Gospels agree that the love command

embodies the central motive of Jesus' ethics. The same Gospels, however, show different literary designs as well as distinctive features both in terms of substance and detail.

1.1. *Similarities and Differences of the Love Command in the Canonical Gospels.* The Synoptic tradition positions the love command in a public argument initiated by enquiries from outsiders. Within the framework of the Jerusalem conflict, the corresponding teachings follow in Matthew 22:34-40 and Mark 12:28-34 in response to the request of the Sadducees, which addresses the question of postmortem existence. In this way, the double commandment of love is the peak of the debates and conversations that Jesus had just before his arrest in *Jerusalem. By contrast, the Lukan account of the love command, in Luke 10:25-28, comes in a comparatively early stage of the story, subsequent to the beatitude spoken to Jesus' *disciples (Lk 10:23-24), in which a teacher of law tries to question the authority of Jesus.

The Johannine composition of the love command is found in a completely different narrative context. On one hand, in John 13:34 Jesus acts without the initiative of a third party. He is not required to comment on the importance and relevance of individual Torah commandments but confidently gives his own, new *commandment. This narrative detail impressively highlights the supremacy and *authority of Jesus. On the other hand, in the Johannine version the love command is directed only to the disciples; in contrast to the Synoptic tradition, no outsider hears the commandment of mutual love.

The most significant differences occur within the justifications of the love command. Matthew 22:36 and Mark 12:28 thematize the question concerning the first or highest commandment, while Luke 10:25 thematizes the question concerning the conditions that must be fulfilled to obtain eternal life. The interlacing of the commandments of love of God and neighbor, which can be found as separate instructions in the Jewish legislative tradition (Lev 19:17-18; Deut 6:5), follows in partially different form in the Synoptic tradition. In contrast, neither in John 13:34-35 nor elsewhere in John is the love command justified with reference to Scripture. The love command is rather the new commandment given by Jesus. This issue can be understood as a consequence of the Johannine hermeneutics of the Scriptures. The Holy Scriptures of Judaism testify to Jesus (Jn 5:39), who interprets the will of God as it is recognizable in them (Jn 1:17). It is the authority not of the Jewish Scriptures but rather

of Jesus that justifies the love command.

A further difference in the composition of the Synoptic and the Johannine versions of the love command is reflected in the measure used for ethical behavior. In Leviticus 19:17 and Mark 12:28 one's self-love serves as the measure for love of neighbor. For John 13:34, however, the love of Jesus is the measure and standard of mutual love. The disciples should love each other the way Jesus loved them. It is not human behavior that is normative but rather the love of Jesus, which incarnates God's love and finds its ultimate expression in his sacrifice on the cross (cf. Jn 15:13; 1 Jn 3:16) (see Death of Jesus).

The ground of the love command in the Fourth Gospel therefore connects the background of the motive (Lev 19:17) with an ethic of imitation oriented toward Jesus' life. Within the Johannine writings this motive corresponds with 1 John 4:11, where mutual love of the community is referred to as behavior that corresponds to God's love. John 13:34, however, is oriented not toward God's love but rather toward the love of Jesus. Nevertheless, the concept of the Fourth Gospel is consistent with 1 John 4:11 insofar as the love of God is revealed in the mission of God's Son. Jesus commands the love of which he is an example.

1.2. *The Range of the Love Command.* There is a remarkable difference between the Synoptic tradition and the Johannine literature in terms of the scope of the love command. The Synoptic versions agree that the love command of Jesus concerns not only one's immediate dependents and peers but also, and indeed primarily, socially marginalized people, including foreigners and even one's enemies (cf. the Q material in Mt 5:43-48; Lk 6:27-36). Whereas criminals and the wicked love their dependents, the followers of Jesus should go well beyond this and practice unconditional love for their neighbors. Although this extension of the love command can already be observed in various Jewish formulations (e.g., *T. Iss.* 7:6; *T. Zeb.* 5:1; *T. Naph.* 8:3), the command to love one's enemies can be understood as an intensification of the contemporary ethic of love and should be traced back to Jesus himself. This tradition-historical detail becomes even clearer in light of the Matthean Jesus referring to a contemporary concept that connects the command to love one's neighbor to the call to hate one's enemies (Mt 5:43). This call can be understood as an indirect reference to the interpretation of the love command that is primarily passed on in the Qumran *Rule of the Community* (1QS I, 3-9; IX, 16, 21).

In contrast to the Synoptic tradition, where there

is specific and detailed focus on love for one's "neighbor," John instead thematizes the importance of mutual love among Jesus' followers (Jn 13:34-35). Since in the latter text the command of mutual love is directed only to the Twelve, and since there are no traces of the call to love one's enemies, it is sometimes postulated that the Fourth Gospel is a "sectarian" document and the Johannine community a "sectarian group" (Segovia, 272). Accordingly, the spirit of Jesus is confined within the walls of the Johannine community (see Stauffer, 47).

Such an assessment misunderstands the overall intention of John's theology. The composition of the love command in John 13:34 is a consequence of the Johannine Christology and is an attempt to cope with the community schism (see 2 below). Likewise, the Fourth Gospel puts the account of the washing of feet (Jn 13) and the commandment of love in one narrative context, whereas at this same point in the narration of Jesus' ministry the Synoptic tradition offers the tradition of the Lord's Supper (see Last Supper). In the Gospel of John the thematic analogy of the Lord's Supper can be found in the eucharistic interpretation of the *bread of life discourse (Jn 6:51-58), a topic that causes schism among the disciples (Jn 6:61). Significantly, while Judas remained with the community of the disciples during Jesus' washing of the feet, he leaves them immediately prior to the conveyance of the love command. Although he had been a witness of Peter's confession (Jn 6:66), which took place after the dissolution of Jesus' following, he did not see what mutual love means.

In view of this narrative drama, the composition of the love command as well as the composition of the bread of life discourse can be understood as an attempt to overcome the central problems at the heart of the Johannine community schism. After John 6:51, which perhaps reflects an anti-docetic polemic, John 13:34 focuses on the lack of communal solidarity. It is as if John is asking a fundamental question: Who, in contrast to Judas, belongs to the true circle of disciples and accepts Jesus' commandment, which he demonstrated paradigmatically by washing the disciples' feet? The private, intimate setting of the footwashing scene must not be seen as an indication either that the Fourth Gospel is a sectarian document or that the Johannine community is a sectarian group. Instead, the narrative composition implies an exhortation to obey that commandment of God that Jesus alone entrusted to his faithful companions.

1.3. The Lukan Interpretation of the Commandment to Love One's Neighbor (Lk 10:25-37). The Lukan formulation of the love command significantly

differs from the Synoptic parallel texts. If Luke had followed the Markan narrative structure, he would have placed the love command in the context of the Jerusalem debate, where it embodied the climax of Jesus' controversy with the representatives of contemporary Judaism. That Luke is addressing a concrete concern is evidenced by his sidestepping Mark's plot line. Whereas the Markan and Matthean version describes a scribal discussion about the dignity of different Torah laws, the Lukan version starts with a soteriologically orientated question. A teacher of law wants to know what he has to do to obtain eternal life (Lk 10:25). This is followed by a most peculiar change, at least when compared with the Markan version. Strictly speaking, it is not Jesus who now formulates the interlacing of the love of God and the love of one's neighbor, but rather the anonymous *scribe who does so. This detail shows that, for Luke, the question concerning the justification of the highest commandment is no longer at issue. After all, even an anonymous scribe in the Galilean backcountry knows that the love of God is closely bound up with the love of one's neighbor.

Moreover, compared to Mark, Luke focuses more on the question of concrete ethical practice. This becomes clear through the scribe's question, which he asks in an attempt to justify himself; the question relates to the identity of one's neighbor. Jesus then answers this question by offering the parable of the good Samaritan. Particularly significant in this connection are the introduction and, even more so, the second half of the parable describing the behavior of the Samaritan. Although the treatment of the Samaritan's actions is brief, the reader can see the love command being practically implemented—all as a part of the *healing mission of Jesus.

This much is already clear in the details of Luke 10:34, where the compassionate Samaritan turned to the wounded man, bound up his wounds and administered oil and wine. It often has been assumed that Luke derived the motive of anointing with oil from the context of the Markan mission of healing (Mk 6:13). It has also been suggested that Luke's description matches early Christian practice in addressing the needs of the unwell in their own community (e.g., Jas 5:14). That Luke 10:34 actually describes an act of concrete care for the sick can be seen even more clearly when the text is read against the background of contemporary medical practices.

Although the first statement in Luke 10:34 would not have been out of the ordinary for contemporary readers, what follows in the second statement and in the next verse probably appeared almost shocking.

The Samaritan transported the seriously injured victim on his pack animal to an inn. There, he took care of him until the next day. At the time of his departure, he delegated the care to the innkeeper and provided funds in advance for further expenses. This action turns out to be almost revolutionary when read against the background of contemporary reports that describe the handling of less privileged invalids in the Roman Empire.

The Lukan interlacing of the love command with the parable of the good Samaritan fits well with the ethical thrust of Luke's theology. Luke wants to initiate a Christian ethos in which Jesus' followers are prepared to give their existing assets for the support of people in need of help and care. Against this background, the Lukan formulation of the love command of Jesus and the parable of the good Samaritan can be understood as a Lukan illustration of Jesus' healing mission.

2. The Theology of God's Love in Johannine Literature.

The Johannine literature employs "love" terminology in a unique and broad-ranging fashion (see Popkes). In the Johannine corpus we find 106 of a total of 320 NT occurrences of words from the *agap*-family (*agapaō*: John 37x; 1-3 John 31x; rest of the NT 75x; *agapē*: John 7x; 1-3 John 21x; rest of the NT 88x; *agapētos*: 1-3 John 10x; rest of the NT 51x). Likewise, 21 of 55 NT occurrences of words from the *phil*-family are found in the Johannine literature (in particular, *phileō*: John 13x; rest of the NT 12x; *philos*: John 6x; 1-3 John 2x; rest of the NT 21x; *philia* occurs only once in the NT [Jas 4:4]). If the Johannine literature dominates the NT statistically in its usage of *agapaō* and *phileō*, the same corpus also shows a broad range of semantic usage (see Popkes, 19-20).

The love motif is a key to understanding Johannine theology. For example, the Johannine correspondence mirrors the conflicts and the break of the Johannine community with varying intensities. In this context, special significance is assigned to the problem of communal love. Especially 1 John aims to advise the community members to love one another. On the one hand, the author wants to remind the addressees that mutual love is central among God's commandments; on the other hand, he tries to make clear the relevance of their mutual love. To this end, he develops a rhetorically effective Johannine equivalent to Song of Songs (1 Jn 4:7-5:4). The central intention of the message is the explication of corporate love as an appropriate response to the mission of Jesus (1 Jn 4:11-12).

An even more complex evaluation of this topic can be observed in the Gospel of John. All statements within the Fourth Gospel concerned with love and the love command appear in an economy of reciprocity. One might fairly call this the "Christology of God's love" because Jesus' words and acts embody the love of God become flesh (see Incarnation). The individual aspects of the love motif form a consistent complex, based on a distinctively Johannine principle of organization. The hermeneutical framework of this concept can be understood in light of the concluding words of Jesus' intercessory prayer in John 17. Here John offers a compendium of his theology where the intimate dialogue between the *Son of God and his Father brings together, compresses and differentiates previous motifs and ideas. This applies in particular to the love motif and in particular the summative passage, John 17:24-26. As is made clear here, the Father already loves the Son before the foundation of the world (Jn 17:24). This eternal love between Father and Son is to be realized within the community of believers (Jn 17:26); the same love also provides the ground for their unity (Jn 17:21, 23) (see God). Encountering this loving unity, the world is to come to faith and to the recognition of Jesus' entitlement to mission and the mutual love of God, Jesus and the believers (Jn 17:21, 23, reiterating and forming an inclusio with Jn 13:35; 14:31).

These statements form an arc of suspense between protology and *eschatology. At the same time, the statements imply reading instructions for the Fourth Gospel itself. On the one hand, the *passion narrative that follows stands under the sign of eternal love between Jesus and God, which should gain ground in the believers; on the other hand, the reader is invited to reread the Gospel as a whole in order to understand the different facets of love statements.

The love motif can first be found in the encounter between Jesus and Nicodemus. Because God loves the cosmos, he sent his Son to save the *world (Jn 3:16). The entire saving event therefore stands under this universal sign. Because God loves the world, Jesus is the surrendered and sent Son of God, the *lamb who takes away the sins of the world (Jn 1:29), and he is the savior of the world (Jn 4:42). On the one side, the authority of Jesus is justified by the love of God for his Son (Jn 3:35; 5:20; 10:17), in each case in correspondence to the motif of Jesus' divine glory (Jn 17:5, 24); on the other side, the rejection of Jesus by the cosmos and by "the Jews" is traced back to the lack of love for him and for God (Jn 3:19-21; 5:42; 8:42; 12:42).

Later, in the farewell discourse, we find that John

puts the preceding public works of Jesus under the sign of Jesus' love for his disciples (Jn 13:1). The ensuing narration of the washing of feet gives a good example of this love (Jn 13:15) and offers christological justification of the love command in John 13:34. Here Jesus masterfully gave the new command of love. Because Scripture itself points to Jesus as God's exegete (Jn 1:18; 5:39), this new commandment can be identified as the commandment of Jesus. His love is the measure of the ethical standard. The disciples should not love their neighbors as they love themselves but rather as Jesus had loved them. When it comes to the technique of composition, the love command also contrasts with the main corpus of the farewell discourse. It stands in the center of a scene of betrayal and calumny. Although Judas resides in the community of the disciples during Jesus' washing of the feet, he leaves them immediately prior to the conveyance of the commandment of love. Immediately thereafter Peter emphasizes that he is ready to give his life for Jesus (Jn 13:36-38). Jesus, however, confronts him with his forthcoming calumny (cf. Jn 18:25-27). This narrative frame highlights the love command impressively and underlines the exclusivity of Jesus' self-surrender, which is the highest expression of his love for the disciples (Jn 15:13).

That this commandment of love is conveyed not in a public debate but rather in the circle of Jesus' faithful disciples in John's Gospel is no indication of a particularistic, sectarian ethic. This composition has to be ascribed to the overcoming of the Johannine community's schism. It stands out that the commandment of love is placed in a narrative context in which the tradition of the Lord's Supper can be found in the Synoptic tradition. But this was already covered in the incarnational and anti-docetic bread of life discourse. In the same context, the community schism is also reflected (note particularly the story of the discord among the disciples in Jn 6:60-71). The composition of the bread of life discourse and the love command therefore also serve the overcoming of the community schism.

In the farewell discourse the christological and ecclesiological implications of the motive of Jesus' love for his disciples and the commandment of love (Jn 13:34) are differentiated by putting them in relation to other Johannine themes (e.g., the reciprocal immanence of God and the believers [Jn 14:23], the *joy of Jesus and the disciples [Jn 15:11], the motives of friendship [Jn 15:13-15], the idea of election [Jn 15:16], the understanding of faith [Jn 15:13-15]). It is important to note that the love command is not defined more closely. Whether, for example, the nar-

ration of the washing of feet in John 13:2-15 reflects and initiates a practice within the community cannot be clarified on the basis of our reading of John's Gospel. Nor is the nature of the "fruit" that the disciples are chosen or destined to bear (Jn 15:1-8, 16) specifically explained. Obviously, the author did not want to stipulate concrete codes of conduct. Instead, he wanted to declare the love of Jesus as the base and model of mutual love for the believers. Jesus is the vine through which the believers are able to produce fruit.

In addition to Jesus' love for the disciples, the disciples' love for Jesus comes to the fore in the farewell discourse (Jn 14:15, 21, 23-31; 16:27). Although the love for Jesus is not explicitly commanded, it is implicitly identified as an indispensable condition of discipleship: whoever loves Jesus keeps his commandments and words. The Father loves the disciples because they love Jesus (Jn 14:21b, 23a; 16:27). The love for Jesus is a criterion of the reciprocal immanence of Father, Son and the disciples (Jn 14:23b). This conception turns out to be the Johannine interpretation of the command to love God in Deuteronomy 6:4-5. The motif of love for God "merges" in the love for Jesus. This is why the motif of the disciples' love for Jesus can be understood as the christological climax of the Johannine theology of love and as a consistent implementation of the Johannine Christology: if God and Jesus have already been united in loving community before the creation of the world (Jn 17:24; cf. Jn 1:18) and the Son becomes visible in his Father (Jn 14:8-10), it follows that love for the Father is demonstrated in love for the Son of God. If Father and Son are one (Jn 1:1-2; 10:30), the love for God must also include the love for Jesus. The composition of the motive of love for Jesus supports the view that the Gospel of John probably was completed after the Johannine Epistles. It offers an advanced coping strategy in the context of conflicts over the meaning of love for God and for fellow Christians, which are documented in the Johannine Epistles.

This "Christology of God's love" is aimed not only at the community but also at the world beyond the community. The post-Easter fate of the community is based on the pre-Easter fate of Jesus in the world. During Jesus' earthly career the world's hatred was focused not on the disciples but rather on Jesus (Jn 7:7). After Jesus departed, the hatred for Jesus led to hatred for the community (Jn 15:18-25). But the community must not react with hatred to this condemnation; rather, it must continue the mission of the Son of God. Just as God sent Jesus into

the world, Jesus sends his disciples into the world (Jn 17:18; 20:21). The saving event—the suffering and death of Jesus—finds development in the proclamation of the community. And the world will gain the saving knowledge of Jesus' claim to mission by the love and unity of the believers who mirror the love of Jesus (Jn 13:35; 14:31; 17:21–23). God's universal desire to save the world does not fail because of Jesus' condemnation, but is continued by the community.

See also **COMMANDMENT**; **ETHICS OF JESUS**; **MERCY**.

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E. E. Popkes

LUKE, GOSPEL OF

From the early church to the present, Luke's Gospel has functioned like a warehouse of scenes and stories from which favorites might be drawn, whether in discussions of the virginal conception or of everyday ethics, whether by preachers or theologians or artists (for Luke in Italian Renaissance and Baroque art, see Hornik and Parsons). The reception of Luke's *birth narrative is a good example of this more atomistic approach ("And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus" [Luke 2:1 KJV]), but other illustrations are easy to find. The parable of the good Samaritan, the story of Zacchaeus, the tale of the rich man and Lazarus, the parable of the prodigal son, Mary's Song (or the Magnificat), Jesus' words of *forgive-

ness from the cross—all of these and more, well-known and well-loved texts, are found only in Luke. Yet in many circles today they continue to be remembered without concern for their setting and interpretation within the Lukan narrative. For example, the sociologist R. Wuthnow documents how the parable of the good Samaritan generated charitable behavior in American public life in the twentieth century—this in spite of the fact that few people could actually convey the substance of the whole parable and even fewer could identify Luke's Gospel as the source for this parable. The approach to Luke taken by the eighth-century theologian The Venerable Bede represents what has long been common among theologians and preachers. Bede produced homilies on parallel Gospel texts, working as though each narrative was cut from the same cloth as the other, without attending to the particular perspective of any one evangelist.

We can trace the beginnings of serious study of the Gospel of Luke as *Luke* only as far back as the twentieth century, especially to the literary-historical work of H. J. Cadbury (first published in 1927), the introduction of redaction-critical study of Luke by H. Conzelmann (first published in 1954), and J. Fitzmyer's valiant efforts to put Luke on the map as a theologian in his own right (1981–1985; 1989). Early on Cadbury fixed a hyphen between Luke and Acts, reflecting what would become the widespread assumption of the essential unity of Luke-Acts. By the 1960s, W. C. van Unnik could refer to the study of Luke-Acts as a "storm center." Subsequent study has drawn attention to Luke's Gospel in a way unparalleled in the history of interpretation.

The early church had much to do with the Gospels of Matthew and John, much less so with Mark and Luke. Notable exceptions include readings and homilies associated with major celebrations in the Christian calendar, such as the Christmas season or Feast of the Annunciation (see Just, 17–27). For Luke's Gospel we have only four collections of homilies (or "commentaries") from the early period: from Origen (185–254), Ambrose of Milan (339–397), Cyril of Alexandria (375–444) and The Venerable Bede (675–735). The later medieval period did little to add to Lukan commentary and, in the Reformation era, John Calvin reflected longstanding proclivities by commenting on the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke synthetically, without accounting for the ways in which each of the Synoptic Gospels provides a discrete portrait of Jesus. The rise of disciplined interest in the *quest of the historical Jesus in the late eighteenth century similarly bypassed the

character of the individual Gospels in favor of its interest in working, as it were, behind the Gospel narratives in an attempt to recover a Jesus unstained by early church theology.

Where this common approach has been changing, it is typically under the influence of redaction and literary approaches to Luke's narrative, and more recently that of narrative approaches. Today scholars bring a wide range of methods and interests to their reading of Luke (or Luke-Acts). This reflects a century of upheavals concerning how to navigate the relative roles of author, text and reader in the production of a text's meaning, and decades marking the proliferation of interpretive interests and their attendant reading protocols (e.g., Green 2010). Increasingly too, serious study has turned to how Luke's Gospel was received in the early church (e.g., Bovon 2005; Gregory; Gregory and Rowe).

1. Luke's Gospel as Literature
2. Theological Motifs
3. Historical Questions
4. Conclusion

1. Luke's Gospel as Literature.

This section is concerned with literary features of Luke's Gospel, particularly its genre, its literary relationship to the book of Acts, and its structure. Additionally, the question of the unity of Luke and Acts necessarily involves discussion of authorship.

1.1. The Unity of Luke-Acts. The prefaces to Luke (Lk 1:1-4) and Acts (Acts 1:1-2) encourage the view that the book of Acts is somehow continuous with the Gospel of Luke. Throughout most of the twentieth century, scholars followed Cadbury's lead in their references to "Luke-Acts," though typically without doing more than Cadbury did to articulate what "unity" entailed. This changed with a lively attack on the unity of Luke and Acts by M. Parsons and R. Pervo (1993), who dissolved the question of unity into its components: Authorial unity? Canonical unity? Theological unity? Narrative unity? Generic unity? Their questions spawned extensive responses (for surveys, see P. E. Spencer; Bird; cf. Green 2011; Gregory and Rowe; Marguerat, 43-64).

1.1.1. Authorship. Almost universally, scholars agree that the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles were written by the same person, making Luke the single largest contributor to the NT (twenty-eight percent of the whole). Arguments against common authorship have typically taken the form of stylistometry, or stylistic analysis (e.g., see Walters), but these have failed to meet the requirements of such analysis (regarding, e.g., sample sizes required for

empirical testing, the use of distracter texts, the need for control studies, and the problem of Luke's putative use of sources). As a result, the question is less whether Luke and Acts were written by the same person and more the identity of this author.

Like the other NT narratives, Luke and Acts come to us anonymously, as unsigned documents. The oldest Greek manuscript of Luke's Gospel (Papyrus Bodmer XIV [P⁷⁵]), dating from approximately 200, uses the title "Gospel According to Luke." Together with additional second-century witnesses, this demonstrates how quickly Luke's name was attached to these books. "Luke" appears three times in the NT (Col 4:14; Philem 24; 2 Tim 4:11), always with reference to Paul's companion, who is traditionally identified as the author of Luke-Acts. These NT texts suggest a person of considerable stature in the Christian *mission, a missionary co-worker (and not an assistant) of Paul, who was either a Gentile or at least a non-Jewish Semite. The portrait of Luke as a sometime companion of Paul, though neither his constant travel partner nor disciple, coheres with the evidence of the "we-passages" in Acts (Acts 16:10-17; 20:5—21:18; 27:1—28:16), in which the author appears to locate himself among Paul's traveling companions. There is little reason to reject the traditional identification of Luke as the author of these two books, and it is significant that the early tradition attached no other name to these books (see further Fitzmyer 1989, 1-26; Kuhn).

Because Luke makes no effort to insert himself into his Gospel, and because we know almost nothing about Luke from sources outside his narrative, identifying the author as "Luke" does not shape dramatically how we read the text itself. Attempts to capitalize on his identity as a physician usually fail to account for the difference between ancient physicians (who actually knew little of the body's workings) and contemporary ones, and typically do not account for the ways Luke's presentation of maladies and healing depart from what might be expected of educated medics in the Roman world (see Green 2013a). The narrative itself suggests that the author was well studied in Israel's Scriptures and sacred traditions, and had an advanced education in Greek grammar, rhetoric and literature.

1.1.2. The Genre of Luke-Acts. Although scholars today typically associate the Gospels with Greco-Roman biography (though see the caveats in Pennington, 18-35), the connection of Luke with Acts suggests that the category of a *bios*, or "life," is not entirely appropriate (see the survey in Phillips; cf. Aune, 77-157; Sterling) (see Gospel: Genre). Even if

Luke's Gospel centers on Jesus, Acts cannot easily be squeezed into that form. In fact, in the opening of his Gospel, Luke locates his work alongside other "narratives" (*diēgēsis*), and the chief prototypes of "narrative" in antiquity were the historical accounts of Herodotus and Thucydides. Moreover, Luke notes in his preface his concern not with a *life* but with *events* (*pragmata*, Lk 1:1-4), and the narration of *events* was particularly the task of historiography (see Historicisms and Historiography). *Genealogical records (see Lk 2:23-38), meal scenes used for instruction (see, e.g., Lk 5:27-39; 14:1-24; 22:14-38), travel narratives (see Lk 9:51-19:48), speeches and dramatic episodes such as Jesus' rejection at Nazareth (Lk 4:16-30)—these, too, are consistent with historiography. Also telling is the way Luke-Acts envisions the entire inhabited world (*oikoumenē*, e.g., Lk 2:1; 4:5; Acts 17:6, 31; 24:5) as the arena of the church's mission and Jesus as "Lord of all" (Acts 10:36), thus suggesting the kind of universal reach often found in the historiographical tradition. Since for Luke the category of "historiography" would not have been reduced to the Greek and Roman traditions, but would also include OT and Second Temple Jewish historiographical writing, the case for a generic identification of Luke-Acts with historiography becomes even stronger. Consider, for example, how Israel's historians embedded biographical material (e.g., the Joseph cycle or the Elijah material) within larger historiographical narratives.

Remembering too that "genres" are not molds into which authors squeeze their literary efforts but socio-literary patterns that authors mimic and modify in the service of their agenda, we can see all the more clearly how Luke has drawn on precursor traditions of history writing (both Jewish and Greco-Roman) to interpret "the events that have been fulfilled among us" (Lk 1:1). Thus Luke has a heightened concern with describing and interpreting events in their relations to one another, embedding the present within the distant past to demonstrate continuity and to shape identity, structuring a narrative around its telos in the fulfillment of God's promises and consummation of his purpose, demonstrating how God makes his purpose known in various ways (e.g., *prophets, visions and *dreams, Scripture), and showing how God continues to work through humans, *angels and the *Holy Spirit.

If Luke and Acts are to be read together, this means that Luke's purpose is not simply to tell the story of Jesus or to relate the spread of the church's mission or to underscore the importance of Paul in early Christianity. Rather, the narrative purpose of

Luke-Acts centers on the actualization of God's purpose, and Luke's Gospel is preeminently *theological* in focus rather than *christological*. As historiography, Luke's two-part narrative draws a continuous line from Israel's Scriptures into the birth, life, death and resurrection of Jesus, and from Jesus into the fledgling community of Christian believers. By this means, Luke provides for the Christian community continuity with Israel of old, identity with God's purpose, and validation as God's people.

1.1.3. *Narrative Unity and Canonical Disunity.* The unity of Luke-Acts easily escapes the casual reader of the NT since these two volumes are separated in the canon by John's Gospel. In other ways, though, a reading of Luke and Acts invites, one might even say encourages, a reading of Luke and Acts as one continuous narrative (see Canonical Criticism).

Since Aristotle, "narrative" has been understood primarily in terms of temporal sequence and aim. Narratives have a beginning, a middle and an end, with progression from one narrative stage to the next guided by a particular objective or end (see Narrative Criticism). This assumes, first, that narratives advance from one point to the next, organizing the progression of events through time; and second, that this progression transcends the passing of time in order to claim some sort of meaningful set of relationships among the events that, in narrative, order time. For Aristotle the "beginning" is not simply the first thing to be narrated but the thing before which nothing is necessary and after which something naturally follows. Similarly, the "end" is not simply the last thing to be recounted but something that is naturally after something else (i.e., its necessary consequence) and that requires nothing after itself (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1450b). In the case of Luke-Acts, narrative aim is expressed in the orientation of the opening chapters of the Gospel around the dawning of *salvation and the opposition that the agents of this salvation, *John the Baptist and Jesus, encounter. How will God's aim to bring salvation be realized in the midst of hostility and competing aims? The narrative unity of Luke-Acts is grounded not simply in the fact that Acts can be read as a sequel to Luke, but in the reality that Luke presents key expectations in the Gospel—for example, *Israel's restoration, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the mission to and inclusion of Gentiles in the community of God's people—that require fulfillment in Acts (see further Marguerat, 43-64; Green 2011).

Why then are Luke and Acts written as separate "scrolls"? From a material perspective it was simply impossible to write both on a single scroll. Luke's

Gospel, with about 19,400 words, and Acts, with about 18,400 words, each required a papyrus roll of near-maximum size, that is, about thirty-five feet. These two volumes thus share a notable symmetry in relative size, but also in the span of years covered (about thirty years), and in the relative space allocated to Jesus' suffering and death (some twenty-five percent of the Gospel) and to Paul's arrest and trials (some twenty-five percent of Acts). From a theological perspective, Jesus' *ascension, narrated both at the end of the Gospel and the beginning of Acts (Lk 24:50-52; Acts 1:9-11), serves as the narrative hinge and, together with Jesus' resurrection, the theological center of the narrative.

Why are Luke and Acts separated in the NT canon? First, given the similarity of the Gospel of Luke to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, the Third Gospel found a home in relationship to these other two—which we refer to as “Synoptic Gospels,” on account of their “common view” (see Synoptic Problem). Second, the Acts of the Apostles came to serve as a bridge from the Gospels to the Letters, from Jesus to Paul, and as a framework within which to

fulfilled among us” is reliable. Scholars debate whether these “events” refer only to Jesus or also include the early church (i.e., whether Luke's preface introduces only the Gospel or the whole of Luke-Acts); either way, his preface is reminiscent of what we find among Greco-Roman historians (e.g., Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.1; 2.1).

1.2.2. *Jesus' Birth and Childhood* (Lk 1:5–2:52).

Luke's preface is written in relatively refined Greek, but the birth account has a “biblical” feel that ties Jesus' story back into the OT, especially into God's promises to *Abraham. Luke's audience enters a world saturated in the piety of Second Temple Jewish institutions, practices and hopes—a veritable festival of salvation (see Old Testament in the Gospels; Typology).

Two features help to structure the narrative and give it meaning. The first is the movement from divine promise to evidence of fulfillment to responses of praise (see table 1). Hence, Luke narrates not only how God's ancient promises are actualized in the coming of John and Jesus, but also shows how God keeps the promises made in the Gospel itself.

The second feature is the parallelism between

Table 1. Promise, Fulfillment and Praise

Character	Promise	Evidence of Fulfillment	Response of Praise
Zechariah	His wife would bear a son	John is born	Zechariah's Song
Mary	She would conceive a son	Unborn John bears witness to Jesus in the womb; Elizabeth blesses Mary	Mary's Song
Simeon	He would see the Messiah	He encounters Jesus in the temple	Simeon's Song

grasp Paul's significance and to trace Paul's travels. Hence Acts finds itself located after the Fourfold Gospel and before Paul's longest letter, Romans. Canonically, then, Luke's Gospel stands with Matthew, Mark and John, which together proclaim the one gospel, Jesus Christ.

1.2. The Structure of Luke's Gospel. Students of Luke disagree on some of the details, but the broad strokes of Luke's outline are clear: a birth narrative is followed by Jesus' mission in Galilee; followed by Jesus' long, meandering journey with his disciples from *Galilee to *Jerusalem; followed by accounts of his teaching, *death and *resurrection in Jerusalem. Geography thus plays a pivotal role in the shaping of Luke's Gospel.

1.2.1. Preface (Lk 1:1-4). Luke situates his Gospel in relation to other “narratives,” names his literary patron, calls special attention to the extent of his research and inquiry and to the order of his narrative, and names his purpose: to persuade his audience that his interpretation of “the events that have been

John and Jesus (see table 2). The stories of John and Jesus are interwoven as “good news” (Lk 1:19; 2:10), with John anticipating and paving the way for Jesus; the “prophet of God Most High” prepares the way for the “Son of the Most High” (Lk 1:32, 76).

Table 2. Parallels Between John and Jesus

John	Event	Jesus
Luke 1:5-7	Parents are introduced	Luke 1:26-27
Luke 1:8-23	Birth is announced	Luke 1:28-38
Luke 1:24-25	Mothers respond	Luke 1:39-56
Luke 1:57-58	A child is born	Luke 2:1-20
Luke 1:59-66	A child is circumcised and named	Luke 2:21-24
Luke 1:67-79	A prophetic response	Luke 2:25-39
Luke 1:80	The child grows	Luke 2:40-52

The birth narrative initiates the Gospel's concern with Jesus' identity as God's Son. This is how Gabriel

presents him to his mother in anticipation of Jesus' birth (Lk 1:32-35), and the birth account closes with Jesus as a youth affirming that his father is the God of the *temple (Lk 2:49).

1.2.3. *Preparation for Jesus' Ministry (Lk 3:1—4:13).* Luke introduces Jesus' ministry by first recounting John's. Luke 3:1-20 presents John's public career in relation to the elite of his day and against the backdrop of Isaiah's message of Israel's restoration and the universal reach of God's salvation. The new epoch has begun already with John's ministry, which has as its center a repentance-baptism that anticipates the coming of God's agent of salvation.

Jesus' ministry is grounded in his identity as God's Son and experience of the Spirit, together comprising the primary focus of Jesus' *baptism (Lk 3:21-22). Jesus' status as God's Son is grounded in his extraordinary conception, confirmed by God at Jesus' baptism, developed further in Jesus' genealogy (Lk 3:23-38) and tested in Jesus' encounter with the devil in the wilderness (Lk 4:1-13) (*see* Temptation of Jesus). Empowered by the Spirit, Jesus proves his fidelity and readiness to engage in ministry publicly as God's Son.

1.2.4. *Jesus' Ministry in Galilee (Lk 4:14—9:50).* These initial chapters set out the pattern of Jesus' ministry. First, we find the definitive understanding of the outworking of Jesus' Sonship and empowerment by means of a publicly proclaimed missionary program (Lk 4:16-30) (*see* Mission). This missionary program is then concretely expressed in Jesus' teaching and *healing (Lk 4:31-44). Luke 5:1—6:11 follows hard on the heels of Jesus' announcement of the divine necessity of his engaging in an itinerant ministry (Lk 4:43-44) by recounting just such a mission. Jesus begins this segment by calling *disciples (Lk 5:1-11)—whose primary vocation is to be with Jesus, to learn from him, to exemplify appropriate response to Jesus and his message (cf. Lk 5:11, 28) and thus to model the regathering of God's people in Jesus' ministry.

Jesus sets before his newly appointed apostles and the crowds the core of his message, the *Sermon on the Plain, in which Jesus identifies the attitudes and practices that characterize and flow naturally from this new people (Lk 6:12-49). This is followed by episodes in which the Sermon on the Plain is on full display in people's lives (Lk 7:1-50). It is startling to see a Gentile centurion embodying Jesus' message by denying his own worthiness. And it is astonishing to find a sinful woman serving as an exemplar of authentic hospitality, the epitome of appropriate response to the gift of salvation manifest in Jesus' min-

istry. The nature of Jesus' ministry and the people it attracts are apparently so stunning that they raise questions for John the Baptist about whether Jesus is indeed the Messiah. John had prophesied messianic judgment. Where is it? John's question typifies the ease with which people throughout the Gospel misconstrue what Jesus is (or ought to be) about.

The brief summary in Luke 8:1-3 introduces the major motifs that occupy the next subsection of the Gospel, Luke 8:1-56. First is the status of Jesus as the one who broadcasts God's word and brings salvation. The second is the active presence of diabolic activity, which Jesus confronts and overcomes in his ministry. Finally, the gathering of followers is highlighted, underscoring the import of authentic response to Jesus' message.

The final unit of Jesus' Galilean ministry brings together the issue of Jesus' identity with the question of the nature of *discipleship (Lk 9:1-50). Questions about Jesus' identity (e.g., Lk 4:22, 35; 5:21; 7:16, 19-20, 39, 49; 8:25) now culminate in the questions of Herod (Lk 9:7-9) and the pronouncements of Peter (Lk 9:18-20) and God (Lk 9:28-36). The disciples are active in a way that is unique in the Gospel thus far (Lk 9:1-6), but they seem no more clear regarding who Jesus is. They question his ability to provide for the crowds (Lk 9:12-17) and fail miserably to grasp the character of his mission (Lk 9:21-27, 35, 37-50). Indeed, as though contemplating how fully their beliefs and commitments have *not* been transformed thus far, Luke concludes that the meaning of Jesus' words about himself "was concealed from them" (Lk 9:45).

1.2.5. *On the Way to Jerusalem (Lk 9:51—19:48).* Painted with hues of Israel's exodus journey, Jesus' journey to *Jerusalem is especially concerned with the formation of his disciples. He teaches them of the gracious Father who is ready to give the *blessings of salvation to everyone. This journey has a destination, Jerusalem—the place of divine destiny and locus of hostility toward Jesus. Hence the journey concerns not only the formation of disciples, but also the growing hostility Jesus attracts. Even the disciples resist Jesus' message. In fact, so fully have they failed to identify themselves with Jesus that, by journey's end, they have all but disappeared from view.

Jesus makes it clear that "following" him entails joining him in the journey and in proclaiming God's *kingdom (Lk 9:51—10:42). Disciples must hear and do God's Word. The stark demands of discipleship (Lk 9:51-62) are followed by the sending out of the seventy-two—a high point in the life of the disciples,

who enjoy success in their ministry and subsequently receive from Jesus rare insight into his person and mission (Lk 10:1-20). Here, as elsewhere, Jesus' *prayers provide the context for divine revelation concerning him (e.g., Lk 3:21-22; 9:18, 28, 29). This segment of the Gospel also develops the importance of "welcoming" Jesus, his messengers and his message—that is, of showing hospitality and care. Thus, Jesus presents a compassionate, hospitable Samaritan (Lk 10:25-37), and the brief episode in Luke 10:38-42 provides in the person of Mary a portrait of how to welcome Jesus.

In Luke 11:1-13, Jesus turns a request for instruction in prayer into a lesson on the Fatherhood of *God—on God's character, but also on fidelity as dependence on God and imitation of his graciousness. This concern will resurface in Luke 12:1-13:9, but the intervening material is taken up with escalating hostility and attempts at censuring Jesus (Lk 11:14-54). Luke's account sets concerns with faithfulness and hostility side by side, thus driving home how mistaken the *scribes and *Pharisees are with regard to their portraits of God and, therefore, of the nature of faithful life. The presence of hostility presses the urgency of a decision regarding Jesus. However, as his instruction on vigilance in the face of crisis clarifies (Lk 12:1-13:9), a decision for Jesus may introduce one to the harassment that surrounds him.

From Luke 13:10 to 17:10, Luke's Gospel is fundamentally concerned with the question, who will participate in God's kingdom? Rather than answer the question "Will only a few be saved?" Jesus directs his audience "to make every effort to enter through the narrow door" (Lk 13:23-24). He then parses these efforts in terms of *table fellowship, celebration with shared meals and the extension of hospitality. In Luke 13:22-31 presence at the end-time meal spells participation in God's kingdom. In Luke 14:1-24 meals establish "in-group" boundaries and embody values pertaining to status and purity. Meals foster the bonds of community, but in Luke's portrayal Jesus has a habit of flouting such social and religious protocols, repeatedly eating with the "wrong" people—wrong, that is, as defined by the usual standards (e.g., Lk 5:20-32; 7:34, 36-50; 14:1-6, 13, 21, 23; 19:1-10). Jesus' eating habits invite criticism, and Luke 15 is cast as a defense of the nature of his entire ministry. The parables of the lost sheep, lost coin and lost son demonstrate that, in welcoming social and religious outcasts to the table, Jesus is simply giving expression to God's own capacious grace. What is more, the purpose of wealth is to extend hospitality to those in need (Lk 16); those who do so are doing

nothing out of the ordinary (Lk 17:1-10) but are only following *Moses and the prophets (Lk 16:29).

Luke 17:11-19:27 provides a thematic summary of the journey narrative, pulling together the threads of Jesus' instruction and emphasizing the need for response to his message. The pace is quickened, and Luke provides clear markers showing Jesus passing between *Samaria and Galilee, approaching Jericho and, finally, entering Jerusalem. As Jerusalem looms closer on the horizon, Jesus takes care to interpret the significance of his arrival. Contrary to some expectations (cf. Lk 19:11), the *eschatological consummation of God's kingdom is not tied to his entry into Jerusalem. Instead, prior to the end, the *Son of Man must suffer many things (Lk 17:26; 18:30-33); indeed, Jerusalem is to be the site of his suffering and death. Jesus' death will not be the last word, however, and he anticipates both his resurrection and his return with royal authority. The interlude between his death/resurrection and his glorious return should be marked by faithfulness (Lk 18:8; 19:11-27). As Jesus draws closer to Jerusalem, the list of those who model fidelity is astonishing: a Samaritan leper who recognizes in Jesus' ministry God's beneficence (Lk 17:11-17), an audacious widow (Lk 18:1-8), a tax collector who humbles himself (Lk 18:9-14), little *children (Lk 18:15-17), a blind beggar (Lk 18:34-43) and a diminutive tax collector (Lk 19:1-10).

With Luke 19:28-48, Jesus arrives in Jerusalem and attempts to reclaim the temple for its purpose in God's plan. This means wresting it away from the temple leadership, who use the temple to mask their own injustices (cf. Jer 7:1-15). The excitement generated by his entry into the Holy City notwithstanding (*see* Triumphal Entry), Jesus anticipates the inhospitable reception he will receive, and so pronounces prophetic *judgment on Jerusalem for its failure to recognize that, in Jesus' coming, God himself has graciously drawn near.

1.2.6. *Teaching in the Jerusalem Temple* (Lk 20:1-21:38). Jesus' prophetic action in the temple (Lk 19:45-48) was an attempt to prepare the temple for Jesus' ministry (*see* Temple Act). His teaching excites opposition nevertheless. Chief *priests, *scribes, *elders, *Sadducees and the Jerusalem wealthy—all who draw their legitimation from their relationship to the temple are threatened by Jesus' arrival and teaching. "The people" play a key role (*see* People, Crowd). They provide a buffer between Jesus and his opponents, so that Jesus does not go prematurely to his death; and their presence as Jesus' audience raises the question of whether Jesus will succeed in persuading God's people to align them-

selves with God's saving purpose. In the end, Jesus undercuts the authority of those who use the Scripture and the temple system to tyrannize and oppress the weak (Lk 20:45–21:4) and forecasts the calamity and destruction that will come as the old world order gives way to the new (Lk 21:5–38).

1.2.7. *Jesus' Suffering and Death* (Lk 22:1–23:56). The twin motifs of conflict and the fulfillment of God's purpose reach their climax. On the one side are Jesus, who is aligned with the divine aim, together with his disciples and "the people" who have listened to his message and received from his ministry. On the other side are the Jerusalem elite, who are aligned with the rule of darkness, with the devil (cf. Lk 22:53). If the Jewish leaders are to have their way with Jesus, they must win the crowd over to their side—and they do, if only for a moment. The people join the chief priests and leaders of the people in demanding Jesus' crucifixion, but almost immediately respond in sorrow and contrition (Lk 23:48). The disciples' own circle is breached, as Satan enters into Judas, and Judas sides with the Jewish leadership against Jesus (Lk 22:3–6, 47–48). The temple leadership must also win to their side the *Roman empire, especially Pilate; in spite of his protestations regarding Jesus' innocence, Pilate hands him over to their will (Lk 23:23–24) (see Pontius Pilate).

Luke's *passion narrative is characterized by a great irony. Those who oppose Jesus believe that they are serving God, yet they unwittingly serve a diabolic purpose. And given their grasp of God's will, they do the only thing that could be done. They present Jesus to Pilate as a false prophet (Lk 23:1–5; cf. Deut 13) and call for the death penalty (see Trial of Jesus). For his part, Jesus goes to his death in the same manner that had characterized his life, namely, in obedience to the Father's will (Lk 22:39–46). He dies as the regal prophet, the royal Messiah, the righteous one who suffers unjustly, Yahweh's Servant (see Servant of Yahweh).

1.2.8. *Jesus' Exaltation* (Lk 24:1–53). Luke's account of Jesus' *resurrection appearances is startling in its initial portrayal of Jesus' followers. The empty tomb leads to perplexity and amazement (Lk 24:4, 12); the testimony of the women who witnessed the empty tomb and encountered the angels is met with cynicism and disbelief (Lk 24:11); and the disciples on the Emmaus road are clueless regarding the significance of Jesus' death, astounded by reports of the empty tomb, and unable to recognize that their traveling companion is the risen Lord (Lk 24:13–22). Disbelief and astonishment continue even in the presence of the risen Jesus (Lk 24:41). Simply put, the disciples

lack the cognitive categories for making sense of Jesus' passion. The cross and empty tomb require a depth of insight available only to those who have had their minds opened to understand the Scriptures (Lk 24:45). Only thus are they able to grasp that Jesus' passion is not a contradiction of his status and mission, but their fulfillment. Jesus is the rejected prophet, the suffering Messiah who, according to the Scriptures (when interpreted correctly), actualizes God's purpose. Jesus' resurrection and ascension are grounded in the Scriptures, and they demonstrate God's validation of Jesus' life and message. Even the proclamation of *repentance and *forgiveness of sins to all nations—narrated in Luke's second volume, the book of Acts—is written in the law of Moses, the Psalms and the Prophets (Lk 24:45–47).

Luke 24 thus brings closure to Luke's Gospel, but also anticipates more, including especially the baptism with the Holy Spirit and the *mission to all nations. Jesus' *ascension, reported at the close of Luke as well as in the opening of Acts, is the midpoint of Luke's two-part narrative, but also the guarantee of the coming realization of salvation in all of its fullness to all people.

2. Theological Motifs.

Luke's overarching theme is *salvation—God's action to restore God's people, Jesus' coming to announce and make plain God's royal rule, and the concomitant appeal to God's people to welcome and align themselves with God's saving agenda. With very few exceptions in Luke's Gospel, salvation is oriented to Israel. However, in Luke's Gospel the universal scope of God's salvation, inclusive of Jew and Gentile, is announced. Moreover, Jesus engages people who live on the margins, thus portending a mission to "all nations" (Lk 24:47), indeed, "to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8). Accordingly, Luke's primary theological focus is on God, and his purpose centers on God's people: (1) strengthening them in the face of opposition by ensuring them both in their understanding and experience of God's redemptive purpose and in their understanding of the nature of faithful response to God; (2) calling them to continued faithfulness and witness in the service of God's saving purpose. Luke thus inscribes the identity and mission of Jesus' followers, that is, the community of God's people, into Jesus' life and mission, just as he has embedded Jesus' life and mission into Israel's story as this is told in the Greek OT.

2.1. *God and God's Purpose.* Although *God appears only rarely as a character in Luke's narrative, he is nonetheless everywhere present, and his pur-

pose drives the narrative forward from beginning to end. He is “God my savior” (Lk 1:47), and he reveals his purpose in a variety of ways—through the Scriptures, through heavenly messengers, through the Holy Spirit, by a voice from heaven and through the divine choreography of events. On this last point consider, for example, how Simeon is guided by the Spirit to come to the vast space of Herod’s Temple where, of all people, he crosses paths with *Mary, Joseph and Jesus, who have arrived at the Temple in obedience to “the law of the Lord” (Lk 2:21-35). God’s law and God’s Spirit work harmoniously to stage this encounter.

An array of terms express God’s design (e.g.): “purpose” (*boulē*), “it is necessary” (*dei*), “to determine” (*horizō*) and “it is written.” On the journey to Jerusalem (Lk 9:51—19:48), Jesus works to transform the theological imagination of his disciples so that they might recognize God as their Father (e.g., Lk 11:1-13; 12:32). God’s will is accomplished through the Spirit-endowed ministry of Jesus (Lk 3:21-22; 4:18-19), and it will be continued in Acts by means of the Spirit-empowered witness of Jesus’ followers (Lk 24:44-49). Fundamental to this mission is the appropriate interpretation of Scripture, and this interpretation is Spirit-enabled, a matter of revelation. Indeed, Jesus’ disciples are repeatedly castigated for their failure to understand the purposes of God, until Jesus “opens their minds to understand the Scriptures” (Lk 24:49). In Acts they are able to serve as Spirit-empowered interpreters who discern correctly how to read the Scriptures as expressions of God’s ancient purpose.

2.2. Jesus as God’s Son. If God’s agenda drives the narrative forward, Jesus is the main character in Luke’s first volume—Jesus, who aligns himself with God’s purpose and, in fact, shares in God’s own identity (e.g., Rowe). Luke informs his audience from the outset regarding Jesus’ identity and role in God’s plan. Jesus is a prophet, but more than a *prophet. He is the long-awaited Davidic Messiah (*see* Christ), *Lord and *Son of God. He fulfills his career as a regal prophet for whom death, while necessary, is not the last word. Early on Jesus is identified as Savior (Lk 2:11), a role that is subsequently expressed in his *miracles of healing and exorcism, his practices of table fellowship, his readings of Scripture and his prayers, all of which broadcast the message of God’s kingdom (*see* Kingdom of God/Heaven).

Jesus communicates the presence of God’s salvation especially for those who make their lives on the margins. This is no surprise, given his inaugural address: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he

has anointed me to bring good news to the poor” (Lk 4:18). As he goes on to parse the term, “poor” refers not simply to the economically disadvantaged but to outcasts of all kinds—widows and children, for example, and lepers and the demonized (*see* Demon, Devil, Satan). Jesus’ ministry practices are also consistent with his teaching, which occupies major sections of the Gospel. He sets out for audiences of all kinds—his disciples, the Pharisees, the crowds, legal experts and more—a vision of the beneficent God who has drawn near to save and whose visitation compels response.

2.3. Responding to God’s Kingdom. Proclamation of the good news demands response, and both John the Baptist’s and Jesus’ mission are cast as bringing division to God’s people (e.g., Lk 2:34-35; 3:1-20).

2.3.1. Conversion and Repentance. For Luke the fitting response to the advent of God’s salvation is conversion (*see*, e.g., Kim-Rauchholz; Méndez-Moratalla). This response is built into John the Baptist’s “job description” (Lk 1:16-17: “he will turn many . . . to turn the hearts . . . to make ready”), and John proclaims a repentance-baptism and urges people “to produce fruits in keeping with repentance” (Lk 3:3, 8; cf. Acts 13:24; 19:4). Jesus summarizes his mission as calling *sinners to *repentance (Lk 5:32), reports rejoicing at the repentance of even one sinner (Lk 15:7, 10) and informs his followers that the Scriptures themselves have it that repentance must be proclaimed to all nations (Lk 24:47). Peter and Paul repeat this message throughout the book of Acts (e.g., Acts 2:38; 17:30; 26:20).

Luke uses the language of conversion and repentance (*metanoia*, *epistrophē* and cognates) interchangeably with reference to those who have undergone a redirection shift and are now on the move with the community of those faithfully serving God’s eschatological purpose. Conversion for Luke, then, is less as a “moment of decision” and more a life lived or journey traveled (cf. Green 2013b). It is particularly a life characterized by allegiance to Jesus as Lord. And that allegiance is exhibited in behaviors congruent with God’s kingdom, for example: hospitality to children, the poor, and the disabled; refusing to participate in games of status-seeking and oneupmanship; putting one’s resources in the service of those in need. Or to summarize generally, it is doing what Jesus says to do (Lk 6:46), hearing God’s word and doing it (Lk 8:21).

2.3.2. Poverty and Wealth. In Luke’s Gospel Jesus is relentlessly concerned with the ramifications of faith for possessions and the poor (*see*, e.g., Green

1994; Hays; Johnson 1981; Kim; Moxnes) (see Rich and Poor). Jesus himself comes from a peasant family. Joseph and Mary's offering for their newborn child is "a pair of turtledoves or two young pigeons," the prescribed offering for the poor (Lk 2:24; cf. Lev 12:8). During his itinerancy, Jesus depends on the support of others (Lk 8:1-3). At the outset of the journey to Jerusalem, Jesus says of himself that he has no place to lay his head (Lk 9:58), a claim that could refer to his socioeconomic marginality, but is more clearly a warning about the rejection to be expected for those who follow in his footsteps.

Jesus' dependence on the benefaction of others (Lk 8:1-3) disallows any portrait of Jesus as an ascetic who rejects wealth outright. He joins dinner parties with prominent people, participating in ways that lead to his being labeled a glutton and a drunkard (Lk 7:34; cf. Lk 7:36; 11:37; 14:1-24; 19:1-27). If wealth is not inherently evil, then what lies behind his warning that no one can serve both Mammon and God (Lk 16:13)? Why is it difficult for the wealthy to enter God's kingdom (Lk 18:24)? Why must would-be disciples give up *everything* (Lk 14:33)? For Luke, wealth is a temptation to prestige and security apart from God (e.g., Lk 12:13-21, 33-34), and one's use of possessions is a barometer of one's faithfulness to the good news.

In the ancient Mediterranean world *economic sharing was embedded in social relations. For example, to share with someone without expectation of return was to treat them as though they were one's kin. Conversely, to refuse to share with others was practically the same as regarding them as outsiders. When Jesus asked the rich ruler to sell what he had and give the proceeds to the poor (Lk 18:18-23), Jesus was inviting the rich ruler to put his religious commitments on display in practices that were at once economic and social. A ruler of tax collectors, Zacchaeus, exhibits conversionary behavior in the form of giving half of what he has to the poor and restitution to anyone defrauded under his watch. For this he is recognized by Jesus as a child of Abraham (Lk 19:1-10; cf. Lk 3:7-14). In this context, "almsgiving" would signify friendship with the poor. Accordingly, Jesus censures Pharisees and legal experts for practices of nonsharing, which exhibit their avarice and malice (Lk 11:39-41; 20:46-47). Similarly, the rich man who never welcomed the beggar Lazarus to his daily feasts finds in the afterlife that he is separated from Abraham's side by a great chasm (Lk 16:19-31). Those who really are God's children demonstrate in their lives a God-like graciousness, giving freely to even the ungrateful and wicked (Lk 6:35).

Luke's material on faith and wealth, the rich and poor, is thus implicated throughout in issues of status, power and social privilege. Discipleship raises immediately the question of possessions, with Luke calling for forms of distribution in which the needy are befriended and cared for, and the wealthy give without expectation of return.

2.4. Women and Men. Due largely to the sheer number of its references to women, Luke's Gospel has often been celebrated as good news for *women. In Luke's presentation, women receive divine compassion and help, are visited by angels, and are portraits of piety and exemplars of discipleship. Endowed with the Spirit, they prophesy. And they serve as Jesus' benefactors. (Cf., e.g., Lk 1:24-56; 2:36-38; 7:11-17, 36-50; 8:1-3; 13:10-17; 18:1-8.) Moreover, Luke often pairs women and men—consistently locating them on the same plane or casting women as the more faithful (e.g., Lk 1:5-23 // Lk 1:26-38, 46-56 // Lk 1:67-79; 2:25-35 // Lk 2:36-38; 7:1-10 // Lk 7:11-17). Some forty-two passages are concerned with women or include themes related to women, most of which are unique to Luke's Gospel. More than one-third of the people mentioned in the Third Gospel are women, and about forty percent of people named in the Gospel of Luke are women. Other readers of Luke have been less sure; following the lead of E. Schüssler Fiorenza, they find in Luke's Gospel a systematic attempt to keep women in their places, and they speak of Luke's efforts at silencing women.

These widely disparate readings of Luke result in part from the sheer quantity of evidence Luke provides (see Seim 1994), but also from the varieties of interpretive approaches (even the diversity of feminist approaches) brought to the data (cf. Levine and Blickenstaff; Seim 2010) (see Feminist and Womanist Criticisms). More negative appraisals of Luke's position sometimes depend on a kind of primitivism, that is, attempts to find in the earliest strata of the Christian tradition a foundation for contemporary views—attempts that almost invariably assess ancient texts in terms of modern commitments and hopes. Engaging Luke's Gospel on its own terms invites study that takes seriously the ways in which, in a patently patriarchal world, Luke has portrayed women working both with and against the grain of typical first-century constraints governing women, and not only mimicking ancient cultural mores. Luke has stepped outside widespread literary traditions of antiquity by bringing women—lots of them—out from the shadows and into the spotlight. And in some scenes he has moved beyond treating women as virtual stage props by allowing them their

own voices and even presenting them as models of faithful response to God's gracious visitation (see Karris; F. S. Spencer 2012).

Study of men in Luke's Gospel is significantly less developed, though B. Wilson has recently demonstrated that, when read against the norms of masculinity and power in the Roman world, Luke's narrative presents men in surprisingly unmanly ways. Manliness, for Greek and Roman authors, is measured in terms of one's elite status, the avoidance of womanly behaviors, a priority on physical attractiveness (including a lack of deformities), and the exercise of power and self control. Reading against this backdrop, Luke portrays some men at variance with Roman expectations—for example, Zechariah is silenced (Lk 1:20, 64), Zacchaeus is short (Lk 19:3) and Jesus appears impotent as he is ignobly executed on a Roman cross (Lk 22–23). Yet Zechariah is chosen by God to serve in the temple's sanctuary, receives an angelic visit, has a son in his old age and prophesies under the influence of the Spirit (Lk 1:5–23, 67–79). Zacchaeus is an exemplary seeker and is identified by Jesus as an authentic child of Abraham (Lk 19:3, 8–9). Jesus may be “unmanned” by crucifixion, but God raises him from the dead (Lk 24). Luke's Gospel thus presents a gospel in which masculinity can be reconfigured in ways that counter imperial conventions.

2.5. Israel. The question of *Israel's place in God's salvation is not easy to address on account of the diversity of evidence within Luke's Gospel. The legal experts (scribes, lawyers and teachers of the law) are consistently portrayed in negative terms, for example. They question and test Jesus, complain about him, look for a way to accuse and execute him, and participate in his execution (Lk 5:17, 21, 30; 6:7; 9:22; 10:25; 15:2; 19:47; 20:19; 22:2, 66; 23:10). The Jewish *synagogue is not a welcome place for Jesus. Jerusalem, and the Jerusalem-based priesthood too, are portrayed in negative terms, and Jesus forecasts the demise of the city and its temple. At the same time, Mary, Zechariah, Simeon, Anna, John the Baptist and Jesus all announce God's salvation in terms of Israel's hope of restoration (see Exile and Restoration). Torah is never dismissed; faithfulness to the *law, as well as such acts of Jewish piety as prayer, reading and explaining Scripture, worship, offering sacrifices, *fasting and expectant waiting are depicted positively. Israel's Scriptures are woven into the Lukan narrative from start to finish, and Jesus himself claims that his message and mission as well as the anticipated mission of his followers are all continuous with Moses and the Prophets.

We learn from Luke's Gospel, then, that Israel's history, institutions and practices are capable of misconception and misuse, but not necessarily so. The temple, the priesthood, even Israel's Scriptures must be understood in terms of and aligned with God's purpose. Failure to grasp and embrace God's plan renders persons and institutions at cross-purposes with God. Outside of this, they give only the impression of piety and faithfulness. Israel's religion—its institutions, its customs, its practices—is to be embraced fully when understood genuinely in relation to God's redemptive purpose. Jesus runs afoul of Israel's leadership because he articulates an alternative and competing understanding of God's work in the world. In raising Jesus from the dead, God authenticates Jesus, God's Son, as his authorized interpreter—the one whose person and message demonstrate God's character and purpose. Accordingly, Jesus' witnesses in the book of Acts identify Israel with the hope Jesus came to consummate: salvation, God's restoration of Israel, which entails the gathering of the nations.

3. Historical Questions.

In Luke 1:1–4 the evangelist dedicates his work to Theophilus, and this has led some to assume that Theophilus either was Luke's intended reader or that he was representative of the audience Luke hoped to reach. Since “Theophilus” in Greek could refer to a “lover of God” (or even “one whom God loves”), others have imagined that Theophilus is not a real person but a symbol for Luke's audience. Neither of these views is likely, however. Theophilus is a common name through the Roman period. The use of the title “most excellent” (Lk 1:3) for a symbolic audience would have been nonsensical. Further, we have no evidence of the use of symbolic dedications in Luke's world. And even though Luke clearly shows an interest in “God-fearers” in the book of Acts, he never refers to them as “God-lovers.” Almost certainly, then, Theophilus was a real person, though this should not be taken to mean that Luke was actually writing *to* Theophilus or that Theophilus somehow *represents* Luke's “community.” Following standard procedures in antiquity, Luke names Theophilus as his patron, and “patron” should not be confused with “audience.” In a world prior to the printing press and without a well-developed book market, publishing consisted of authors allowing their works to be circulated and copied by others. The business of patrons, then, was to introduce books to their network of friends so that the book might gain a wider circulation (see Gold). Any quest

for the historical Theophilus, then, would be a blind alley in the search for Luke's audience.

As for the audience assumed by the narrative, one can summarize that it would have included followers of Jesus who were Greek-speaking Jews, Gentiles and God-fearers; people familiar with Judaism from the synagogue and from Israel's Scriptures; people broadly acquainted with the geography of the Mediterranean world; and people who were educated enough to appreciate the character of Luke's rhetoric and occasional literary flair. Beyond this, study of Luke has failed to achieve anything approaching a consensus regarding the identity of a particular audience (i.e., a certain community or persons located in a particular city or region of the Roman Empire) for Luke-Acts (see the survey in Barton; also Marguerat, 65-84).

In Luke 1:1-4, Luke acknowledges his awareness of other "narratives" and traditions, and notes his own research activity. Though he does not identify his sources by name, he seems to have used the Gospel of Mark; an additional source or sources—whether oral or written or some combination of the two—that he shared with Matthew; and additional material used by him alone among the NT evangelists—again, whether oral or written or some combination of the two—which underlies the birth narratives (Lk 1–2), major portions of the journey narrative (Lk 9:51–19:48), significant parts of the passion narrative (Lk 22–23) and the post-resurrection appearances (Lk 24). Among his sources, too, would have been Israel's Scriptures in Greek translation, and these helped to give shape not only to his theological vision but also to the patterns by which he has formed his presentation of Jesus.

If Luke used Mark's Gospel as a source, and assuming Mark was written in the 70s, then Luke's Gospel cannot be dated earlier than the late 70s. The latest possible date for Luke's writing is marked by evidence of its reception and dissemination from the mid-second century (for evidence, see Gregory) (*see* Canon). Consequently, scholars typically date the writing of Luke's Gospel in the period 75–125, with most locating its composition in the 80s. Modern curiosity and speculation notwithstanding, Luke provides practically nothing by way of evidence for greater specificity. This means, on the one hand, that Luke has not tied his account to a more precise moment either in the church or the Roman world and, on the other hand, that ecclesial or imperial events extraneous to Luke's narrative cannot be taken as reliable keys either for dating Luke's Gospel or for deciphering the meaning of Luke's account.

4. Conclusion.

Among the NT evangelists, Luke stands out first and foremost for his decision to continue the story of Jesus into the story of the early church—and then to present the whole as a seamless narrative that carries the reader from Israel's story, through the story of Jesus' life and mission, and into the ripple effect of the Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the life of the church and its mission. Luke's narrative-theological vision thus emphasizes the essential continuity between Israel and the church by identifying the God who gathers God's people and presses them forward in mission as the God who raised Jesus from the dead and, indeed, as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Moreover, Luke underscores this continuity by identifying Jesus' followers with God's people of old. However crucial Luke's understanding and portrait of God might be, then, and however significant Christology might be to Luke's literary program, in the end both are placed in the service of Luke's ecclesiology. This is because Luke's basic concern is to interpret faithfully "the events that have been fulfilled among us" so as to identify and shape the character and vocation of God's people, who respond to Jesus' message with conversionary lives distinguished by their faithfulness to Jesus' message.

See also ASCENSION OF JESUS; BIRTH OF JESUS; CHRISTOLOGY; DEATH OF JESUS; JUBILEE; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; RICH AND POOR; SALVATION; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.

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M

MAGDALA. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

MAGIC. See MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES.

MAGNIFICAT. See SONGS AND HYMNS.

MARK, GOSPEL OF

The Gospel of Mark is a case study in paradox. On the one hand, it leaves its readers breathless in its presentation of Jesus the Messiah (Mk 1:1) as one who comes teaching with *authority, driving out powerful *demons and performing spectacular *miracles. On the other hand, there is no other Gospel in which Jesus remains so misunderstood and so fiercely resisted by all manner of people, including at times his most devoted followers. If the kerygma—the proclamation of the early church—was essentially a narrative about divine triumph despite and indeed through human suffering, then arguably there is no other text in which this paradox comes into crisper expression than the Gospel of Mark.

A paradox of another sort has characterized Mark's reception down through the ages. In the earliest decades of its existence this Gospel was received less favorably than its counterparts, so that by the early part of the second century Papias had to insist that "Mark did nothing wrong in thus writing down single points" as Peter was alleged to have remembered them and recited them (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16). For the next several centuries Mark is only sparsely quoted, likely on account of its considerable overlap (ninety percent of its contents) with Matthew, which was privileged on account of its putative apostolic authorship. And so in the early church Mark continued to play the role of neglected stepbrother to Matthew, a status that was all but set in stone when the highly influential Augustine of Hippo, who held to Matthean priority, designated Mark as Matthew's "foot-slave and abbreviator" (*Cons.* 2).

This state of affairs continued through the greater part of church history, until the nineteenth century, when C. H. Weisse (1838) first set forth the case for Markan priority, an argument later reiterated by A. Ritschl (1851) and then finally embraced by the influential H. J. Holtzmann (1863). Part and parcel of Holtzmann's agenda was to respond to the thoroughgoing skepticism of D. F. Strauss, who a generation earlier had called into question the historical reliability of large swaths of the Gospel tradition. If, on Holtzmann's theory, Matthew and Luke were conceded as harboring too much of an ecclesial agenda to be of much use as history, then certainly Mark's primitive style commended his Gospel as a naively wrought, untendentious composition and thus as the Gospel of choice in reconstructing the life of the historical Jesus. Even though this alleged naiveté was later to be called into question by W. Wrede's *The Messianic Secret* (1901), Mark's importance would remain.

Working within the paradigm of Markan priority, which by the early twentieth century had already become the operative assumption of Gospel scholarship, the classic form critics (R. Bultmann, M. Dibelius, K. Schmidt, V. Taylor) devoted much of their energy to understanding how and where the Jesus traditions came to be preserved there. Maintaining a primary interest in Mark, *form criticism then set the agenda for the rising tide of *redaction criticism, which has given impulse to and continues to engage with *narrative criticism.

Today, Mark continues to offer much raw material for a wide array of readers drawing on a variety of reading strategies, from historical-critical to *feminist, from *postcolonial to postmodern. In contemporary scholarship the text continues to play a central role in reconstructions of the historical Jesus (see *Quest of the Historical Jesus*). Not only so, but also discussions regarding the setting and aims of Mark remain vigorous. After centuries of being neglected

on account of its second-class pedigree and rough Greek style, there is some irony in the fact that Mark comes to be vindicated in modern scholarship precisely on account of these traits. Meanwhile, the church continues to find in Mark, in its raw power and directness, both comfort and challenge.

1. Literary Features and Questions
2. Historical Issues
3. Theological Themes and Messages
4. Conclusion

1. Literary Features and Questions.

1.1. Genre. Concerning the genre of Mark there has been no shortage of debate. This is due to the fact that within the extant ancient sources there are simply no clear-cut analogues to what later readers would recognize as a “Gospel” form (see Gospel: Genre). This not only is a credit to the evangelist’s literary ingenuity, but also is unsurprising. If E. Auerbach is correct to regard the Gospel of Mark as a truly innovative blend of content and style when viewed against the scope of Western literature, one would almost expect its author to invent a new genre, or bend an old one. Though it is doubtful that Mark saw himself as establishing a “Gospel genre,” he was at least aware that the new wine of his content demanded correspondingly new wineskins of form. In what way this form was new and unparalleled in its day remains the crucial question. Whether Mark’s genre is *sui generis* (of its own kind) or follows the basic pattern of a recognizable ancient literary classification depends not only on the strength of the analogy, but also on the explanatory power that such comparisons can generate in our overall understanding of Mark. Although scholars have put forward a variety of proposals over the years, three basic suggestions are offered here.

Almost four decades ago G. Bilezikian argued that Mark’s Gospel conforms to the basic structure of the Greek tragedy, a proposal that, if valid, may incline us to regard the work along the lines of Seneca’s privately performed “closet tragedies” (Smith, 228-29; cf. Godawa, 64). One of the stronger evidences in favor of this argument is the centrality of a recognition scene both in the ancient tragedies and in Mark’s Gospel (Mk 8:27-30). At the same time, advocates of this view have not have fully succeeded in explaining how other alleged stylistic parallels between Mark and the tragic genre can be explained by the evangelist’s dependence on tragic formula. For example, Mark’s penchant for foreshadowing, a regular characteristic of ancient tragedy, could just as easily be attributed to the evangelist’s skill as a story-

teller. A hybrid variation of this Mark-as-tragedy thesis, and more modest in its claims, is found in the work of J. Marcus, who sees in Mark a blend of the dramatic and the liturgical (Marcus 2000, 64-69; cf. Goulder).

Representing a second basic option, M. Tolbert compares Mark to a variety of ancient Greek novels (e.g., Xenophon’s *An Ephesian Tale*). The evangelist’s use of episodes with spare introduction, repetition and stylized form seems to have some parallel in this brand of Greek literature. According to Tolbert, Mark was assuming a fairly wide-ranging audience, and thus it is inappropriate to think of a localized “Markan audience” (see Bauckham 1998). Moreover, the story that the evangelist tells, precisely because it is a novel, may be expected to have only the remotest connection with actual history. (Here Tolbert may be compared to D. MacDonald, who infers the Gospel’s fictiveness on the basis of his judgment that Mark is a reworking of Homeric myth [MacDonald, 190].) It is hard to deny that there are certain formal similarities between Mark and the Greek novels, which Tolbert describes. However, in order for her argument to work, Tolbert must also grant that Mark has considerably diverged from the genre and its goals to fit his own end. But when such divergences occur on a fundamental level, which they arguably do here, this calls into question the proposed genre identification in the first place. Perhaps one helpful refinement of Tolbert’s thesis comes in M. Vines’s published thesis, which argues that Mark is not a Greek novel, but in fact a Jewish novel.

A third path is to compare Mark with the Greco-Roman biography (*bios*) (BurrIDGE 1992; 2004; Bryan, 26-28). Like Mark, the ancient biography sets its focus on the protagonist from the beginning and seeks to sustain that focus throughout, not least by constantly making the hero the subject of the narrative’s verbs. There are also formal similarities, such as length and scale. Although this approach has been criticized for paving over conspicuous differences between Mark’s Gospel and the range of literature to which it is compared, one can imagine a first-century reader seeing the Gospel as a kind of *bios*. In recent decades most commentators have been willing to settle on the *bios* classification, albeit with qualification. The comments of J. Diehl are representative: “If the canonical Gospel writers were, indeed, consciously following the Greco-Roman *bios* literary form, they were also creative in their transformation of that literary form” (Diehl, 194). A balanced position on Mark’s genre must recognize not only the Gospel’s many parallels to contemporary

literature of various sorts, but also its uniqueness.

1.2. Structure. For the Gospel of Mark, as for any text, interpretation ideally proceeds with some consideration of structure, for structure ordinarily yields up clues as to meaning, as well as an author's chief concerns and emphases. Unfortunately, Mark does not lend itself to simple partition. A century ago, it was Mark's apparent shapelessness that prompted the form critics to view the Gospel as a crude compilation of oral traditions; more recently, at least one major commentator (Gundry, 1048-49) has declared any serious attempt to outline the text as virtually futile.

Yet such judgments are overstated. It is broadly agreed that Mark exhibits at least a bipartite structure (allowing Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi [Mk 8:27-30] to become a kind of hinge dividing the book into two main sections), if not a tripartite form (introducing an additional break on Jesus' entry into Jerusalem [Mk 11:1]). On the former approach, the climactic peak of the narrative is the very point at which Jesus is acknowledged as the Messiah (*see* Christ), a moment that makes good on the Gospel's introduction promising to tell about "Jesus Christ the Son of God" (Mk 1:1). On the latter approach, the confession is still retained as the high point, but weighty consideration is also accorded to Mark 8:22-10:46, commonly referred to as the "way" section, an extended passage that makes repeated use of the noun *hodos* ("way") and focuses on the unexpected nature of Jesus' messiahship: it is characterized by suffering.

In moving beyond these basic subdivisions, scholars have resorted to one or more of four different approaches. First, rather than focusing on content within the text, several scholars have sought instead to identify a framework behind the text. P. Carrington argues that Mark's narrative movement follows along a Jewish lectionary running from Rosh Hashanah to the Feast of Tabernacles (*see* Feasts). Somewhat similarly, J. Bowman links Mark's progression to a hypothetical first-century A.D. Passover liturgy. Lacking evidence at key points, both proposals generally have struck Markan scholars as being too speculative.

A second and much more common approach follows Jesus' geographical movements within Mark. Here a standard outline would look something like the following: (1) prologue (Mk 1:1-13); (2) *Galilee (Mk 1:14-3:6); (3) further ministry in Galilee (Mk 3:7-6:13); (4) beyond Galilee (Mk 6:14-8:26); (5) journey to *Jerusalem (Mk 8:27-10:52); (6) Jerusalem (Mk 11-16). The advantage of this kind of

outline is that it builds on Mark's obvious interest in geography, an interest that likely would have been shared by a church interested in knowing how Jesus made his way from Galilee to Jerusalem (*see* Archeology and Geography). Its weaknesses are twofold. First, given certain patent non sequiturs in Mark's description of Jesus' movements within these discrete sections, attempts to provide a more detailed outline on this model must remain frustrated. Second, for the majority of commentators adopting this strategy, it is unclear how Mark's geographical interest relates to his message.

A third general approach has been to discern a theological structure within Mark. Included under this heading are scholars who find close affinities between Mark's narrative and the exodus. This has been the interest of a number of scholars (e.g., Swartley 1994). R. Watts provides an important variation of this model when he argues that the Mark's operative subtext is not the exodus of the Pentateuch, but rather by the new exodus of Isaiah. Although his overall point is well argued, Watts comes up short in explaining why the reader must opt for one subtext (new exodus) over and against the other (exodus). Surely, if Mark possesses the literary genius to thread his own story with one story beneath the story, what is to prevent him from incorporating several simultaneously? The many parallels between the Markan narrative and the (new) exodus story certainly commend the latter as an important structural basis. However, it is not a consistently uniform basis: as the reader enters the second half of Mark's Gospel, the theme noticeably trails off.

Other theologically driven patterns have been discerned as well. For example, C. Myers identifies Jesus' *baptism, *transfiguration and crucifixion as pivotal revelatory points, all of which conform to a certain structural pattern and speak to his identity (Myers, 390-91). According to B. Witherington, Jesus' identity is likewise the key to unlocking Mark's structure (Witherington, 38). Meanwhile, other scholars, while agreeing that Mark's structure is predominantly motivated by his christological agenda, nevertheless conceive of that agenda as encompassing Jesus' rejection, not least by the disciples. Along these lines, N. Perrin has delineated two matching sets of three. In the first section of Mark there are three subsections (Mk 1:14-3:6; 3:7-6:6a; 6:6b-8:21), each of which begins with an invitation to follow Jesus, only to end on a note of rejection. Corresponding to this in the second half are Jesus' three passion predictions (Mk 8:27-32a; 9:30-32; 10:32-34), each of which is met with misunderstanding (Mk

8:32b—9:1; 9:33-50; 10:35-45). The following proposed outline is a variation on this schema; further variations of the same are found in several of the major commentaries:

- 1:1-15 Prologue
- 1:16—8:26 Jesus Revealed as Messiah
 - 1:16—3:12 Jesus' Authority
 - 3:13—6:6 Teaching and Miracles
 - 6:7—8:26 Mission
- 8:27—16:8 The Nature of Jesus' Messiahship
 - 8:27—10:52 The Way of Discipleship
 - 11:1—13:37 Conflict with Temple Leaders
 - 14:1—16:8 Passion and Resurrection

Whatever the natural divisions perceived by modern readers might be, one must confess that the interrelationship between these and their constituent subdivisions remains complex and intricate. Perhaps J. Dewey is not far off the mark in suggesting that we "gain a better understanding of the Gospel and its individual pericopes by focusing on the interconnections, on the repetitions, and the variations in the repetition, than by analyzing its divisions" (Dewey, 235). In its structure, Mark's Gospel has both a linear and a fugue-like quality (Kee, 64, 75); if the first is important, the latter is no less so.

1.3. Plot Overview. Mark begins by giving notice that the story that he is about to tell concerns "Jesus Christ the Son of God" (Mk 1:1). The reader then meets *John the Baptizer introducing this same Jesus as one who proclaims the *kingdom. After his own baptism, Jesus calls his first disciples, who are witness to several exorcisms and *healings. Such public activity goes on to provoke a series of questions from unsympathetic observers, and inevitably the hostility mounts. Meanwhile, his following continues to expand, and he appoints twelve apostles by name. Next, in the face of even more bitter opposition, Jesus tells a series of *parables that directly or indirectly explain the nature of this opposition. This gives way to an excursion across the lake, the stilling of a storm, and a dramatic exorcism on the far side of the lake. Once back on the western shore, Jesus, in a flurry of activity, heals a hemorrhaging woman and raises a little girl from the dead. After meeting resistance in his hometown, Jesus sends out the Twelve for mission, an event that is interrupted by an account of John the Baptist's unsavory death at the hands of King Herod. On the Twelve's return, Jesus retreats with his disciples and performs a miracle involving the multiplication of loaves and fish and also a second stilling of a storm, both of which

remain misunderstood. Despite the disciples' misunderstanding, crowds continue to flock after Jesus from faraway regions. After several more healings, Jesus again feeds the masses and continues to heal. Finally, at Caesarea Philippi Peter voices the climactic declaration that the Jesus is indeed the Messiah.

Still to be resolved, however, is the nature of Jesus' messiahship, which is the focus of the remaining half of Mark. Here Jesus is gloriously transfigured, only to face various instances of unbelief from both the crowds and his disciples. Interspersed amidst Jesus' three *predictions of his passion are various teachings regarding discipleship, as well as several notable encounters, including those with the young ruler and with *blind Bartimaeus, who together present a study of contrasts. Finally, Jesus enters Jerusalem as the acknowledged Messiah, and upon cleansing of the temple, he provokes a fresh wave of hostile interactions. Withdrawing with his disciples, Jesus then predicts the destruction of the *temple and exhorts them to keep watch in view of the Son's coming. As the hour of his death draws nearer, Jesus receives an anointing and then gathers his disciples for a final Passover meal (*see* Last Supper). Following the meal, Jesus and his disciples move to Gethsemane, where he is finally arrested. He is then tried and handed over to Pilate. Under pressure from the crowds, Pilate in turn hands Jesus over to be crucified. After Jesus' death, Joseph of Arimathea recovers the body and buries him in a tomb. Early the next morning, three women go to the tomb and are surprised by an angel who announces that Jesus has risen, and that they are to meet Peter in Galilee. Noting only the women's fear and silence, Mark's Gospel then comes to an unexpected and sudden close.

1.4. Literary and Rhetorical Features. Among the four Gospels, Mark is the most inelegant in terms of style. Starting off with an abrupt beginning (Mk 1:1-3) and coming to a close with an even more abrupt ending (Mk 16:8), Mark's Gospel hurtles forward to its climax. This effect is enhanced not only by the evangelist's fondness for paratactic construction ("and [*kai*] . . . and [*kai*] . . .") and the historical present (whereby past events are vividly recounted in the present tense), but also, especially early on in the book, through the repeated use of "immediately" (*euthys*), a repetition that only the most woodenly literal English translations dare to reproduce. Lacking in the subordinate clauses and similar signs of stylistic smoothness that are so characteristic of Matthew and Luke, Mark is a rough-and-ready Gospel.

Although this quality once induced form critics to see Mark's text as *Kleinliteratur*—an artless com-

pilation—several generations of literary studies on Mark have shown just the opposite: despite all initial appearances, Mark's Gospel is extremely sophisticated and yields up a level of complexity that is sometimes mind-boggling. In the first place, one might consider Mark's use of intercalation (often referred to as "Markan sandwiches"). In this technique the evangelist takes up a theme, motif or narrative focus, sets it aside temporarily, and then immediately returns to it, thereby producing an A-B-A structure. Perhaps the most famous instance of this technique involves Jesus' cursing of the fig tree (A) (Mk 11:11-14), followed by the cleansing of the temple (B) (Mk 11:15-19), followed by subsequent discussion about the fig tree (A) (Mk 11:20-25). Using this framing arrangement, Mark invites the reader to interpret the central member of the pattern (B), the temple cleansing, with reference to the outer encasement (A), the withered fig tree. Sometimes the intercalation can be more elaborate, involving multiple levels (A-B-C-B-A) and turning on individual words and themes. Many similar such intercalations have been detected elsewhere and provide an important hermeneutical key throughout. Some interpreters have even argued that the whole of Mark's Gospel is a narrative universe of concentric intercalations, all spinning around the axis of Peter's confession at Philippi (see bibliography in Larsen, 149-50).

As hinted above, Mark is also interested in threefold repetitions, which may well be related to his penchant for intercalation. In Mark 4 Jesus tells three seed parables (Mk 4:3-32). We also find that there are three opinions regarding John's identity (Mk 6:14-15), just as there are three opinions about who Jesus is (Mk 8:27-28). There are three passion predictions (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:33-34), even as there are three points at which the disciples fail to stay awake (Mk 14:32-42), which also match Peter's threefold denial of Jesus (Mk 14:6-72). The same threefold pattern may obtain in more subtle ways—for example, the threefold affirmation of Jesus' sonship, which is strung out across the narrative (Mk 1:11; 9:7; 15:39).

As J. Camery-Hoggatt demonstrates, irony is also an importance feature in Mark's text. A parade example of such irony occurs in Mark 15:16-20, where the Roman soldiers stage a dramatic enthronement of Jesus, mockingly hailing him as the Son of God. The purple robe, the crown, the acclamation and the homage are in place. Of course, on one level the soldiers are playacting, sarcastically rebuffing Jesus' messianic aspirations. But on a different level even as the soldiers are in the process of "enthroning" Je-

sus by lifting him up on the Roman cross, he, in a moment of supreme irony, is precisely through his crucifixion truly and realistically being enthroned as the rightful ruler of the kingdom of God (Marcus 2006, 77-80). Likewise, although it appears that the Jewish leaders are putting Jesus on *trial, for Mark, it is actually Jesus' prosecutors who are putting themselves on the stand before the Son of Man (Mk 14:62).

Mark's use of irony is not unrelated to the so-called messianic secret, which can be found in each of the Synoptic Gospels but is particularly emphasized in Mark (e.g., Mk 1:24-25, 43-45; 4:11; 8:29-30). More than a century ago, W. Wrede argued that the theme of secrecy was introduced by Mark as a way of explaining the absence of evidence that Jesus claimed messianic status while he was alive. In other words, as an apologetic response to first-century doubters who wondered how a messianic Jesus could remain silent on his messianism, Mark contrived narratives that made it look like Jesus actually intended to suppress this announcement. Even if Wrede's theory fails to convince today, he has at least made a lasting contribution in drawing attention to the theme of mystery in Mark. In this Gospel mystery reveals itself in the midst of irony.

Questions are also a special feature within the narrative. In Mark's story questions are posed rhetorically and thus often remain suspended, only to attain closure at a later point. In response to Jesus' first exorcisms, the people ask, "What is this? A new teaching—and with authority!" (Mk 1:27). Later Jesus' detractors, on hearing his offer of "forgiveness to the paralytic, ask, "Why does this fellow talk like this?" (Mk 2:7 [cf. Mk 2:16, 24; 7:5]). Then, after the stilling of the storm, the disciples ask of one another, "Who is this?" (Mk 4:41), a question not far removed from still another query: "Where did this man get these things [i.e., such authority]?" (Mk 6:2). Questions of identity are then only resolved in the revelation of Jesus' messiahship (Mk 8:27-30) (Witherington, 38; Fowler, 132-33).

Mark's predilection for questions is not unrelated to his characteristic way of creating suspense; after all, posing a question only to leave it unanswered is itself a means of inducing suspense. Elsewhere Mark notes very early in the narrative that the *Pharisees and Herodians conspire to kill Jesus (Mk 3:6). This verse in fact summarizes a string of five pericopae depicting escalating hostilities between Jesus and his opponents (Mk 2:1—3:6). Viewed against the course of the entire narrative, the pitch of this conflict may strike the reader as preemptive if not premature,

since the passion does not begin to take place until Mark 14. But by establishing the murderous intents of Jesus' enemies at an early point, the evangelist manages to cast the whole Jesus story under the dark gloom of the cross. This prompts the reader to ponder the intervening chapters (Mk 3–13) as an explanation of the cross, and vice versa. The notional disconnect between Jesus' life and his death, so prevalent in modern-day and scholarly understandings of Jesus, would have been utterly alien to Mark's way of thinking.

Suspense also plays a key role in the ending of Mark as we have it in the best manuscripts. Mark is the only Gospel in which the risen Christ never appears. Instead, upon viewing the empty tomb and hearing the instructions of the angelic figure to report to Peter in Galilee, the women "say nothing to anyone, for they were afraid" (Mk 16:8). To be sure, it is not necessarily the case that Mark intended his Gospel to break off at just this spot. Some text critics have argued that the so-called longer ending of Mark (Mk 16:9–20) is a genuine ending as composed by Mark. Although this is impossible to disprove, most scholars reject the possibility as highly unlikely. Alternatively, it is possible that the Gospel did break off at Mark 16:8 because its author was interrupted at this very point and for whatever reason never returned pen to paper. It is also possible that Mark did in fact write more in the very first version—a now lost longer ending—but that somewhere along the line the last pages of Mark have been lost in transmission (Croy). But at present, the dominant position among scholars is to suppose that Mark intentionally ends his Gospel on this strange, abrupt note. As to just what that intention might be, there have been various proposals. Yet perhaps M. Hooker puts her finger on it: "Mark's ending disturbs us, because it seems so inconclusive. We long to complete the book—and that, of course, is precisely what Mark wants us to do!" (Hooker 2003, 23). In other words, Mark creates a situation of suspense to force an existential decision: to follow or not follow Jesus despite the costs is a question that now falls to the reader much as it did to the women on Easter morning. The weak-willed disciples have failed Jesus at so many turns in Mark, and now so too have the women. What about Mark's readers, who are confronted by the resurrection yet still in their weakness? What will they do?

2. Historical Issues.

2.1. Authorship. Whereas Greco-Roman authors regularly attached their names to their published

works, this typically was not the case with Jewish writings concerning the things of God. Like the other three Gospels, Mark was composed as an anonymous document. Exactly when the name "Mark" came to be featured in its present title is a matter of speculation, though scholars seem to be comfortable hypothesizing a date of around A.D. 125. Given the Gospel's composition in the first century, the relatively late date of its literary ascription to one "Mark" in the early second century makes it plausible that those who first titled this Gospel credited it to *the* John Mark (Acts 12:25; Col 4:10; 2 Tim 4:11; 1 Pet 5:13) pseudonymously. Another possibility is that the same John Mark was indeed the author of this Gospel, and that this fact was faithfully preserved in early church tradition. Still a third possibility is that "Mark" is not the John Mark of the NT, but rather a lesser-known Mark, whose significance has now been completely lost to history. Thus, the question of the authorship of this Gospel is problematic.

Yet the difficulties of the traditional ascription (that the biblical John Mark wrote this Gospel) should not be exaggerated, for as the renowned Oxford scholar B. H. Streeter once aptly opined, in the case of Matthew and John the burden of evidence remains on anyone seeking to establish traditional authorship, but in the case of Mark (and Luke) the onus falls on anyone wishing to deny traditional authorship. The reasons for this dictum are not hard to see. After all, while there would be an obvious temptation for an obscure or unknown first-century writer to ascribe work pseudonymously to Matthew or John, both being members of Jesus' original band of followers, no such temptation would have obtained, or at least have been nearly so strong, in the case of Mark. Given John Mark's modest profile in Acts, not to mention the record of his having abandoned Paul and Barnabas during the first missionary journey (Acts 13:13), this historical figure does not stand out as a likely "go-to" man for authorizing this life of Jesus. For this reason, the church would have little compelling reason to ascribe this Gospel to John Mark, of all people.

This still, however, does not rule out the possibility of a relatively anonymous Mark—that is, a Mark who might have been well known in his own day but whose name has been lost to history. A crucial question in this connection has to do with the reliability of an important testimony from the early church father Papias, passed down by Eusebius. Papias was active as early as the closing decades of the first century and in the first quarter of the second century composed his five-volume *Exegesis of the Lord's Say-*

ings; Eusebius identifies him as “the Presbyter” in the following text: “And the Presbyter used to say this: ‘Mark became Peter’s interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, indeed, in order, of the things said or done by the Lord. For he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter, who used to give teaching as necessity demanded, but who did not make, as it were, an arrangement of the Lord’s oracles’” (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16).

While some critics have been slow to accept this testimony at face value (arguing that this is a desperate and deceitful attempt to validate Mark’s Gospel by linking it with the apostle Peter), several considerations speak to the veracity of this report. First, there is evidence that both John Mark and Peter found themselves in *Rome at about the same time (1 Pet 5:13), giving opportunity for exactly this kind of collaboration. (Whether Papias depends on 1 Pet 5:13 is another question, but I suspect not.) Second, there is a hefty weight of patristic tradition that associates (John) Mark’s Gospel with Peter’s preaching at Rome, even if there is some disagreement among the church fathers as to when the evangelist completed his work (Black, 77-191). Irenaeus says that Mark composed his Gospel after Peter’s “departure” (*exodos*) (*Haer.* 3.1.1); later, Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius maintained publication during Peter’s lifetime at Rome and with apostolic encouragement. The early church’s equivocation over the timing of the composition hardly invalidates the core of the tradition, which regularly associates Peter and Mark, and sometimes Rome.

One conceivably relevant testimony in this connection is the witness of Justin Martyr, who was active in Rome in the mid-second century. In making seemingly passing comments, he writes as follows: “It is said that he [Jesus] changed the name of one of the apostles to Peter, and it is written in his memoirs that he changed the names of others, two brothers, the sons of Zebedee, to Boanerges, which means ‘sons of thunder’” (*Dial.* 106.3). Famously, Justin never refers to any of the Gospels as “gospels,” but rather as “memoirs.” Accordingly, the term here must refer to one of the four Gospels. Which one of the four Gospels he has in mind becomes clear in light of the fact that only in Mark does Jesus give the nickname “Boanerges” to the sons of Zebedee (Mk 3:17). The key word is the possessive adjective in the phrase “his memoirs.” If by this Justin refers to “Jesus’ memoirs”—that is, the memoir about Jesus—this sheds little light on the possibility of Markan authorship. On the other hand, if by “his memoirs”

the apologist intends what is essentially Peter’s Gospel (so, e.g., Stanton, 101; Bauckham 2006, 235), and that Gospel is patently Mark’s Gospel, then this is solid (and likely independent) confirmation of Papias’s report. While some scholars remain suspicious of Papias’s reliability, others insist that the historical testimony to a partnership between John Mark and Peter bears the marks of authenticity (Hengel, 2-14, 47-53; Bauckham 2006, 232-39). Where one lands on the question of authorship (and the Gospel’s alleged connection to Peter) will determine, more than anything else, judgments of provenance (see 2.3 below); both of these issues in turn are often brought to bear on a number of exegetical turning points.

2.2. Audience. The question of Mark’s audience is, of course, bound up with (but not necessarily determined by) prior judgments of provenance and dating. Frustratingly, common ground among scholars is hard to find, not only on account of the divergence of opinion on these matters of setting, but also on account of fundamental differences in methodology. More exactly, current study of Mark has yet to resolve at least two important issues. First, to what extent may Mark’s (putative) genre and style be used as a basis for inferring his audience? For example, while M. Beavis argues for a sophisticated and well-educated audience on the basis of a sophisticated and well-educated Mark, others, such as R. Rohrbaugh and R. Horsley, are unconvinced by this line of reasoning; both latter scholars emphasize Mark’s oral quality, which for them serves as evidence that the evangelist’s intended readers were actually hearers in the local peasant villages. Second, to what extent are modern readers justified in rendering reconstructions of Mark’s setting on the basis of narrative realities, when those reconstructions cannot be independently corroborated? Objecting to what he sees as a basic circularity in these kinds of arguments, D. Peterson takes to task some of the more prominent social reconstructions on offer, those of W. Kelber, H. Kee and C. Myers. Where the world within the text and the world behind the text intersect is not always clear, and the principles for reconciling the two remain under discussion. In order to avoid prejudging issues raised below, it will be sufficient to distill only a small set of agreed-upon points: Mark’s audience comprised Jewish and Gentile Christians undergoing duress involving both external persecution (from both Jewish and Roman quarters) and internal tensions resulting from such persecution (Donahue, 17-26; Roskam, 72-74; Winn, 173-77). Beyond this, it is difficult to speculate. Theories regarding the socioeconomic status of Mark’s

first readers, as well as their geographical location (urban versus rural, for example), remain disputed.

2.3. Provenance.

2.3.1. *Galilee*. Whereas for decades scholars had agreed that Mark's Gospel hailed from Rome, this was called into question by W. Marxsen, who, focusing on the importance of *Galilee in critical junctures of the Gospel (Mk 1:9; 14:28; 16:7), urged that the author of this Gospel was attempting to call his readers to gather with him at Galilee to await the parousia, sometime near the beginning of the First Jewish Revolt (A.D. 66–74). Although Marxsen's work is considered by many to be a classic of redaction criticism, the vast majority of scholars consider it quite fanciful. Still, impressed by the rural quality of the Gospel and its seeming tight connection with local Galilean traditions, W. Kelber and R. Horsley follow suit. Given the strengths of the alternative options, this remains a minority position.

2.3.2. *Syria*. H. Kee, G. Theissen and J. Marcus (Marcus 1992a) are perhaps the most influential of authors who hold to Syrian provenance, a judgment progressively winning adherents. Here attempts are made to link the turmoil facing the community with the events of the First Jewish Revolt (Mk 13) (see Revolutionary Movements). Given the strongly Gentile composition of the audience (cf. Mk 7:3–4), yet also its ability to feel the impact of the events of a war such as the First Jewish Revolt (Joseph reports that the Hellenistic cities on the border of the Syrian region were the first to be attacked), the region immediately to the north and east of Palestine makes good sense. Syrian provenance is also attractive to commentators wishing to emphasize the rural roots of Mark's community.

As for the patristic testimony pointing toward Rome, advocates of this hypothesis remain skeptical. They see too much weight being put on Papias, who would have had his own reasons for inventing Roman provenance. Moreover, the many Latinisms in Mark, which have been a staple argument for defenders of Roman provenance, could just as easily be explained as attempts to accommodate Latin-speaking Romans stationed in the East (Marcus 1992a, 443–44). To be sure, counterarguments to the prevailing paradigm of Roman provenance force us to give this option serious consideration.

2.3.3. *Rome*. In addition to the weight of patristic testimony (see 2.1 above), scholars supporting a Roman provenance have appealed to a variety of factors, perhaps the most compelling of which are the aforementioned Latinisms in the text. For example, whereas the evangelist could have made his point

simply by stating that the poor widow had put “two copper coins” (*lepta dyo*) into the temple offering, he goes out of the way to render the Roman equivalent and adds the phrase “which is a *kodrantēs* [*kodrantēs*]” (Mk 12:42). Likewise, in describing Jesus' movements after his arrest, the evangelist notes that Jesus had been removed “into the palace, that is, the praetorium” (Mk 15:16), which again appears to be an effort to translate for a Roman audience.

Further evidence of an audience in Rome can be discerned from the Gospel's thematic interest in suffering stemming from persecution. Indeed, some researchers have traced the specific elements of Mark's narrative tightly back to what one would expect to find in the Roman Christians' experience of persecution (Donahue; Incigneri, 156–252; Winn, 153–77) just before or just after A.D. 70 in Rome (see 2.3). For these same scholars, Nero's policy of persecution, directed squarely and fiercely against the Christians, along with the upheaval which Rome itself was going through in these years, makes as good a backdrop as any in explaining Mark's social setting.

2.4. *Date*. Interpreters of Mark have put forward various judgments regarding the dating of its composition, all of which fall within the first century. For the sake of simplicity, we might summarize four positions: Mark was written in the 40s, 50s, 60s or 70s. The relative probability of each of these four windows in turn is sometimes determined by the extent to which a Gospel is a window on the setting of its author (particularly with reference to Mk 13), assumptions of authorship (see 2.1 above) and assumptions of provenance.

2.4.1. *40s*. Several sources in antiquity assign Mark's Gospel to the fourth decade A.D., and a handful of scholars from the modern period have been willing to agree. Drawing on Clement of Alexandria, J. A. T. Robinson affirms the tradition that Mark accompanied Peter to Rome in 42, only to finally draw up a record of Peter's preaching three years later (Robinson, 95, 107–8, 352–53). A similar view was well established among the post-Nicene fathers and in certain strands of nineteenth-century biblical scholarship. Meanwhile J. O'Callaghan has argued that portions of Mark can be made out on documents retrieved from Qumran Cave 7, which, if true, would yield a date around the same time. O'Callaghan's argument has convinced few. More intriguing is the suggestion that the “abomination that causes desolation” (Mk 13:14) refers to the decision of Caligula (r. 37–41) to erect a statue of himself in the holy place of the Jerusalem *temple (see Apocalypticism and Apocalyptic Teaching). If so, then

Mark could not have been written as early as 40, months before the assassination of Caligula in January of 41. The problem here is that Mark 13:14 seems to be too slim a rudder on which to turn the ship of Mark's dating; besides, other ways of explaining the verse are regarded as equally if not more likely.

Here the important issue is the conflicting patristic evidence, which needs to be critically weighed. Even if we admit the patristic evidence connecting Mark with Peter, we are still forced to choose between two lines of tradition, one vouching that the Gospel was written while Peter was still alive, and the other affirming that it was composed only after his martyrdom. In the view of many, the latter tradition is to be preferred. It makes sense that the Gospel being connected with a living Peter (as opposed to merely the memory of Peter) developed over time, motivated by pious, wishful thinking. Moreover, Mark's vision of a worldwide *mission to the *Gentiles (Mk 13:10; 14:9) makes better sense after the Jerusalem Council (49) than before it. Though perhaps underrated as a serious option, for understandable reasons, the decade of the 40s has commanded little support in contemporary discussion.

2.4.2. 50s. A few others are inclined to situate Mark's Gospel in the 50s. This argument generally follows from (1) a commitment to the two-source hypothesis, which entails Luke's dependence on Mark (*see* Synoptic Problem); (2) a judgment that Luke (on the basis of Acts 24) should be dated no later than Paul's first Roman imprisonment (early 60s); and (3) an assumption that Luke's use of Mark requires a lead time of at least several years. None of these isolated points alone is unreasonable, although most scholars are disinclined to support such an early dating for Luke-Acts. Given the probative weight of alternative dating scenarios, most commentators do not see the 50s as a viable option.

2.4.3. 60s. Seemingly the most commonly taken path is to ascribe Mark to the 60s, usually the late 60s, a year or two before the destruction of the temple in 70. The reasons for this ascription are several. First, if we take seriously Peter's connection with Mark's Gospel, and surmise too that Mark was written at Rome after Peter's martyrdom, this makes excellent sense on several counts. First, although Christians at Rome undoubtedly faced persecutions of various sorts since the time of the church's founding there, it is above all during or just after the Neronian persecution (64–68) that issues of suffering and theodicy must have loomed largest. One meets exactly the same concerns in Mark (Mk 4:16–17; 6:4; 10:28–30, 39; 13:5–23). Second, Peter's close connec-

tion with Rome in the 60s also clarifies his central role in Mark's narrative. In a setting where many Romans must have come to confess Christ only later to succumb to the pressure of persecution, Mark offers up Peter as a model confessor (Mk 8:27–30) as well as a model apostate (Mk 14:54–72), whose hope remained in the resurrected Christ despite that apostasy (Mk 16:7) (Donahue, 17–19). Third, the stylized account of Mark 13, with its prediction of the temple's destruction and flight from the city, seems to weigh more in favor of Mark having been written before Jerusalem's doom in 70 than after it. Had Mark really reflected a post-70 perspective, one would expect the details of the eschatological discourse to line up much more neatly with what we do know of the sack of Jerusalem from the sources. On this argument, Mark 13 is no *vaticinium ex eventu* ("prophecy out of the event"), but rather a prediction of the temple's future based on commonsense foresight and a scripturally based logic underwritten by various scriptural images.

2.4.4. 70s. For those who see Mark 13 as providing an all-too-clear reflection of the events of 70, the early years of the 70s remains attractive. Two items in particular tend to nudge champions of a late Mark in this direction: (1) Jesus' mention that "no stone would be left on another" (Mk 13:2), which turned out to be the case in actuality (Josephus, *J.W.* 7.379); and (2) the reference to the "abomination that causes desolation" (Mk 13:14), arguably a compelling description of the Roman soldiers erecting their standards in the eastern court of the temple (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.316). Here hermeneutical questions arise as to whether the biblical allusions bound up in these verses provide an adequate alternative explanation to a solution that sees Mark here as recalling reports of the event.

3. Theological Themes and Messages.

Although the Gospel of Mark naturally shares many of the themes developed in the other Gospels, particularly Matthew and Luke, the Markan evangelist has a distinctive agenda. Unless he composed his work in complete isolation, one must imagine that this agenda was driven in part by the situational needs of his audience. At the same time, being among the first to write the Jesus story, he likely would have thought of his task as transcending the immediate concerns of his target audience. In this case, one might expect the evangelist's purpose to include both addressing the immediate theological crises of his initial hearers and laying the theological groundwork for the burgeoning movement as it

continued to expand across the Mediterranean world. With this in mind, it is possible to discern at least three central interests: community self-definition, *Christology and mission.

3.1. Community Self-Definition. As early as the programmatic verses of Mark 1:1-3, offering a quotation of Isaiah 40:3 with intimations also of Malachi 3:1 and Exodus 23:20 (see Marcus 1992b, 12-47), the astute reader will detect that prospects of a new community are at hand. It is a community that stands to benefit from, and perhaps participate in, the realization of Isaiah 40, which envisages return from *exile. According to Isaiah, Yahweh would deliver his people from the curse of exile by leading them on the “way”; now, by quoting Isaiah, Mark implicitly announces that Israel’s God was forging a new movement, one that would realize a new and decisive return from exile. By the same logic, once the exile was reversed, God would become king in the fullest sense, and the kingdom would be established (Mk 1:15). This newly formed community, constituted through the preaching of Jesus, would coincide with, but remain distinct from, the reality of the kingdom (Mk 4:1-34).

These would also be the people of “the way,” as evident in the central “way” section (Mk 8:22—10:46). Here Mark’s Jesus begins to elucidate just what it means to be “on the way” and what kind of person belongs to this movement, which by Mark’s time was called “the way” (Acts 9:2; 19:9). In short, it is those who are willing to follow Jesus in the path of suffering of self-denial. It is a way on which personal ambition (Mk 9:33-37), competition (Mk 9:38-41), impurity (Mk 9:42—10:12), socioeconomic attachments (Mk 10:13-31) and power (Mk 10:35-44) are either renounced or radically redefined. Those who wish to join this way must come as blind Bartimaeus does, as one who calls out for Jesus “beside the way” (*para tēn hodon*) (Mk 10:46), only to have sight restored in order to follow him “on the way” (*en tē hodō*) (Mk 10:52). The evangelist saw the current day as an era of exile, but it was an exile now ceding ground to the inbreaking kingdom, as signified by a new community with new ethical standards.

For Mark, there is also a cultic aspect to the community identity, for, as the allusion to Malachi 3 in Mark 1:2-3 intimates, this new people will take up their newly assigned role as *priests, properly purified and installed to offer right offerings to Yahweh (cf. Mal 3:1-4). Such an ushering in of a new priesthood inevitably involves an eclipse of the existing temple order operative under the current temple authorities. In Mark, all of this begins to take shape

through the cleansing of the temple (Mk 11:12-19), the parabolic denunciation of the regnant priesthood (Mk 12:1-12), the transposition of temple sacrifices into an ethic of *love (Mk 12:28-35), predictions of the destruction of the current temple (Mk 13:1-31), the inauguration of a new temple economy through a new covenant (Mk 14:12-26) and then finally the rending of the temple veil (Mk 15:38-39) (Gray; Heil). Inasmuch as Mark has a strong interest in this cultic conflict, he is calling on community members not just to uphold a higher norm of behavior, but also to function as the gatekeepers and servants of a new temple order.

Finally, in keeping with hints of Exodus 23:20 in Mark 1:2-3, Mark suggests that Jesus is also launching a new exodus. In its context, Exodus 23:20 speaks of the *angel who will go before Israel as it moves forward with the exodus, and it is no coincidence that the reader of Mark does not get very far before encountering a broad variety of exodus images. Even as *Moses stretched out his once-leprous hand as validation of his calling (Ex 4:6-7), now Jesus stretches out his hand to the leper (Mk 1:40-45). Upon healing the paralytic so “that you might know that the Son of Man has authority” (Mk 2:10), Mark’s Jesus mimics Moses, who in his time performed miracles “so that you [Pharaoh] might know” (Ex 9:14) that there is none like Yahweh. Jesus breaks up into groups the masses who follow him into the desert (Mk 6:20-44), just as Moses did (Ex 16; 18). Lastly, when Jesus “passes before” the disciples on the water and says, “It is I!” (Mk 6:45-56), this is straightforwardly a recapitulation of the moment when Yahweh walked on the water before Israel (Ex 14) and revealed himself as the **“I AM,”* later more fully “passing before” Moses (Ex 33:19). These are but a sampling of episodes that draw on exodus images (Bowman; Swartley; Watts). So, then, Jesus is both Moses and Yahweh, but in a new cosmic order. As the leader of the new exodus, Christ has also brought about the moment of spiritual, political and socioeconomic liberation. Mark intends for his readers to be clear: those who take part in this movement initiated by Jesus are participating in nothing less than the final realization of God’s redemptive purposes for Israel and the world.

3.2. Christology. Whatever Mark’s interest in helping the early Christian community as it came to terms with its self-identity, he is equally eager to show that Jesus is the Messiah (*see Christ*). Before anything else, he announces that his story essentially is “the gospel of Jesus *Christ*”—that is, “the gospel of Jesus the Messiah” (Mk 1:1). But as the evangelist’s

readers would quickly discover, Jesus proved to be something other than the kind of messiah that Israel was looking for. In fact, Mark fully understood that the messiahship according to his Jesus was decidedly unlike anything anyone was looking for.

In some sense, the story that the Gospel writer recounts has all the marks of a “messianic story,” at least as it might have been commonly told in his context. As John appears on the scene wearing *Elijah’s garb (Mk 1:6; cf. 2 Kings 1:8), the reader suspects (especially in light of the quotation of Mal 3:1 in Mk 1:2) that this might be the anticipated Elijahan forerunner of the messiah (see Faierstein). But the disciples would have been confused about this identification as time went on. Certainly, if the disciples had thought that John was the promised Elijah *redivivus*, they would have had second thoughts following John’s rather bizarre death at the hands of *Herod (Mk 6:14-29). Surely, so they must have thought, just as Elijah overcame the forces of darkness in his day, the new Elijah could not meet such a humiliating demise. Nonetheless, Jesus insists, “Elijah has come, and they did to him whatever they pleased, as it is written about him” (Mk 9:13). And if the disciples were bewildered in the case of John, it made even less sense that Jesus the Messiah would have to suffer and die (Mk 8:31-32). Jesus’ ideas about messiahship seemed to be just the opposite of what the disciples and Israel as a whole had been expecting.

Of course, this is at the heart of Mark’s point. He wants to demonstrate that Jesus is a kind of upside-down messiah, or more precisely, a right-side-up messiah faced with an upside-down world. Eager to hammer this point home, the evangelist skillfully draws together the contrasting threads of two incompatible ideologies. It was widely expected in Judaism that the messiah would be welcomed by the ruling leadership of Israel. But when Jesus comes preaching the kingdom, it is only demons that recognize who he is (Mk 1:23-24, 34; 5:7); meanwhile, the religious authorities reject him (Mk 2:1-3:6). Whereas Israel’s leaders expect the messiah to drive out Satan, it is, ironically enough, these same authorities who accuse Jesus of colluding with Satan; it is also an accusation that his own family also takes up (Mk 3:20-35). If Israel’s expected messiah was to be received with celebration, this Messiah is mocked (Mk 5:40, 15:31). If Israel’s expected messiah was to be tasked with conquering the Gentiles, this Messiah is received by the Gentiles (Mk 7:24-30). Expectations are consistently inverted.

Following Peter’s confession of Jesus’ messiahship (Mk 8:27-30), Jesus dedicates himself to clarify-

ing the nature of his messianic calling (e.g., Mk 10:45), even as he attempts to describe the nature of discipleship. With this in mind, Mark’s Jesus enters Jerusalem for the last time (Mk 11:1), where he seeks to reveal himself as the promised messiah (Mk 11:1-11) and thus as the one who would destroy (and presumably rebuild) the temple (Mk 11:12-19; cf. Mk 12:10; 14:58; 15:29), a uniquely messianic task. Of course, Jesus’ awareness of his own messianic identity surfaces repeatedly, if not obliquely, when he refers to himself as the “Son of Man” (2:10, 28; 8:31, 38, etc.), and then finally and more explicitly before Caiaphas as the transcendent, Danielic Son of Man (Mk 14:61-62). Eventually, Jesus is arrested on the basis of this messianic claim, mocked as the Messiah (Mk 15:16-20), and then crucified as the Messiah (Mk 15:25-32). In being raised from death (Mk 16:1-8), he is vindicated as that which he claimed to be: the Messiah (cf. Rom 1:3-4).

Mark’s Christology goes a long way toward explaining the kind of people who come to follow Jesus, as well as the kind of people who come to reject him. As for those who follow, the narrative is crowded with unlikely and peripheral characters: an erstwhile demoniac (Mk 5:20); a Syrophoenician woman (Mk 7:29); blind Bartimaeus calling out for the *Son of David (Mk 10:47); an anonymous woman who anoints Jesus at Bethany (Mk 14:1-9); and a Roman centurion (Mk 15:39), the embodiment of Gentile oppression and power. Meanwhile, the rejection of Jesus at the hands of Israel’s leadership is conspicuous. But those who oppose Jesus do so because of their misguided commitments and idolatries, as is borne out by the parable of the sower (Mk 4:1-20), which functions as a kind of interpretive key for the Gospel as a whole (Tolbert, 129-75). For Mark, hard-heartedness not only explains Israel’s rejection of its messiah, but also proves to be a constantly menacing threat to the faithfulness of believers (as witnessed in Peter’s denial in Mk 14:66-72; cf. Mk 6:52; 8:17). If Jesus is rejected as messiah, it is through no fault of his own; it is on account of human moral failure. And the way past human failure is the path of following Jesus. Whereas those aspiring to the kingdom are to be characterized by certain qualities, those qualities find supreme and unique expression in King Jesus. Mark’s Christology is inextricably bound up in the practice of following Jesus.

3.3. Mission. Mark is also deeply interested in *mission. So too is Mark’s Jesus, a point that the disciples are rather slow to pick up on and even slower to imitate. This becomes clear on following Jesus’ movements back and forth across the Sea of Galilee,

the “other side” of which represents Gentile territory (Iverson). On Mark’s account, those who are in geographical proximity to Jesus are generally unresponsive (Mk 3:31-35; 6:1-6), but those who are distant respond in dramatic ways (Mk 3:8; 5:1-20; 7:24-30). Similarly, Jesus’ compassion in feeding the four thousand Gentiles (Mk 8:3) contrasts decidedly with the disciples’ indifference. On one interpretation of the difficult passage Mark 8:14-21, it is the Twelve’s animosity toward the Gentiles that explains their “forgetting” to take *bread along with them, since in the disciples’ minds no more bread meant no more feedings for the Gentiles. At any rate, their hearts were hardened, and they willfully failed to understand that their task as Israel’s new shepherds coincided with a reconfiguration of *Israel (Mk 8:17-21). As the seed parables of Mark 4 should have made clear, a favorable response to God depended not on ethnicity, but rather on the condition of the heart (Mk 4:1-20); the eschatological moment of the Gentile “birds” coming in to take shade in the kingdom (Mk 4:30-32) was already at hand. But even then the disciples, in their ethnocentricity, had become inwardly resistant. This obstinacy finds expression in the subsequent stilling of the storm (Mk 4:35-41), with its parallels to the story of Jonah, reluctant prophet to the Gentiles.

The theme of mission continues to play out in the final chapters of Mark. When Jesus cleanses the temple (*see* Temple Act), he claims that he does so because the temple was not fulfilling its role to be a “house of prayer for all nations” (Mk 11:17; cf. Is 56:7). In his eschatological discourse Jesus admonishes his disciples that when the tribulation comes, they are to stand firm as witnesses until the gospel is preached “to all the nations” (Mk 13:9-11). This is consistent with Jesus’ earlier promise: “For those who want to save their life will lose it, and those who lose their life for my sake, and for the sake of the gospel, will save it” (Mk 8:35). On being *anointed at Bethany, Jesus predicts that this anointing will be recounted “wherever the good news is proclaimed in the whole world” (Mk 14:9). As his hour draws nigh, Jesus has his eye on the mission to the nations.

The evangelist was, of course, fully aware that this same mission was not without significant cost. It was a cost that Jesus countenanced and was willing to pay (Mk 10:45); it was a cost that the disciples only dimly understood (Mk 10:38), as becomes clear during Jesus’ trial. Jesus testifies (Mk 14:62; 15:2), and the result is condemnation; Peter, as representative of the disciples, disowns Jesus (Mk 14:66-72), and the result is the “saving” of his own

life. Once again, the disciples fail; they fail to carry out the basic activity of mission, which is witness.

Still, human failure cannot frustrate God’s purposes. As Jesus expires, the temple curtain is torn; the once-restricted holy space was now going out to the nations (Mk 15:38). Immediately, a Roman centurion confesses (Mk 15:39) to that which was stated at the beginning (Mk 1:1, 11): this man Jesus is the Son of God. Indeed, Jesus is the Son of God for the nations. This may have more than a little to do with the last command of Mark’s Gospel, which requires the women at the tomb to go to the Galilee (Mk 16:7), Galilee of the Gentiles (Is 9:1), the frontier in which Jesus’ ministry was first inaugurated (Mk 1:9).

There is no small irony in the fact that the women at the tomb fail (at least for the moment) to respond to their instructions to go to Galilee and tell the disciples about the risen Christ (Mk 16:4-8; cf. Mk 9:9). Up to this point, Jesus has found both humans and demons uncooperative in keeping his messianic identity a secret (e.g., Mk 1:23-25, 34, 43-45; 3:11-12), but once it is time to proclaim him as the Messiah (Mk 9:9), the first witnesses of the *resurrection balk at the idea. So Mark ends on a note of human failure, a failure to carry forward the mission due to fear. Writing to a persecuted church, the author knew that many would find themselves, much like the women at the tomb, tempted to remain silent in the face of powerful opposition. Mark’s readers were not alone and now they were called to follow those who had gone before, most of all, Jesus Christ himself.

4. Conclusion.

Holding forth the “mystery of the kingdom,” the Gospel of Mark indeed remains fraught with mystery on a number of levels. Historically, its authorship, dating and geographical origins continue to be matters of debate. Theologically, Mark’s readers are constrained to grapple with the grandest of ironies: even through humanity’s very attempt to reject decisively God’s saving purposes in Jesus Christ, God saw fit to bring those purposes to their full and proper conclusion. Furthermore, if the powerbrokers of Mark’s day had their own vision of a properly ordered cosmos, a vision implemented and maintained by means of raw power, Mark’s Jesus offers a sharply contrasting counterproposal. That counterproposal continues to speak to the Mark’s present-day hearers, challenging us and cutting at the core of our radically self-interested agenda.

See also APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC

TEACHING; CHRISTOLOGY; DEATH OF JESUS; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; EXILE AND RESTORATION; GOSPEL: GOOD NEWS; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS; SYNOPTIC PROBLEM; TEMPLE.

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N. Perrin

MARKAN PRIORITY. See **SYNOPTIC TRADITION**.

MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS

Mary the Mother of Jesus is mentioned either by name or by title in all four of the canonical Gospels, as well as once in Paul and once in Acts. Within the Gospels, scholars frequently detect a relatively negative portrayal of the mother of Jesus in Mark, generally considered to be the earliest Gospel, which becomes modified into a more positive depiction in Matthew, Luke and John.

1. The Gospel of Mark
2. The Gospel of Matthew
3. The Gospel of Luke
4. The Gospel of John
5. Conclusion

1. The Gospel of Mark.

In the Gospel of Mark the first appearance of the mother of Jesus occurs during his public ministry when his mother and brothers come seeking him (Mk 3:30-35). When Jesus is notified of this, he identifies those listening to him as his mother and brothers, and the narrative concludes with an apothegm: "Whoever does the will of God is my brother and sister and mother" (NRSV). Is this a rejection of Jesus' physical family, or could it simply be a statement that physical family relationships are no guarantee of membership in Jesus' eschatological *family?

The larger context of Mark 3:19-29 must be considered in deciding how best to understand Jesus' words in Mark 3:30-35. In Mark 3:19b-21, after the calling of the Twelve (see *Apostle*), Jesus apparently returns home to Capernaum, where either "his own" (*hoi par' autou*) or "the crowd" (*[ho] ochlos*) attempt to take hold of him because "they" were saying, "He has gone out of his mind." "His own" could refer to Jesus' family or to his disciples, and "they" could either mean the same group designated as "his own" or members of the crowd (see *People*, *Crowd*). If the family members of Jesus were simply attempting to rescue him from the crowd, their concern would be contrasted with the harshly negative attitude of the *scribes from Jerusalem in Mark 3:22-29. If the family members believe that Jesus is out of his mind, then their judgment of him is perhaps less hostile than that of the scribes, but nonetheless they are not being portrayed as members of his eschatological family. Most scholars understand Mark to be depicting the mother and brothers of Jesus in a negative sense.

Scholars disagree whether the reference to Jesus as the son of Mary in Mark 6:3 is derogatory. Most note that this reference implies Jesus' illegitimacy. In any case, the climactic saying of Jesus in Mark 6:4, "Prophets are not without honor, except . . . among their own kin, and in their own house," does not reflect positively on the mother (or brothers) of Jesus.

2. The Gospel of Matthew.

In Matthew's Gospel Mary is mentioned first in Jesus' *genealogy (Mt 1:16). A number of scholars interpret the mention of the other four women in the genealogy (identified as women marked by irregular marital unions who were part of God's plan) as a means of drawing attention to Mary as an instrument par excellence of God's providence. M. D'Angelo suggests that the ultimate purpose of including the other four women is probably to defend Mary, who is mysteriously pregnant before cohabiting

with Joseph. From a pastoral perspective, S. McKnight reflects on the dangerous reality that a pregnant woman in Mary's situation would have faced and portrays her as a model of faith (McKnight, 2007). B. Gaventa suggests a further similarity between Mary and the other women in Matthew's genealogy: all of them are a threat to David's line, and are themselves threatened (Gaventa 1995). Mary's primary role is to accomplish the prophecy of Matthew 1:23 in line with the ruling principle of Matthew's Gospel: the portrayal of Jesus as the fulfillment of Scripture.

Outside the infancy narrative, the references to Mary in Matthew's Gospel occur during the ministry and are parallels to Mark 3:30-35; 6:1-6 (Mt 12:46-50; 13:53-58). Most scholars who comment on these passages do point out that Matthew omits the negative reference to the family of Jesus, though some (e.g., Donahue and Harrington; Meier) place more emphasis on the fact that Jesus is stressing that physical kinship is not the important relationship in terms of the kingdom. W. Davies and D. Allison point out the modifications in Matthew's version that place the mother (and brothers) of Jesus in a more favorable light, and they also comment on the necessity of reading the later two passages in terms of the way Matthew has portrayed Mary in the first two chapters of his Gospel (*see* Birth of Jesus).

3. The Gospel of Luke.

The author of Luke's Gospel depicts Mary the mother of Jesus in a much more positive light. In the infancy narrative she is the highly favored one (Lk 1:28) who replies to the announcement of the *angel with complete acceptance. She is blessed among women because she has believed what was spoken to her by the Lord (Lk 1:42, 45), and the declaration of her blessedness and her believing is placed on the lips of Elizabeth, the first character in Luke's Gospel to recognize Jesus as "my Lord" (Lk 1:43). The translation "Here am I, the slave of the Lord" (Lk 1:38) (Gaventa 1995) highlights Mary's wholehearted response to the announcement of Gabriel. Gaventa sees Mary as *disciple, prophet and mother, whose final appearance in Acts, where she is gathered with the faithful disciples after the *resurrection, resolves the somewhat ambiguous portrayal of her within the Gospel after the infancy narrative section.

J. Green argues that in its presentation of Mary in the birth narrative Luke's Gospel only appears to mimic the social and cultural dimensions of the ancient Mediterranean world; accordingly, those cultural norms are overturned when status is redefined

in relation to the household of God: "Not least in this way, the portrait of Mary in Luke 1,5-2,42 portends the nature of salvation and the norms of the community of God's people to be developed more fully subsequently in Luke-Acts" (Green 1992, 471). Elsewhere, Green views Mary not simply as an exemplary disciple, but rather as an "accessible exemplar" whose presentation within Luke 1-2 invites the reader to ponder with her, to rethink and re-imagine what it means to be people of God, and thus to become open to "a way of perceiving the world and life in it that runs counter to the world of normal perception" (Green 2002, 18). T. Seim likewise argues that the Spirit reverses social status in Luke-Acts. B. Wilson points out a particular overturning of perspectives in the radical disjuncture between Mary and her predecessors Jael and Judith: "Like Mary, believers are to hear and act on the message of peace proclaimed by the fruit of her womb—Jesus the Christ, the prince of peace" (Wilson, 456).

At several points, Luke creates interesting gender parallels with Mary and a male figure. Within the infancy narrative Mary, the lowly Jewish maiden who is declared blessed because she has believed, is contrasted with Zechariah, the priest who is chided by the angel for his lack of belief (Lk 1:20). Like Zechariah, Mary proclaims the greatness of the Lord, who brings down the powerful and lifts up the lowly, who saves God's people from their enemies and from the hands of those who hate them. In another pairing, perhaps an intentional frame for the birth and death of Jesus, Mary wraps the infant in swaddling clothes and lays him in a borrowed manger because there is no room in the guest room (Lk 2:7); after Jesus' death, Joseph of Arimathea takes Jesus' body, wraps it in a linen cloth, and lays it in a previously unused tomb (Lk 24:53) (*see* Burial of Jesus). Luke shows how Jesus can bring blessings to the socially and religiously prominent as well as the poor, how he can bring them together in a new kind of family that transcends physical ties, and Mary is a prominent character in this depiction.

Zechariah, Joseph of Arimathea and Mary the mother of Jesus learn to mature in *faith, but Mary, at a much earlier age (in terms of the narrative), seems to recognize the need for such growth. The greeting of the angel perplexes her, so she reflects on it (Lk 1:29), listens attentively to what the angel says, and replies with her statement of faithful submission to God's plan. B. Reid has suggested that Mary might have been troubled because great demands are made on those who find favor with God. After hearing the report of the angel's annunciation to the shepherds

that her son will be Savior, Messiah and Lord (Lk 2:19), she treasures the words and ponders them. Nonetheless, though warned by Simeon that a sword will pierce her soul, she is distraught when the twelve-year-old Jesus is missing and does not understand when he tells her he must be about his Father's business; but again, "His mother treasured all these things in her heart" (Lk 2:41-52).

Thus, when Mary appears, or fails to appear, at several points in Jesus' ministry, particularly the two episodes in which she seems unfavorably depicted in Mark, Luke has, much more strongly than Matthew, prepared the reader to understand that Mary clearly belongs to Jesus' eschatological family.

In Luke's version of the logion of Jesus on membership in his eschatological family (Lk 8:19-21) both the form and context of the saying have been altered compared to what is found in Mark 3:20-35. Luke explains that Jesus' mother and brothers are "outside" because the large crowd makes it impossible for them to reach Jesus, thus mitigating the contrast between the family outside and those who are inside. Luke omits the question "Who are my mother and brothers?" as well as Jesus' gesture of looking at the disciples before stating, "My mother and my brothers are those who hear the word of God and do it." Upon being informed that his family is outside, Jesus immediately utters a positive statement that, in the context, seems most clearly to refer to his mother and brothers. Like Matthew, Luke has completely omitted the preceding passage in Mark about Jesus being out of his mind and has moved the Beelzebul controversy to another place. In addition, he has the parable of the sower and seed precede Luke 8:19-21, so that the family of Jesus can be taken as illustrations of the seed that has fallen on good soil.

The final reference to the mother of Jesus within the Gospel of Luke, the macarism of Luke 11:27-28, is unique to Luke's Gospel. While some scholars detect a contrast between the saying of the woman and the logion of Jesus, J. Fitzmyer and others point out that the sense of the particle *menoun*, usually translated as "rather," can mean either "no, rather" or "yes, but even more," and they opt for the second possibility. They therefore insist that this passage must be read in the light of Elizabeth's declaration that Mary is blessed not simply because she has physically given birth to Jesus, but because she has believed. Mary appears one last time in Acts, where she is numbered together with the disciples and others, about 120 altogether, who remained in Jerusalem after Jesus' ascension, unified in prayer.

4. The Gospel of John.

In the Fourth Gospel the mother of Jesus is mentioned in three places: the Cana narrative and transitional verse immediately following (Jn 2:1-11, 12), a brief reference in Jn 6:42, and the scene at the foot of the cross (Jn 19:25-27). Gaventa takes issue with Protestant interpretations of John 19:25-27 that presume Jesus' emotional attachment and devotion to his mother, as well as Catholic interpretations that regard the mother of Jesus as a symbol of the church; rather, she suggests a contrasting emphasis in comparing the portrayal of Mary in the Cana narrative and in the crucifixion scene (Gaventa 2002). She points out three roles of the mother of Jesus in the Cana story. In terms of the plot, the mother of Jesus sets the stage for the transformation of water into wine. However, to balance the notion that Jesus only had a kind of docetic existence, a notion that might be inferred from the prologue of this Gospel, the interaction of Jesus with his mother affirms his humanness: "Commentators sometimes assert that the Cana miracle separates Jesus from his mother, yet it is also true that the Cana miracle and the passage that precedes it *invest* Jesus with a human mother and father and brothers and home" (Gaventa 2002, 49). Finally, her request and Jesus' response anticipate the "hour" of the crucifixion. However, in the crucifixion narrative, "When Jesus' mother and the Beloved Disciple are given to one another and depart the scene, Jesus' connections to earthly existence likewise depart from John's gospel. Her role in this incident, then, has to do with Jesus' separation from his earthly life. . . . Yet perhaps something more can be said about Mary's very presence at the cross. If the mother of Jesus is not a sign of Jesus' devotion to family or a symbol for the church, she may nevertheless instruct readers about the place of believers at the cross. By contrast with Peter's denial of Jesus, his mother and her companions serve as the first witnesses to the fulfillment of Jesus' prophecy that he would be 'lifted up' (John 3:14; 8:28; 12:32)" (Gaventa 2002, 50).

Finally, it might be fruitful to further consider the comment about the mother of Jesus in John 6:42 as a possible link between the Cana narrative and the scene at the foot of the cross. While this comment seems to refer only in passing to the mother of Jesus, one of its purposes, from a narrative standpoint, may be to draw attention to the fact that those who claim to "know" the mother of Jesus do not really understand her, any more than they "know" his father, any more than the darkness grasps the light. The Fourth Gospel has a Jewish flavor, and "to

know” had many layers of meaning in ancient Israel. Who the mother of Jesus is will become known at the foot of the cross, where she is challenged far more strongly than at Cana to display unequivocal trust in her son’s word. At the foot of the cross she does not speak, but her earlier response, and the clue that she is not really “known” in John 6:42, from a narrative standpoint could indicate that her trust has grown so strong that she does not need to voice any request.

5. Conclusion.

The Gospel of Mark, generally considered to be the earliest Gospel, seems to present the least favorable view of the mother of Jesus, though how unfavorable that view is depends on how one interprets Mark 3:19b-21. There seems to be some indication of differing views regarding the mother of Jesus in the pre-Markan tradition. The suggestion that the treatment of Mary in this Gospel is reflective of the disorientation, but also reorientation, of family life that occurred among those who first heard the Christian message and were challenged by it is apropos (Johnson). However, there is no certainty about the way the mother of Jesus was regarded during the ministry of Jesus.

It seems clear that the author of Matthew’s Gospel has deliberately modified the most offensive references in Mark, and the portrayal of Mary in the first two chapters of Matthew’s Gospel is generally viewed as positive and perhaps as an indication that in an earlier, even pre-Markan, period the virginal conception of Jesus was accepted, and thus Mary was highly regarded. The author of Luke-Acts has gone even further in modifying the offensive passages in Mark, and within the infancy narratives the author has declared Mary blessed because she has believed. She is also portrayed as growing in understanding because she takes time to ponder the way God has entered her life; in addition, just as the Holy Spirit comes upon Mary in the conception of Jesus, Mary and the Holy Spirit are present at the “birth” of the church depicted in Acts. Some regard this as an indication that she was highly regarded within the church at or before the time of the composition of Luke-Acts.

In the Gospel of John, as in Luke, though she appears in only two scenes and elsewhere is mentioned but once, Mary is portrayed as at least a believer who grows in faith. Gaventa contends that the portrayal of Mary in the Gospel of John can be a corrective to a Protestant tendency to relegate Mary to the frequently sentimental emphasis on the in-

fancy narratives: “Considering Matthew and Luke in light of John’s Gospel reveals that . . . the others foreshadow the cross with their treatment of Mary even at Jesus’ birth. . . . Theologically this connection between Mary and the cross reinforces the scandal of the gospel, that is, the scandal of God’s Son enduring humiliation, rejection, and death at human hands. Not only did Jesus’ birth necessitate explanation, but his death did as well” (Gaventa 2002, 47). Indeed, Mary “stands close by the cross even before her son is born” (Gaventa 2002, 53).

See also BIRTH OF JESUS; FAMILY; WOMEN.

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MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF

The Gospel of Matthew has been a favorite of the church throughout history, not least because of its accent on the teachings of Jesus. In fact, the *Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5—7) is one of the most well-known and best-loved portions of Jesus’ teachings in any Gospel. Matthew’s purpose for writing to followers of Jesus toward the end of the first century A.D. is to portray Jesus as God’s authorized Messiah (see Christ), who teaches and enacts the reign of God, and who ushers in the *kingdom through his self-giving ministry and *death. For Matthew, Jesus’ messianic identity and mission are vindicated in his *resurrection, as God gives him all *authority (Mt 28:18). The evangelist seeks to engender in his readers and hearers ongoing covenant loyalty to Jesus as well as faithfulness to the commission to “make disciples of all the nations” (Mt 28:19). Matthew indicates that Jesus’ presence provides the hope and power for his followers to carry out his *mission (Mt 1:23; 28:20).

1. Literary Features and Questions
2. Historical Issues
3. Theological Themes and Messages
4. Conclusion

1. Literary Features and Questions.

1.1. Genre. Matthew fits within the parameters of Greco-Roman biography in many ways. Recent work has demonstrated that the four Gospels cohere with genre expectations for biography in their broad strokes both in form and content (Burridge) (see Gospel: Genre), although Luke presents some unique issues regarding this classification (see Luke, Gospel of). In form, they are of the usual length of a biography, address the topic of a single person, and follow a broad chronological outline filled in with stories and topically arranged sayings. In content, they include an array of geographical settings as they follow the main character, move fairly quickly from introductory matters to the figure’s public debut, and spend considerable space narrating the death of the main character (Burridge, 185-212).

Yet all four Gospels, Matthew included, have unique features that are attributable to their Jewish context and subject matter as well as their goal of shaping the ecclesial communities for which they were written (whether these were quite narrow and specific or more broad in scope [see 2.2 below]). The pervasive use of the OT in Matthew, for example, provides a unique starting point for understanding its genre. As N. T. Wright suggests, the Gospels are “Jewish-style biographies, designed to show the quintessence of Israel’s story played out in a single life. . . . The gospels are therefore the story of Jesus *told as the history of Israel in miniature*” (Wright, 402). If the Gospels purport to be a continuation of Israel’s Scriptures and story, then an appropriate reading strategy attends to the ways Matthew uses OT text and stories. Matthew’s intended audience, the church, also informs the evangelist’s telling of the Jesus story. Matthew is an ecclesial document and is intended to shape the life and practices of the Gospel’s audience.

1.2. Structure. A number of proposals are suggested for Matthew’s structure, not because of a lack of structural clues but because of the abundance of such indicators. The two primary proposals follow two different repeated phrases in Matthew. The first formula occurs five times across the Gospel (Mt 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; 26:1). In each case, it concludes one of Matthew’s five major discourses of Jesus’ teaching: “And it happened that when Jesus had finished [these teachings]” (*kai egeneto hote etelesen ho Iêsous [tous logous toutous]*). The use of this formula highlights the alternation in Matthew between narrative and discourse, with the five major sections focusing on Jesus’ teaching occurring in Matthew 5—7; 10; 13; 18; 24—25. B. Bacon highlighted the five-

fold formula and suggested that, by this structure, Matthew intended to mirror the Pentateuch, with its five books. Nevertheless, most scholars who consider this fivefold formula to be the central organizing principle of Matthew do not follow the latter part of Bacon's structural proposal.

The other formula that has been suggested as an organizing frame for Matthew occurs twice (Mt 4:17; 16:21): "From that time forward, Jesus began to . . ." (*apo tote êrxato ho Iêsous* + infinitive). J. Kingsbury has suggested that, although less frequent than the fivefold formula, this twofold formula is primary given its narrational character (Kingsbury 1988). In other words, the temporal emphasis of this formula clearly delineates what has gone before from what follows in Matthew's story line. According to Matthew 4:17, Jesus begins to preach about the nearness of the kingdom. This proclamation sets the agenda for Jesus' entire Galilean ministry (Mt 4:17–16:20). At Matthew 16:21 the evangelist narrates that Jesus began to show his disciples the necessity of his passion, death and resurrection, which summarizes the narrative movement of the rest of the Gospel (*see* Predictions of Jesus' Passion and Resurrection).

Earlier support for a geographic outline of Matthew (e.g., Galilean ministry in Mt 4–16; journey to Jerusalem in Mt 16–20; and Jerusalem in Mt 21–28) has given way to the more narrational framing suggested by Kingsbury. D. Bauer and others have attempted to bring together both formulae in their structural proposals, but scholars typically favor one or the other for their overarching framing of Matthew. The outline below follows Kingsbury's emphasis on the twofold narrative formula, with added attention to how the discourses function within this framework. The suggested outline is heuristic for understanding the narrative pattern of Matthew's Gospel, with no presumption that Matthew wrote with this precise outline in mind. Rather, G. Stanton is likely correct that the abundance of structural markers (for additional examples, see 1.4 below) indicates the oral/aural reception of the First Gospel. Such regular and various markers assist in a communal reading of the Gospel, providing a variety of starting and stopping points for its continued public use (Stanton, 74–75).

- 1:1–4:16 Jesus' Identity and Preparation for Ministry
 - 1:1–2:23 Birth and Infancy
 - 3:1–4:16 Baptism and Temptation

- 4:17–16:20 Jesus' Announcement of the Kingdom to Israel and Resulting Responses

- 4:17–11:1 Proclamation of the Kingdom in Word and Action

- 4:17–25 Summary of Jesus' Message and Ministry

- 5:1–7:29 *Jesus' First Discourse: The Sermon on the Mount*

- 8:1–9:38 Jesus' Enactment of the Kingdom

- 10:1–11:1 *Jesus' Second Discourse: The Mission Discourse*

- 11:2–16:20 Rejection by Leaders and Jesus' Withdrawal from Conflict to Ministry

- 11:2–12:50 Rejection of Jesus as Messiah by Jewish Leaders

- 13:1–53 *Jesus' Third Discourse: The Parables Discourse*

- 13:54–16:20 Continued Conflict and Emerging Identity

- 16:21–28:20 Jesus to Jerusalem: Kingdom Enactment through Death and Resurrection

- 16:21–20:28 Journey to the Cross and Teaching on Discipleship

- 16:21–17:27 Cross Predicted and Discipleship Defined

- 18:1–35 *Jesus' Fourth Discourse: The Community Discourse*

- 19:1–20:28 Nearing Jerusalem: Illustrations of Discipleship

- 20:29–25:46 Final Proclamation, Confrontation and Judgment in Jerusalem

- 20:29–22:46 Jesus' Royal Arrival and Controversies with Jerusalem Leaders

- 23:1–39 Judgment on Jewish Leadership: Woes to the Scribes and Pharisees

- 24:1–25:46 *Jesus' Fifth Discourse: The Eschatological Discourse*

- 26:1–28:20 Jesus' Execution by Rome and Resurrection/Vindication by God

- 26:1–56 Prelude to the Cross: Betrayal and Desertion

- 26:57–27:26 Jesus on Trial

- 27:27–66 Jesus' Crucifixion, Death and Burial

- 28:1–20 Resurrection as Vindication and Commissioning of the Disciples

1.3. Plot Overview.

1.3.1. *Matthew 1:1–4:16.* In the first major section of Matthew the author introduces Jesus, identifying him as (1) the Davidic Messiah; (2) the one who brings *Israel's restoration from *exile and hope for the Gentiles; (3) the obedient son representing Is-

rael; (4) "God with us." Matthew begins with Jesus' *genealogy and his conception by the Spirit and then moves to the threat that his kingship poses to Herod. God authorizes, protects and guides Jesus as Israel's child-king in the face of political threats. In Matthew 3 the author introduces John's baptizing ministry to Israel and Jesus' solidarity with Israel in pursuing baptism by John. God's commendation of Jesus at his baptism highlights his sonship, as does Jesus' obedience in response to the wilderness *temptations (Mt 4:1-11). Matthew emphasizes Jesus' identity as the faithful *Son of God, fulfilling Israel's call to covenant faithfulness, which includes being a light to the Gentiles (Mt 4:13-16).

1.3.2. *Matthew 4:17-16:20.* This second major section focuses on Jesus' announcement of God's reign and the responses that it generates in his Galilean ministry. Jesus teaches about covenantal faithfulness in light of the coming-near kingdom (Mt 5-7) and does miracles (especially healings) as an enactment of this kingdom (Mt 8-9). Jesus then empowers and instructs his disciples to follow his pattern of *healing people and preaching about the coming kingdom (Mt 10). Matthew narrates the growing rejection of Jesus' ministry by Jewish leaders and the ambivalence more generally from crowds in Matthew 11:2-16:20. This ambivalence is explained as Jesus reveals more about God's kingdom, including its manifestation in two stages, so that its present expression has a hidden quality (Mt 13). Yet for those with ears to hear and eyes to see, Jesus is revealed to be the Messiah, the inaugurator of God's reign (cf. Mt 16:16). In his teachings and healings people of faith can see the authority and compassion of the *God of Israel.

1.3.3. *Matthew 16:21-28:20.* In the final turn of the Gospel Matthew narrates Jesus' journey to *Jerusalem to fulfill his mission to be a "ransom for many" (Mt 20:28). In Matthew 16:21-20:28 Jesus predicts his coming death (Mt 16:21; 17:22-23; 20:17-19) and teaches his *disciples that they are to follow his example of service without thought of personal status or gain. Jesus enters Jerusalem as the Messiah, symbolically enacting Zechariah's vision of a peaceable and humble king (Mt 21:1-11). He indicts the Jerusalem leadership for their mismanagement of the temple and their misguided leadership of the people, demonstrating his authority to do so by virtue of his identity as Messiah and *Lord (Mt 21:12-22:46). Through his predictions of the temple's destruction and of his reappearing at the time of final *judgment, Jesus calls his followers to live faithfully and mercifully in preparation for what is to come

(Mt 23:1-25:46). Matthew details the events leading up to Jesus' execution by *Rome instigated by the Jewish leadership. Jesus fulfills his mission to be Israel's messiah-king through self-sacrifice rather than by asserting his God-given power (Mt 26:1-27:66). His messianic identity and mission are vindicated when God raises him from the dead and gives him universal authority (Mt 28:1-18). The final scene finds Jesus commissioning his followers, empowered by his presence, to disciple all nations (Mt 28:19-20).

1.4. *Literary and Rhetorical Features.* Matthew's choice to write a narrative about Jesus means that basic story features such as setting, characters and plot are fruitful areas for literary analysis. Additionally, Matthew draws upon various rhetorical and literary features (e.g., *inclusio*, use of the OT, choices in arrangement and sequencing) to narrate the story of Jesus. The following literary and rhetorical examples are suggestive rather than exhaustive for understanding Matthew.

Settings are important for any story, and the First Gospel is no exception. One setting that receives attention in Matthew and has some theological import is the *mountain. Key revelatory and eschatological moments occur on mountains—for example, the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:1), the *transfiguration (Mt 17:1) and Jesus' final commissioning of his disciples (Mt 28:16) (see also Mt 14:23; 15:29; 24:3). According to T. Donaldson, the theological significance of this setting is Matthew's eschatological assumption that "in Jesus and his ministry all of the hopes which had been associated with [Mount] Zion have been fulfilled" (Donaldson, 199).

In addition to Jesus, characters that are prominent in Matthew include the disciples (with special attention to Peter), Jewish leaders (especially Pharisees), various supplicants or seekers that approach Jesus for healing (e.g., Mt 8:1; 9:2, 18, 20, 27) and a few, positively portrayed Gentiles (Mt 8:5; 15:22; 27:19) who contrast with Pilate and Herod (who, though placed as king over the Jews [Mt 2:1], is aligned with Roman interests and power) (see Herodian Dynasty). The disciples, for instance, are portrayed as Jesus' followers and companions for most of the story, which makes their desertion (and denial/betrayal) of Jesus at his arrest and trial all the more poignant. The disciples, conceived at almost every point as the Twelve (see Apostle), are characterized as those who have "little faith" (*oligopistos* [e.g., Mt 8:26; 16:8; 17:20]). They are also portrayed as frequently misunderstanding Jesus' teaching about the kingdom (Mt 15:15-16; 16:5-11; 18:5 cf. Mt 19:13) as

well as the nature of his identity as the Messiah (Mt 16:21-22; 17:22-23; 20:17-20) (Brown 2002). Peter, as representative of the Twelve, is portrayed as “first among equals” (Kingsbury 1979, 80). Given the individual attention that Peter receives in the First Gospel, his portrayal moves him from a “flat” characterization to one that has more complexities and invites a greater level of identification by Matthew’s readers (Burnett).

Matthew’s plot follows in broad strokes the contours of Mark and, specifically, the baptism and temptation accounts (expanded in Matthew), Jesus’ Galilean ministry, the announcements about and traveling to Jerusalem, and Jesus’ passion, death and resurrection. In Matthew’s shaping, however, the Galilean ministry focuses almost exclusively on the mission to Israel (Mt 10:5-6; 15:24), with Jesus’ healing of Gentiles limited to the accounts of the centurion’s servant and the Canaanite woman’s daughter (Mt 8:5-13; 15:21-28). Additionally, Matthew inserts major teaching blocks into Mark’s basic story line (see below).

In telling this story of Jesus, Matthew uses a number of rhetorical features to highlight themes across his Gospel. The evangelist uses *inclusio* at a number of points, a bracketing feature that bookends a section of text. The most prominent *inclusio* occurs at Matthew 1:23 and Matthew 28:20 (the final verse of the Gospel), in which the theme of Jesus as “God with us” is emphasized. Another *inclusio* occurs at Matthew 4:23 and Matthew 9:35, bracketing and highlighting the teaching and healing ministry of Jesus that is the focus of these chapters (Mt 5–9) (U. Luz suggests this as the outer ring of a more elaborate chiasmic structure that has the Lord’s Prayer at its center [Luz, 1:165, 172-73]). Other examples of *inclusio* on a smaller scale include the alignment of “the deeds of the Messiah” and wisdom’s deeds in Matthew 11:2, 19 to signal a wisdom Christology (see 3.2.2 below). In the community discourse (Mt 18:1-35) the language “in their midst” (*en mesō autōn*) bookends Jesus’ response to the disciples’ initial question in the first half of the community discourse (Mt 18:2, 20). The repetition of Jesus’ saying about the inversion of “the first” and “the last” (Mt 19:30; 20:16) forms an *inclusio* around the parable of the workers in Matthew 20:1-15 to highlight the unexpected nature of status in the kingdom (Brown 2002, 87).

Another literary feature of Matthew is his attention to OT citations. Specifically, Matthew includes ten fulfillment quotations, with a formulaic introduction to the effect, “so that the word [of the Lord]

through the prophet [name] might be fulfilled, saying” (Mt 1:22-23; 2:15; 2:17-18; 2:23; 4:14-16; 8:17; 12:17-21; 13:35; 21:4-5; 27:9; cf. also 2:5; 3:3; 13:14-15). Additionally, Matthew cites or alludes to the OT many more times across his Gospel to highlight the theme of fulfillment (see 3.1.1 below). As R. Beaton suggests, OT quotations in Matthew function on both the story level of the narrative and the discourse level (Beaton, 5). On the latter level by which Matthew communicates with his audience, themes and theological motifs are developed and emphasized (see Narrative Criticism).

In terms of sequencing and arrangement, Matthew has a penchant for groupings of three across his Gospel. For example, the opening *genealogy is structured in three units of fourteen generations to emphasize Davidic kingship and exile to Babylon from Israel’s history, both of which lead to Israel’s restoration in the Messiah (Mt 1:2-17). Matthew 8–9 is structured around three groups of three *miracle stories each, focusing the reader’s attention on the *authority and compassion of Jesus to heal and rescue (Mt 8:1-17; 8:23–9:8; 9:18-34). And the evangelist includes three *parables in Matthew 21–22 that focus on the Jewish leadership’s rejection of Jesus (Mt 21:28-32; 21:33-46; 22:1-14) and three parables in Matthew 25 that address the importance of being ready for the final judgment (Mt 25:31-32).

Another example of a significant feature of arrangement in Matthew is the grouping of Jesus’ teachings primarily into five major blocks (Mt 5:1–7:29; 10:1–11:1; 13:1-53; 18:1-35; 24:1–25:46). As indicated earlier (see 1.2 above), these five major discourses are signaled by the fivefold formula that concludes each discourse and transitions to the subsequent narrative block (Bauer). Although each major discourse has a different focus, the theme of God’s reign is accented in each of them.

Matthew 5–7: The Sermon on the Mount—Jesus’ Kingdom Manifesto

Matthew 10: The Mission Discourse—The Disciples’ Kingdom Mission

Matthew 13: The Parables Discourse—Kingdom Disclosure of Already/Not Yet

Matthew 18: The Community Discourse—The Community Embodying the Kingdom

Matthew 24–25: The Eschatological Discourse—Temple’s Fall and Kingdom’s Full Arrival Predicted

The Matthean discourses can be understood as providing progressive illumination of the nature and values of God's kingdom as the story proceeds to its culmination. The reference at the very end of Matthew to discipling all the nations by "teaching them to keep everything that I have commanded you" (Mt 28:20) points back to all the teachings of Jesus narrated in the First Gospel. Yet, since Jesus' teachings are intentionally grouped primarily in these five major blocks, there is a particular focus on these specific teachings in their shape and content. Additionally, these five discourses, through their rhetorical shaping, draw Matthew's audience into hearing Jesus' teachings as directed toward them quite particularly (Brown 2005).

2. Historical Issues.

2.1. Authorship. The Gospel of Matthew is an anonymous biography of Jesus. Its earliest attributions are to Matthew, one of Jesus' twelve apostles. The title, *kata Maththaion*, was probably added no later than A.D. 100, likely when it was combined with the other three canonical Gospels for circulation (Luz, 1:59; S. Gathercole argues for the inclusion of *euaggelion* in the title based on evidence from P⁴). The title was most likely added to distinguish this Gospel from the other three canonical Gospels once combined (though D. Turner suggests that it was original to the Gospel).

The other early attribution comes from Papias, a bishop in Asia Minor, writing sometime in the first third of the second century. His writing on the topic is referenced in and partially cited by the church historian Eusebius (d. 339). The relevant quotation from Papias reads, "Matthew collected [*synetaxato*] the oracles [*ta logia*] in the Hebrew language [or 'Semitic style'] [*Hebraidi dialektō*], and each person translated [or 'interpreted'] [*hērmēneusen*] them as he was able" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16).

There is no consensus in Matthean scholarship as to what Papias's *logion* refers to and whether it accurately represents the writing situation of the First Gospel. A few observations on the specifics of the quotation can be made. First, "oracles" (*ta logia*) probably refers to the whole Gospel, at least for Eusebius, given his reference to Mark as an "arrangement of the Lord's oracles [*ta logia*]" just prior to the Matthean discussion (for the idea that *logia* refers to unique Matthean material of the sayings of Jesus, see Hagner, xlv-xlvi). Regarding the reference to "the Hebrew language," although certainly Jesus' Aramaic teachings would have been translated into Greek at an early stage in the tradition history, there

is no compelling evidence that the Gospel of Matthew is a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic (although, see Davies and Allison, 1:12). Especially if Mark is a primary source for Matthew's Gospel, any theory of Matthew having been originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic falters. Finally, according to R. Gundry (though not supported by a majority of scholars), *hērmēneusen* might be better rendered as "interpreted." If so, then the Hebraic aspect of Matthew (*Hebraidi dialektō*) could be better understood as Hebraic style rather than a translation from Hebrew (Gundry, 619). Alternately, R. T. France proposes that this part of Papias's testimony, though not its reference to Matthean authorship, is likely simply inaccurate: "These two aspects of the tradition [Matthean authorship and translation from Hebrew], while they regularly occur together, are not logically connected" (France 1989, 66).

Scholars are also divided on how much weight to give the Papias tradition for determining the authorship of the First Gospel. While some question whether Eusebius's provision of Papias's testimony should be given much weight (e.g., Eusebius himself questions the veracity of Papias), others suggest that the Papias tradition should be granted its due significance (Albright and Mann, clxxix). If the Gospel's title and the attestation by Papias are at least suggestive of Matthean authorship, another obstacle to attribution to an apostle is Matthew's use of Mark. U. Luz, representative of many scholars, avers that an eyewitness to Jesus' life would hardly use a non-eyewitness as a primary source (Luz, 1:59). Yet this argument may reflect modern sensibilities rather than ancient ones, in which literary borrowing of this sort was quite acceptable (Gundry, 621). Additionally, no one denies that Mark contains eyewitness testimony drawn from Jesus traditions circulating in oral form (with Papias claiming that Mark wrote down Peter's recollections). So Matthew's use of Mark does not exactly qualify as non-eyewitness source reliance (cf. Lk 1:1-4).

In the end, scholarship is divided on whether the apostle Matthew is the author of the First Gospel. While some claim that Matthean authorship is likely (e.g., France; Gundry), many argue against this attribution, claiming there is no clear historical evidence for it (e.g., Luz; Carter). D. Hagner, taking a mediating position, draws on Papias's testimony to suggest that "Matthew the apostle is . . . probably the source of an early form of significant portions of the Gospel, in particular the sayings of Jesus, but perhaps even some of the narrative material" (Hagner, lxxvii).

Yet in the final analysis, determination of authorship is not essential to the interpretation of the First Gospel, since biography as a genre points away from its author toward its subject. The implied author—the author or narrator discernable from the text itself—is a more helpful construct for interpretation of Matthew than any hypothetical reconstruction of the empirical author. The implied author is a conceptual tool from narrative criticism that focuses on the author presupposed by the narrative itself. Construction of an implied author does not require determination of an empirical author but is instead a textually derived construct. For example, the implied author of the Gospel of Matthew highlights Jesus as fulfillment of OT hopes by quite a number of OT citations and fulfillment quotations (e.g., Mt 1:22-23) and by portraying Jesus as fully faithful to the Torah (Mt 5:17; 12:1-14) (see Old Testament in the Gospels). The implied author is the one who uses the story of Jesus to communicate with and shape the implied reader of Matthew's Gospel (for the corresponding concept of the implied reader, see *narrative criticism).

2.2. Audience. Most scholars consider that Matthew was writing to a Jewish audience that had been persuaded that Jesus was God's Messiah. The frequently used fulfillment quotations, emphasis on Jesus as fulfilling the Torah, and the omission of explanation of Jewish customs from Mark (e.g., Mt 15:2 // Mk 7:3-4), provide some of the rationale for the determination of a Jewish audience (although, for the view that Matthew's audience is largely Gentile in composition, see Hare, 2).

It may be that the house church(es) making up Matthew's audience were at the initial stages of embarking on a Gentile mission, given the clear commissioning of its readers and hearers to all "the nations" (*ethnē*) in Matthew 28:19 (e.g., Stanton, 139-40). Balancing the particularism and universalism of this Gospel (Hagner, lxv), a number of scholars have fine-tuned the precise relationship between Matthew's audience and Gentiles. For Luz, the audience is on the cusp of a mission to Gentiles because of Israel's rejection of the message about Jesus (Luz, 1:50). According to D. Sim, Matthew's audience is not necessarily itself involved in a Gentile mission, though it sees this mission as a valid endeavor (Sim, 245). Sim also highlights that Matthew's audience is "anti-Gentile," in that they sought separation from Gentiles unless the latter converted to Judaism in their embrace of Jesus as the Messiah (Sim, 246). A. Saldarini has a similar perspective on this final point, with Gentiles being peripheral to but included

in Matthew's vision of "reformed Judaism" and expected to affirm the Torah (Saldarini, 83).

The relationship between Matthew's audience and *Judaism more broadly (or with other groups within Judaism of the late first century A.D.) is also a matter of debate within Matthean studies. Earlier scholarship had suggested that Matthew's audience has already separated from the parent body of Judaism by the time of the writing of the First Gospel. Some scholars continue to see Matthew addressing his audience, which is quite distinct from mainstream Judaism of the late first century. In this view, the Gospel is written to address those who have already separated from the Jewish synagogue system (Hare; Stanton; Luz).

Yet a number of scholars have sketched a portrait of the Matthean audience in which their interactions with their Jewish neighbors is an intramural conversation and debate (e.g., Overman; Repschinski; Saldarini; Sim). In this view, Matthew's audience is located squarely within Judaism of the late first century, potentially in vigorous conflict with "formative Judaism" (Sim, 109). Responding to this intramural debate, Matthew draws on Jewish sources of authority "to legitimate his particular form of Judaism" (Saldarini, 7-8). This set of perspectives that locates Matthew's audience within the (wide) boundaries of the Judaism(s) of its day avoids locating a "parting of the ways" between Christianity and Judaism in the mid- to late first century. Increasingly, Gospels scholarship has pushed back this "parting of the ways" until after A.D. 135 (Bar Kokhba revolt) or even until the time of Constantine, when Christianity becomes the official religion of Rome. From this perspective, "Most mid first-century believers-in-Jesus were Jews, and even at the end of the first century a substantial minority still were. Even after most Christians were non-Jewish in background, Jews and Christians rubbed shoulders, fought with one another for acceptance and status, and sometimes cooperated" (Saldarini, 194).

In addition to locating Matthew's audience in relation to Judaism, various proposals have been suggested for the particular social location of Matthew's audience. *Redaction criticism had sketched a proposed audience—a singular Matthean community—from which the Gospel arose and to which it was written. This community's particular features could be determined by redaction analysis. For example, Gundry suggests that the Matthean community is a persecuted, mixed Christian community (true and false believers together) with strong Jewish ties (Gundry, 5). Narrative critics, though more hesitant

to draw a picture of Matthew's audience from particular details of the Gospel, have attempted to sketch the Matthean audience from their narrative reading of the Gospel. For example, Kingsbury suggests that the implied reader of Matthew provides an approximate "index" of the empirical audience. In his sketch of that audience he suggests they were (1) made up of both Jews and Gentiles; (2) city dwellers (possibly Antioch); (3) fairly prosperous; (4) outside of official Judaism but persecuted by it; and (5) experiencing internal struggles with miracle-working false prophets (Kingsbury 1988, 147-60). In both of these proposals a single community in a single location is presumed.

More recently, R. Bauckham, along with other scholars, has suggested that the assumption of rather narrow and specific communities for each of the Gospels, arising from the redaction critical method, is incorrect (Bauckham 1998b). Bauckham argues from the genre of Gospel as biography that the Gospels are intended for a broader audience and wider distribution (so also Stanton, 51). Although Bauckham's proposal has met with ongoing critique (e.g., Last), the associations among early Christian communities support the conclusion that Matthew was written for wider distribution than for the exhortation of a single community (e.g., Rom 16:1-2; 1 Cor 16:1-4) (see also Thompson).

2.3. Date and Provenance. Dating Matthew is a suggestive rather than a definitive enterprise and involves assessing a number of factors, including (1) dependence among the Synoptic Gospels (see Synoptic Problem); (2) reference and/or relation to the fall of *Jerusalem in A.D. 70; and (3) dependence on the canonical Gospels in Christian writings of the early second century. If Matthew draws on Mark as a source, as is quite likely, then Matthew must postdate Mark. If Mark writes just prior to the destruction of the temple, this would provide a range for Matthew of approximately A.D. 70-85, although there are scholars who suggests dates both before and after this range (e.g., A.D. 85-95 [Sim, 40]; A.D. 58-69 [Blomberg, 42]). Although some have understood Matthew to reflect certain pre-A.D. 70 interests (e.g., the inclusion of Mt 17:24-27), others have observed evidence of a post-A.D. 70 date at Matthew 22:7; 24:15-20. Luz argues for a date for writing not much later than A.D. 80, given familiarity with Matthew seen in early church writings such as the *Didache* and the letters of Ignatius (Luz, 1:58-59).

Determining Matthew's provenance is a fairly speculative venture, taking its clues from some gen-

eral observations about the Gospel's language and reconstructed social milieu. Antioch in Syria has been regularly offered as the location of origin, given its large Jewish population, Greek language use and early Christian presence (e.g., Acts 13:1-3) (see Garland, 3). Other suggested venues range from Jerusalem to Sephoris or Tiberius in *Galilee (Carter, 15-16).

2.4. Historical Contextual Features. Given that the Gospels are "cultural products" (Green, 19), understanding the shape of their cultural milieu is important for their interpretation. Although the Greco-Roman and Jewish facets of the world of the first century A.D. are not easily disentangled, these settings can be discussed separately for heuristic purposes. A few examples of helpful areas for exploration are provided below for each setting.

2.4.1. Matthew's Greco-Roman Setting. Prominent features of the first-century A.D. Greco-Roman world for study of the Gospels include (1) long-standing influence of Greek language and culture across the Mediterranean world (see Hellenism); (2) Roman military and political power (see Rome); and (3) fundamental values of status and honor (see Social-Scientific Criticisms).

The Gospels, including Matthew, were written in Greek and intended for a Greek-speaking audience. Since Greek was the lingua franca of the first century, it was the obvious choice for the evangelists. The Greek OT, the Septuagint, is also the primary basis of the OT cited in Matthew and certainly would have been his audience's Scriptures. The ten formulaic fulfillment quotations (see 1.4 above) may be an exception to Matthew's more uniform use of the Septuagint, if they reflect a mixed text form reliant in part on the Hebrew text (Hagner, lvi).

Roman military and political dominance and occupation impacted the daily realities of those about whom Matthew writes and the community to which he writes. These realities come to the fore in Matthew in Jesus' interactions with the Roman governor, Pilate (see Pontius Pilate), who has Jesus crucified, and his guards who carry out the sentence (Mt 27:1-35). In contrasting characterization, Matthew highlights two centurions who respond to Jesus with faith and confession of identity (Mt 8:5-13; 27:54), and Pilate's wife, who warns Pilate of Jesus' innocence (Mt 27:19). In attending to Roman power in Matthew, it is also important to acknowledge that Herod the Great (Mt 2:1-18) and Herod Antipas (ruling in Galilee [Mt 14:1-12]) rule on behalf of Rome over the Jewish people. Collusion with Rome necessarily complicates their power and their identities as Jewish rulers. Even the Jerusalem leaders, with their

clear roles within Jewish temple activities and over the Jewish people, are required to bend to Rome's will and attend to Roman interests.

Another significant feature of the first-century A.D. Greco-Roman world for interpretation of Matthew is the importance of maintenance and acquisition of status and honor. Jesus' teachings about status reversal would have sounded odd to the status-conscious and quite stratified first-century world. Jesus calls his disciples to take the place (rank) of a *child or a *slave (Mt 18:1-5; 20:25-27) and draws on commonplace language of "first/last" and "great" to signal the status renunciation he expects of them.

Honor was a deeply held value and commodity in this context. Honor involves a self-claim of worth and a corresponding recognition by others of that worth (Lawrence, 689). Honor can be ascribed, such as honor due as an advantage of birth. Honor can also be achieved by honorable behavior or by gaining honor from a contest with another person (deSilva, 28). In Matthew 21–22 contests for authority between the Jerusalem leaders and Jesus result in Jesus receiving honor from the crowds and even, begrudgingly, from the Jewish leaders, who dare not question him further because of his displays of *wisdom (e.g., Mt 22:22, 33, 46) (Neyrey, 47–48). Yet Matthew also highlights Jesus' teachings about practicing piety for only God to see rather than seeking human honor (Mt 6:1–18). This honor virtue given by God is what Jesus followers should desire (Lawrence, 690).

2.4.2. Matthew's Jewish Setting. The setting of Matthew's audience has been described (see 2.2 above), and the Jewish setting for his story of Jesus also warrants careful attention in interpretation. Some central aspects of the first-century A.D. Jewish setting of Matthew's story include (1) Torah interpretation and purity regulations; (2) Jewish sects, most particularly the Pharisees; and (3) Messianic views and expectations.

Matthew highlights Jesus' Torah observance and fulfillment (Mt 5:17; 12:7–8), inviting contemporary interpreters, often influenced by Reformation views of Torah observance as legalism, to renegotiate their understandings of first-century A.D. Judaism and Torah. Earlier views of Judaism, or at least its first-century expressions, portrayed Jews as consumed by attempts to earn God's salvation through obedience to the Torah. Recent scholarship has challenged this legalistic portrayal. It is more accurate to note that Jews throughout Israel's history understood themselves to be chosen by Yahweh, having experienced

redemption from Egypt (Ex 14) followed by reception of the Torah to guide them in proper allegiance to Yahweh (Ex 19–24). Obedience to the Torah was not a means of earning their redemption; rather, it was the means of expressing loyalty to the God who had redeemed them long ago. Or as E. P. Sanders framed it, Torah observance was the means for remaining in, not admission to, the covenant. This sketch makes sense of Matthew's positive view of the Torah, his portrayal of Jesus as faithful to it, and Jesus' exhortation to his followers to obey the Torah—that is, to pursue covenant loyalty (see 3.2.2; 3.3 below).

The specific Torah regulations governing purity have often been misread in NT interpretation as most focused on legalistic misapplication. It is helpful to begin with the observation that there is no clear distinction made in the OT between what might be called "moral" legislation and "purity" legislation (cf. various laws in Lev 19) (see Clean and Unclean). It should also be stressed that being ritually unclean was not coterminous with moral failure. "Uncleanness is not a disease, and it implies no moral censure; it is a ritual state which both men and women likely found themselves most of the time" (Levine 1996, 387). The important task for a Jew who was ritually defiled was to pursue purity via particular washings and/or sacrifices (e.g., Mt 8:4) or, sometimes, simply by waiting for a specified length. Finally, some Jews (e.g., *Pharisees and *Essenes), though not all, were concerned not only with primary pollutants but also with secondary ones. These could arise from touching something touched by a person or thing in an unclean state. Interest in secondary purity issues might provide the context for understanding Pharisaic concern for Jesus eating with "tax collectors and sinners" (Mt 9:11; 11:18).

The sect of the Pharisees was focused on Torah interpretation and application. Although Pharisees were not *priests, their intention was to follow in their daily lives purity regulations applicable to (priestly) temple participation. This made them sensitive to secondary defilement as well as primary sources of impurity (e.g., Mt 15:1–2). Given their frequent role as Torah teachers (Mt 23:2–3), it is not surprising that they are Jesus' main rivals in the First Gospel (Mt 12:1–14; 15:1–20; 19:3–9; 22:15–46; 23:1–39). Narratively, this stems from Matthew's portrayal of Jesus as the consummate interpreter of the Torah in contrast to the Pharisees and *scribes (Mt 15:1–20; 23:1–24). Yet Matthew's concentrated focus on Jesus and the Pharisees as rival interpreters of Torah means that he does not mention any Pharisees who follow Jesus, which we do hear of else-

where in the NT (Jn 3:1; 19:39; Acts 15:5).

There are multiple and competing messianic views in Judaism of the first century A.D. (see Christ). Certainly a prominent view, drawn from the OT, was of the Messiah as Davidic king (e.g., Is 11:1-9; Jer 23:5-6; Mic 5:1-9; cf. Zech 9:9-13) (see Son of David), who would confront and defeat Israel's enemies and reign on Israel's throne and on God's behalf. For example, *Psalms of Solomon* prays that God would "raise up for them their king, the son of David, to rule over Israel your servant Israel [and] . . . to purify Jerusalem from nations that trample her down in destruction" (*Pss. Sol.* 17:21-22). There is also evidence from Qumran of a priestly Messiah (a "Messiah of Aaron" is mentioned in 1QS IX, 10-11; CD-A XII, 22-23). And 1 *Enoch* pictures a heavenly, exalted figure based on Daniel's vision of "one like a son of man" who seems to take on messianic features (e.g., 1 *En.* 48:1-5; cf. Dan 7:13-14). Matthew draws on a number of these messianic expectations for his Christology (see 3.2 below).

3. Theological Themes and Messages.

Because it is narrative in form and a biography in genre, Matthew's Gospel communicates theology in primarily implicit ways, through characterization (of Jesus and others), plot and rhetorical shaping. Yet Matthew's message about Jesus and Jesus' mission rings clearly through his story.

3.1. Matthew's Theological Focus: The Kingdom of God. Matthew's theological focus is God's kingdom now being inaugurated in Jesus' person, ministry and mission (see Kingdom of God/Heaven). Matthew's preferred phrase for referring to God's reign is "the kingdom of heaven" (*hē basileia tōn ouranōn*, with the plural *ouranōn* likely used to reflect the standard use of the plural for "heaven" in the OT). Although using "kingdom of God" at a few points, the phrase "kingdom of heaven" is ubiquitous, possibly to emphasize the heavenly origin of the kingdom (Pennington). Jewish expectation, as expressed in the OT and Second Temple Jewish writings, anticipated the coming or return of God as king in fullness, often in tandem with promises regarding Israel's return from exile (e.g., Is 40:1-10; Mic 4:1-8; *Pss. Sol.* 17).

In Matthew both John the Baptist and Jesus announce the nearness of the kingdom's arrival (Mt 3:2; 4:17). And Matthew portrays Jesus' ministry to Israel as consisting in preaching and enacting the kingdom (Mt 4:17-9:35). In line with the metatheme of kingdom, Matthew highlights Jesus as fulfillment of Israel's Scripture and hopes as well as the inclu-

sion of the Gentiles as a signal of the kingdom's inauguration. Along with these motifs, Matthew clarifies that the kingdom is an "already but not yet" reality at the time of the writing of his Gospel. Because this particular facet of Jesus' kingdom preaching is relatively unanticipated in Jewish expectation, Matthew highlights the still-hidden nature of the kingdom in the present, while pointing ahead to its final consummation at the "end of the age."

3.1.1. Fulfillment of the Scriptures. Matthew highlights from the very start of his Gospel that God's present activity in Jesus fulfills Israel's story and Scriptures. He intimately connects Jesus to Israel's story by providing Jesus' genealogy beginning with Abraham and highlighting Jesus' kingly descent from David (Mt 1:1-17). Matthew also cites the OT Scriptures frequently, emphasizing the ways that Jesus and his ministry, teachings and mission cohere and derive from them. The evangelist especially draws on Isaiah and the Psalms to frame Jesus' ministry as the faithful servant of the Lord who stands in for Israel and inaugurates God's return and reign.

There are ten so-called fulfillment quotations in Matthew, which are shaped to highlight that God is now fulfilling the Scriptures in Jesus (see 1.4 above). Beyond these formulaic quotations, Matthew cites the OT consistently across his Gospel along with allusions and evocations to it (France 1989, 166-205). Matthew's Jesus also makes explicit reference to his role of fulfillment in relation to Scriptures: "Do not think that I have come to abolish the Torah or the Prophets; I have not come to abolish these but to fulfill them" (Mt 5:17). Matthew particularly highlights Jesus' passion as a fulfillment of the Scriptures broadly understood (Mt 26:54, 56).

3.1.2. Gentile Inclusion in the Restoration of Israel. An important refrain in Israel's Scriptures is the inclusion of the nations in redemption when God returns to restore the people of Israel. For example, Isaiah speaks of the nations streaming into Jerusalem in the last days (Is 2:2-5). In that day, "Many peoples will come and say, 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the temple of the God of Jacob. He will teach us his ways, so that we may walk in his paths'" (Is 2:3 NIV [see also Is 49:5-7, 22-23]). This theme of Israel's redemption as catalyst for the influx of the nations is present for Matthew, who indicates that Jesus' Galilean ministry is focused intently on Israel and not *Gentiles (Mt 15:24; 10:5-6). In fact, the two passages that clearly portray Gentiles coming to Jesus for healing are the exceptions that prove the rule (Mt 8:5-13; 15:21-28). In both cases it takes "great faith" on the part of the Gentile suppli-

cant to cause Jesus to move outside of his God-given missional focus (Mt 8:10; 15:28). And in both cases Jesus initially hesitates at their request (Mt 8:7 [with a question, as in the NIV]; 15:23-24).

More than the other Gospels, Matthew highlights Jesus' mission to Israel almost exclusively. It is only after the resurrection that Jesus' mission is expanded to the nations through the ministry of the disciples: "Go and disciple all the nations [*ethnē*]" (Mt 28:19 [including Israel]). Yet Matthew infuses his narrative with the motif of Gentile inclusion from the beginning. This foreshadowing begins in the first few words of the Gospel, where he includes four women in the early part of his genealogy of Jesus—Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, Uriah's wife—all Gentiles (Mt 1:3, 5, 6). Gentile inclusion is also foreshadowed with the presence of the magi (Mt 2:1) and in the frequent reference to Gentiles or nations (*ethnē*) throughout the narrative (Mt 4:15; 12:18-21; 21:43; 24:14) (Levine 1988).

3.1.3. *The Already and the Not Yet of God's Reign.* Important to Matthew's vision of God's reign present in Jesus is its nature as inaugurated and yet not fully consummated. The initial preaching of the kingdom by John the Baptist and Jesus announces the nearness of the kingdom (Mt 3:2; 4:17). This expectation of the kingdom's imminent arrival sets the course for much of Jesus' teaching, which focuses on the presence of God's reign in his ministry. To the Pharisees, Jesus claims, "if I cast out demons by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God has come upon you" (Mt 12:28). Matthew ties the kingdom's arrival to Jesus' ministry of preaching and healing (Mt 4:23—9:38).

Yet Matthew also communicates the "not yet" of God's reign in that God's people await its final consummation at "the end of the age"—a favorite Matthean term for that final day when God will judge all things (Mt 13:39, 40, 49; 24:3; 28:20). In fact, it is precisely the judging role of God that is often emphasized when the "not yet" of the kingdom receives attention. God will judge rightly and wisely in that final day (Mt 13:40-43, 49-50), so believers should avoid inappropriately judging one another now (Mt 7:1-2; 13:24-30, 36-43). Matthew also indicates that Jesus, identified as the "Son of Man," will judge and rule on God's behalf in the eschaton (Mt 19:28; 25:31), with universal authority already given him at his *resurrection (Mt 28:18). The "not yet" of God's reign is also apparent in the Lord's Prayer, where Jesus invites his disciples—and Matthew his readers—to *pray, "May your kingdom come" (Mt 6:10).

The dialectic of the "already but not yet" of the

kingdom might be most elegantly expressed in Matthew's beatitudes—the entry point to the Sermon on the Mount. In them, Jesus announces eschatological blessings to the most unlikely recipients: the poor in spirit and the meek, and those who mourn and long for justice not yet received (Mt 5:3-6). The promise segment of each beatitude (its second poetic line) is expressed in either present or future tense. The first and the last of the eight parallel beatitudes provide a present tense frame: "the kingdom of heaven [already] belongs to them" (Mt 5:3, 10). The six beatitudes between the first and last promise future blessing—for example, "they will be comforted" (Mt 5:4). In this way, Matthew signals the "already and not yet" of God's reign and the unexpected reversal of fortune that accompanies its arrival.

Matthew also expresses this kingdom dialectic through the theme of hiddenness. In the parables discourse of Matthew 13 the evangelist communicates that the kingdom, while a present reality, is hidden and so not discernable to all. In this chapter Jesus likens the kingdom to yeast "hidden" (*enkryptō*) in dough (Mt 13:33) and a treasure "hidden" (*kryptō*) in a field (Mt 13:44). Matthew indicates that Jesus, by teaching in parables, begins to make clear "what has been hidden since the beginning of the world" (Mt 13:35). God's reign as a hidden present reality requires faith to see and understand it.

3.2. *Christological Emphases.* Whereas *Christology in Matthew (and the other Gospels) has traditionally been derived from analysis of the various titles used for Jesus, a narrative approach suggests that Christology can be discerned from the rich composite of titles, scriptural citations and allusions, and the narrative portrait of Jesus through his actions and words (Brown forthcoming). Such an analysis of Matthew illuminates at least four Christological foci: Jesus as (1) the Davidic Messiah, (2) Torah fulfilled and Wisdom embodied; (3) representative Israel; and (4) the embodiment of Yahweh.

3.2.1. *Jesus as the Davidic Messiah.* The primary apologetic of Matthew's Gospel is to demonstrate that Jesus is the Messiah and then to illuminate in storied fashion the kind of Messiah he is. From the opening title of the Gospel, Matthew affirms Jesus as Messiah through use of the title *Christos* (Mt 1:1 [Gk. translation of Heb. *mašīah*]). The title occurs frequently in the first two chapters (Mt 1:16, 17, 18; 2:4) and then not much until Peter confesses Jesus to be the Messiah (Mt 16:16), the first time a character in Matthew's story explicitly affirms Jesus' identity as the Messiah. Jesus' messianic claims are prominent in the passion narrative, where the high

priest asks Jesus to disclose if he is the Messiah (Mt 26:63), the Sanhedrin mockingly calls him “Messiah” (Mt 26:68), and Pilate refers to Jesus as “the one called the Messiah” (Mt 27:17, 22). The referent of Messiah at any number of these points is Jesus as Jewish king, as seen by the use of “king” in immediate proximity to language of to Messiah (e.g., Mt 2:2; 27:11, 29, 37, 42).

Matthew also draws on “son of David” language to affirm Jesus as the Messiah (Mt 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30, 31; 21:9, 15; 22:42). Given that the Jewish Scriptures portray David as prototypical and idealized king of Israel, it is not surprising that eschatological hopes of a descendant of David ruling over Israel emerge (e.g., Is 11:1; Mic 5:2). Matthew draws upon this royal category from the onset: Jesus is “son of David” (Mt 1:1) who comes from Joseph’s line, which extends backward through the line of King David (Mt 1:6). Jesus’ royal identity is also apparent in his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, where the crowds hail him as “son of David” (Mt 21:9) and Matthew identifies him as Israel’s king (Mt 21:5) (Willitts).

Yet Matthew also expands and complicates Jesus as the royal Messiah by emphasizing the divine necessity for Jesus to go to Jerusalem and suffer as an integral part of his messianic mission (Mt 16:21; 17:22–23; 20:17–19). Jewish messianic expectation could include the idea of the Messiah arriving in Jerusalem and claiming his rightful place as king. For the Messiah to be met with confrontation and rejection by Jewish authorities and crucifixion at the hands of the Romans was not part of such expectations. This part of Matthew’s Christology emerges from the narrative contours of his Gospel and is clarified further through his use of the Isaianic Servant of the Lord to show how Jesus’ suffering and death cohere with the Scriptures (see Servant of Yahweh). An extended citation of Isaiah 42:1–4 that provides an interpretive lens for Jesus’ Galilean ministry (Mt 12:18–21; also allusions at Mt 3:17; 17:5) as well as the quotation of Isaiah 53:4 to explain Jesus’ healing ministry (Mt 8:17) provide ample evidence that Matthew understands Jesus to be Isaiah’s Servant of the Lord figure. It is also likely that Matthew alludes to Isaiah 53:11–12 to demonstrate that Jesus’ death is to be understood via the servant’s mission for Israel and for the nations (Mt 20:28; 26:28). By drawing on the servant figure, Matthew “interprets Jesus’ ministry in terms of the servant’s mission to bring mercy and justice to Israel and the nations. . . . And he interprets Jesus’ death in light of the servant’s role in dealing with evil, sin, and suffering for Israel and for the nations” (Brown forthcoming).

3.2.2. *Jesus as Torah Fulfilled and Wisdom Embodied.* The relationship between Jesus and Torah (and Wisdom) is also important to Matthew’s Christology. Jesus is clearly portrayed as fulfilling “the Torah” and “the Prophets” (Mt 5:17). In part, this means for Matthew that Jesus completes Israel’s story and fulfills the Scriptures (see 3.1.1 above). Additionally, Jesus is portrayed as the consummate interpreter of the Torah (e.g., Mt 5:21–48); he rightly puts at the center “the weightier matters of the law: justice, mercy and loyalty” (Mt 23:23; see also Mt 9:13; 12:7) (Snodgrass). It is also the case that Jesus is portrayed as faithful keeper of the law. For example, Jesus claims he is innocent of any charges of neglecting the *Sabbath (Mt 12:7). And in Matthew 15 the Pharisees apparently lack warrant to accuse Jesus of breaking “the tradition of the elders”; rather, it is his disciples who receive this critique (Mt 15:1–2). Jesus also teaches his disciples and others who come to him to obey the Torah (Mt 5:17–20; 19:17).

Yet Matthew extends beyond the category of Jesus fulfilling the law to intimate that Jesus is the embodiment of *Wisdom (Deutsch; Witherington). This is especially the case in Matthew 11, in which Jesus as Wisdom is accented at two distinct points. First, Matthew uses an inclusio that frames the first half of the chapter to identify Jesus’ messianic deeds as Wisdom’s deeds (Mt 11:2–19). The “deeds [*erga*] of the Messiah” (Mt 11:2), which include healing and preaching the good news (Mt 11:5), are subsequently identified as Wisdom’s “deeds” (*erga*), which vindicate Jesus’ identity in spite of accusations otherwise (Mt 11:19). Second, Jesus’ invitation at the end of the chapter is shaped by language drawn from Jewish wisdom literature. Specific connections between Matthew’s portrait of Jesus and the portrayal of Wisdom in this literature are numerous. Wisdom invites people to come to her (Sir 24:19), provides rest (*anapauō* [Sir 6:28; 51:27]) rather than weariness (*kopiaō* [Wis 6:14; Sir 51:27]), and is described as having a yoke (*zygos* a term frequently associated with the Torah). Each of these specific associations characterizes Jesus in Matthew 11:28–30. Additionally, references to the inversion of expected wisdom (Mt 11:25) along with the motif of hiddenness and revelation (Mt 11:25–27) emphasize Jesus’ role as Wisdom embodied.

3.2.3. *Jesus as Representative Israel.* Matthew portrays Jesus as representative *Israel, especially in the first section of his Gospel, focused on introducing Jesus to his audience. This christological motif may already be present in the Gospel’s opening line: Jesus is “son of Abraham” (Mt 1:1). It appears clearly, how-

ever, at Matthew 2:15, with a fulfillment quotation from Hosea 11:1. Matthew compares Jesus to Israel in an analogy between God's deliverance of Israel from Egypt and the movement of Jesus' family to Egypt and back to "the land of Israel" (Mt 2:20-21). In this passage Israel as God's son and Jesus as God's son are compared. The comparison continues with the language of Jesus as "son of God" at his baptism and temptation. Matthew narrates Jesus' baptism by John the Baptist in line with "all Judea" coming to John for baptism (Mt 3:5). Jesus' rationale for his baptism—"to fulfill all righteousness"—fits this picture of Jesus aligning himself with his people and acting on their behalf (Mt 1:21) and in concert with Israel's God-given mission. That mission is exemplified by Isaiah's servant figure, upon which Matthew draws to connect Jesus to Israel's mission to the nations (see 3.1.2 above) (note allusion to Is 42:1 at Jesus' baptism in Mt 3:16-17). The analogy with Israel is especially evident in the temptation account, where Jesus answers each temptation by quoting Deuteronomy's rehearsal of Israel's time in the wilderness. As Israel was in the wilderness forty years, Jesus is in the "wilderness" forty days and nights (Mt 4:1) (see Mountain and Wilderness). But whereas Deuteronomy emphasizes Israel's unfaithfulness during this time (Deut 8:3; 6:13, 16), Jesus, as God's faithful son, does not succumb to temptation (Mt 4:3, 6, 9).

Matthew's focus on Jesus as faithful representative of Israel comes to the fore again in the passion narrative. Jesus is portrayed as faithful to the will of God in spite of his anguish anticipating what is to come (Mt 26:38). He speaks of his fate as a fulfillment of the Scriptures (Mt 26:54, 56). And Matthew's crucifixion scene employs a significant number of allusions to Psalm 22, thereby identifying Jesus with the righteous psalmist who trusts and delights in God (Ps 22:6, 8) and yet suffers unjustly at the hands of sinners (Ps 22:16; cf. Mt 26:45) (Brown forthcoming). For Matthew, Jesus is the faithful and righteous Israelite par excellence, who dies on behalf of his people.

If N. T. Wright is correct to suggest that first-century A.D. Judaism could easily have interpreted Daniel 7:13-14 as a vision of Israel's vindication for their faithfulness, then Matthew's use of the title "Son of Man," for Jesus, especially where there is clear allusion to Daniel 7, also signals an Israel Christology (e.g., Mt 10:23; 16:27-28; 24:30-31; 26:64) (Wright, 291-97). As such, God's vindication of Jesus as the Messiah is a vindication of all who follow Jesus and put their faith in him.

3.2.4. *Jesus as the Embodiment of Yahweh.* Mat-

thew also portrays Jesus as the embodiment of Israel's *God. This facet of Matthean Christology is communicated for the most part implicitly rather than explicitly. For example, Matthew identifies Jesus with Yahweh at Matthew 3:3, a citation that references Israel's God from Isaiah 40. For Matthew, the clear referent of "Lord" (rendering the divine name in the Hebrew text of Is 40:3) is Jesus himself. In fulfillment of Isaiah 40:3, John now prepares the way for Jesus (Mt 3:3). Additionally, by stressing Jesus' universal lordship at Matthew 11:27; 28:18, the evangelist affirms Jesus' inclusion in the "unique divine identity" (Bauckham 1998a, viii). And, while it is unlikely that the many attributions of "Lord" (*kyrios*) to Jesus function as christological titles on the level of the Gospel's story (i.e., by its characters), Matthew very likely wants his reader to hear these in line with the more elevated title (e.g., Mt 7:21; 8:2; 14:28; 15:22; 20:30).

Matthew also points to Jesus as "God with us" (Mt 1:23 [cf. Mt 18:20; 28:20]), indicating that in Jesus the divine presence is manifested with God's people (*Kupp*) (see Incarnation). In concert with this portrayal, Matthew highlights worship of Jesus. As with the title "Lord" used by various characters in the Gospel, characters may be "prostrating themselves" before Jesus (e.g., Mt 8:2) rather than "worshiping" him (both are senses of *proskyneō*). Yet Matthew capitalizes on the language of *proskyneō*, using it ten times in his Gospel, more than in the other three Gospels altogether (Mt 2:2, 8, 11; 8:2; 9:18; 14:33; 15:25; 20:20; 28:9, 17). He also begins and ends the story with *worship of Jesus: the magi worship the child Messiah (Mt 2:2, 8, 11), and the women at the tomb and the disciples in Galilee worship Jesus after his resurrection (Mt 28:9, 17). L. Hurtado argues that at least at Matthew 14:33; 28:9, 17, "it seems undeniable that the intended readers were to take the scenes as paradigmatic anticipations of the reverence for Jesus that they offered in their worship gatherings" (Hurtado, 338).

3.3. *The Community of Disciples.* Although Matthew focuses primarily on Christology in his Gospel, he is interested in shaping his audience to be a community of believers who live in light of the story of Jesus. Attending to this ecclesial shaping involves listening to Jesus' teachings about discipleship, watching Jesus' own example, and discerning how various characters provide examples or foils to following him (Brown 2002, 138-42; Wilkins, 172).

The community of disciples in Matthew is defined fundamentally by their trust in and allegiance to Jesus the Messiah. While the twelve disciples are

portrayed as those of “little faith” (Mt 6:30; 8:26; 14:31; 16:8; 17:20), Matthew calls his readers to a more robust faith in Jesus and his messianic authority that resembles the *faith of various seekers who come to Jesus for healing (e.g., Mt 8:10; 9:2, 22, 29; 15:28). At the end of the Gospel, when Jesus commissions his disciples, their mission is to make disciples by baptizing them and teaching them to obey Jesus’ teachings (Mt 28:19). Baptism signals this trust in and allegiance to Jesus.

As the final commissioning also makes clear, discipleship in Matthew involves doing the will of God now expressed in Jesus’ teachings (Mt 7:21-23; 12:50; 19:17; 23:3; 28:19). By living in covenant faithfulness as the kingdom is inaugurated, Jesus’ disciples show themselves to be God’s children (Mt 5:43-48) (*Pat-tarumadathil*). For Matthew, the contours of covenantal, kingdom faithfulness are cruciform, following the pattern of Jesus’ way of service to others (Mt 16:24-26; 20:28). This focus on the other, especially those most vulnerable, is characteristic of Jesus himself (e.g., Mt 9:9-13; 19:13-15; 21:14-16). And Jesus commends such care of the vulnerable to his followers, especially in his references to “little ones” and “least of these” (Mt 10:42; 18:1-20; 25:31-46). These are status terms, and their use by Matthew illustrates that a life of sacrifice and service involves renouncing status ambitions by emulating those with little or no status (e.g., Mt 18:1-5; 19:30; 20:16; 20:25-27) (Brown 2002). Jesus also defines the community of believers by their practice of forgiveness. The prayer that Jesus provides for his followers asks for God’s *forgiveness as readily as it bestows forgiveness on others (Mt 6:12, 14-15). In the community discourse (Mt 18) Jesus reverses the human propensity for unlimited revenge by calling the church to unlimited forgiveness (Mt 18:21-22, alluding to Gen 4:24) (Brown 2012). He bases all human forgiveness in the lavish grace and forgiveness of God (Mt 18:23-35; see also Mt 26:28).

This pattern of discipleship cut from the cloth of Jesus’ own *ethic can be summed up as *love of God and neighbor, the two commands on which “all the Law and the Prophets hang” (Mt 22:40 [cf. Mt 7:12]). For Matthew, this God-centered and other-centered ethic is also expressed as the “weightier” (*barys*) matters of the law: “justice, mercy, and loyalty” (Mt 23:23). These themes of love, justice and *mercy emerge at significant moments in the narrative. For example, the opening beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount announce blessing on the merciful (Mt 5:7) and those who are committed to “justice” (*dikaioynē*) (Mt 5:6, 10). And the culminating “an-

tithesis” of the sermon exhorts love of neighbor and even enemy (Mt 5:43-48). Matthew also twice includes a citation of Hosea 6:6 (“mercy not sacrifice”) to explain Jesus eating with sinners and his interpretation of the Torah (Mt 9:13; 12:7). Using Isaiah 42:1-4, Matthew characterizes Jesus’ ministry by mercy and justice for Israel and for all nations (Mt 12:18-21). These values of love, mercy and justice culminate in the last parable of Jesus’ fifth and final discourse, the parable of the sheep and the goats (Mt 25:31-46). Jesus’ followers will be surprised at the final judgment that their treatment of Jesus is precisely their merciful and just treatment of “the least of these” (Mt 25:40, 45) (Brown 2013).

Matthew is the only Gospel writer who refers to the *ekklēsia*, the *church (Mt 16:18; 18:17), and his use of the term is directed at his own post-Easter messianic community. His vision for the church emerges from Jesus’ teachings on discipleship as well as his promise to his disciples of future authority and *mission. The mission of the church is a continuation and a derivative of Jesus’ own mission. Jesus’ mission to Israel is the focus of his pre-Easter ministry (Mt 15:24), but by the end of the Gospel it is clear that the mission of Jesus enacted by the disciples goes out to all nations (Mt 28:19). This means that the church is comprised of both Jew and Gentile, with signs across Matthew that his primarily Jewish audience is in the early stages of Gentile mission (e.g., Mt 2:2; 15:21-28). It is the fruit-bearing, multi-ethnic church that will receive the kingdom (Mt 21:43). The broad strokes of the church’s mission are expressed in Matthew’s final scene, which focuses on Jesus’ mandate to make disciples from among all nations by baptizing them and by teaching them to obey all that he has commanded (Mt 28:19). The particular practices of the church for the world are also intimately connected to Jesus’ own mission (above). The church is to enact justice and mercy in Jesus’ name. They are to live as a community defined by God’s forgiveness and so marked and known by their forgiveness of others. The church is not defined by present status categories, and so its members are to live out a surprising equality of status (Mt 20:12-15, 25-28). And the church is to worship Jesus, the risen Messiah and Lord (Mt 28:9, 17).

Finally and most basically, the church’s mission and practices are rooted in its identity as those who follow Jesus the Messiah. As a community, their identity is marked by Jesus’ presence in their midst until the end of the age (Mt 1:23; 18:20; 28:20). So the church’s authority to teach and lead, to bind and loose (Mt 16:19; 18:18) (see Powell), is always a de-

rived authority based on their experience of the presence of the one now given “all authority in heaven and on earth” (Mt 28:18).

4. Conclusion.

The author of Matthew writes to (primarily Jewish) believers in Jesus in the latter part of the first century A.D. to portray Jesus as God’s chosen Messiah, who represents both Israel’s mission and the very mission of God to restore Israel and bring hope to the nations. Jesus, as consummate teacher and fulfillment of Israel’s Scriptures, ushers in the kingdom of God through his self-giving, other-focused ministry and death. According to Matthew, Jesus’ messianic claims and mission are vindicated at his resurrection, when God grants him all authority. His ecclesial purposes include persuading his readers to respond in faith and covenantal loyalty to Jesus the Messiah and his teachings, and commissioning them to disciple others into the way of Jesus through the power and promise of Jesus’ presence with them.

See also BIRTH OF JESUS; CHRIST; CHRISTOLOGY; DEATH OF JESUS; ESCHATOLOGY; EXILE AND RESTORATION; JUSTICE, RIGHTEOUSNESS; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; MISSION; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; PARABLES; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN; SON OF DAVID; TYPOLOGY.

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MEALS. See TABLE FELLOWSHIP.

MERCY

Mercy is both disposition and action simultaneously in the Gospels; the one who has mercy is in the position to help another who is in dire need and incapable of self-help. This mercy is usually, but not always, based in some kind of prior relationship; often the covenant relationship between *God and his people is involved.

1. Old Testament Background
2. Gospels
3. Conclusion

1. Old Testament Background.

The word *mercy* can be represented by a number of different words in Hebrew and Greek. Often the English translation derives from the Hebrew word *hesed* (occasionally "mercy" is translated for *rāham* or *hānan*). The Hebrew concept of *hesed*, however, is quite complex and, as K. Sakenfeld has demonstrated, several different nuances appear to have developed over time: earlier stories of Israel connect the idea of *hesed* with grace and compassion, whereas in later writings (such as the prophets) the

word was more often associated with *justice or, as in postexilic writings, with pious acts of mercy. In the poetical books God's *hesed* is the object of hope and trust, and it serves as the foundation for making an appeal to God for *forgiveness or deliverance. God is faithful, and his *hesed* is eternal and limitless. Humans too can show *hesed* to one another (e.g., Jonathan and David). *Hesed* occurs when a superior party provides an essential need to a weaker party that the latter could not provide. Although the superior is free not to perform acts of *hesed* (i.e., there is no legal obligation or redress if *hesed* is not performed), Sakenfeld argues that nonetheless there is a moral obligation on the part of the superior party. This obligation arises out of some kind of previous relationship. For God, his covenant with Israel results in faithfulness to helping Israel, even when Israel is unfaithful to God (see also Routledge).

The question of whether a prior relationship is integral to the idea of *hesed* has been challenged by F. Andersen. He acknowledges that a relationship usually exists between the two parties and that doing *hesed* is seen as the right thing to do in the given situation. Nonetheless, generous and beneficial action lies at the heart of *hesed* rather than any sense of obligation. When God does *hesed*, it is out of obligation to himself and his previous promise to Israel, which itself was based in grace and generosity rather than any merit on the part of Israel.

When considering concepts similar to *hesed* that appear in conjunction with the term, we note that a variety of nuances arise: mercy, compassion, love, grace and faithfulness, although no one word completely summarizes the concept (see Clark).

Overall, the OT concept of mercy, typically marked by the term *hesed*, involves action on behalf of another who is in need; mercy is not merely a feeling or emotion. The evidence from the Gospels suggests that this definition continued to be the understanding of mercy in the first century A.D., although the scope of *hesed* expands to include even those outside the covenant people of God.

2. Gospels.

Various forms of three Greek terms are used for the concept of mercy in the Gospels: *eleos* ("mercy") and *splanchnizomai* (often translated "to have compassion") are most common, although rarely *oiktirmos* ("mercy") also appears. Often people in need will call on Jesus to have mercy upon them, or Jesus is moved with compassion/mercy and performs some great deed. As with the OT concept, mercy in the Gospels always involves action. The Gospels never

describe Jesus as having mercy without doing something to help. Rather, if mercy is present, then some action is provided to alleviate the suffering of those in need. Each of the Synoptic Gospels includes a different emphasis on mercy, while John's Gospel does not use the "mercy" word group.

2.1. Mercy in Mark's Gospel. In Mark's Gospel Jesus is always the one who performs acts of mercy; the description is not used of others. This mercy is demonstrated in a variety of ways: *healing, exorcism, *teaching, feeding. Mark emphasizes the power of Jesus in these acts as well as the abundance of his provision. Mercy is a matter of overflowing grace to those in need.

The first mention of mercy may occur in Mark 1:41, where some manuscripts describe Jesus as being filled with compassion (mercy) when he heals the *leper who begs Jesus to make him *clean. A textual variant occurs in some manuscripts, however, describing Jesus as being filled with anger. The latter reading is probably to be preferred (see Marcus, 1:209).

The first textually certain mention of mercy occurs in Mark 5:19. Jesus has just exorcised unclean spirits from a Gerasene man (see Demon, Devil, Satan), but when the man begs to go with him, Jesus replies, "Go home to your friends, and tell them how much the Lord has done for you, and what mercy he has shown you." The language is then repeated for emphasis: the man tells his friends "how much" the Lord has done for him, and the people are amazed (Mk 5:20). The implication is that the mercy that the man has received is abundant, beyond normal expectations.

Next, Mark records that Jesus had compassion on the crowds because they were like a sheep without a *shepherd, and he began to teach them many things (Mk 6:34). In this passage it is clear that mercy is not solely about material benefits such as healings. Mercy extends to the spiritual care of people. After the teaching Jesus miraculously provides food for the crowd of five thousand (see Table Fellowship). Similarly, in Mark 8:2 Jesus feeds a crowd of four thousand. In this case, he has compassion on the people because they have been with him for three days with nothing to eat. Both of these miracles underscore the abundance of the Lord's provision; all are fed, and numerous baskets of food are left over. Jesus' mercy leads to abundant provision.

The last two stories mentioning mercy in Mark involve those in need begging Jesus to have mercy on them. First, a father with a demon-possessed boy asks Jesus to heal his son if he is able (Mk 9:22). The

disciples were unable to cast out the demon; Jesus is the father's last hope. This situation aptly demonstrates the OT concept of *hesed* noted above, where the party requesting *hesed* is in dire need and has nowhere else to turn for aid. In Mark 10:47-48 blind Bartimaeus repeatedly calls out to Jesus to have mercy on him, and Jesus heals him. In Mark's Gospel no one who asks for mercy is denied.

2.2. Mercy in Matthew's Gospel. Like Mark, Matthew includes stories of pleas for mercy followed by healings, as well as Jesus' compassion on the crowds. Matthew, however, emphasizes another element to mercy when he connects it to the commands of the OT. On three separate occasions Jesus rebukes the *Pharisees for failing to fulfill the law by their neglect of doing mercy. An additional emphasis is that of forgiveness, which is introduced in the parable of the unmerciful servant.

Several of the stories in Matthew parallel Mark's stories and are most likely derived from Mark. These include Jesus' compassion on the crowds who were like sheep without a shepherd (Mt 9:36 [although the feeding story is not attached here; rather, Matthew includes the statement that the harvest is plentiful but the laborers are few]), Jesus' compassion on those who were hungry after following him for three days (Mt 15:32 [after which the feeding of the four thousand occurs]), the father who requests Jesus to have mercy on his epileptic/demon-possessed son (Mt 17:15), and the two *blind men (as opposed to Mark's one) near Jericho who cried out twice for Jesus to have mercy upon them (Mt 20:30-31), to which Matthew adds the comment that Jesus was filled with compassion (Mt 20:34). Matthew also expands on Mark's version of the Canaanite woman who asks Jesus to cure her daughter, who was tormented by a demon; Matthew adds the specific cry for Jesus to have mercy on her (Mt 15:22). After initially ignoring the woman, Jesus eventually applauds her faith and grants her wish. The fact that this woman is not a Jew, however, points to the universal nature of the Gospel and thus undermines the suggestion that *hesed* is done to those with whom one has a previous relationship. Indeed, the woman likely would have been considered an enemy; the Jewish historian *Josephus describes people from Tyre as holding ill will against the Jews (Ag. Ap. 1.13) (see Gundry-Volf, 516). That Jesus should show mercy to one of Israel's enemies underscores the surprising expansion of the Gospel to all peoples. Theologically, this universal emphasis may highlight the idea that, by virtue of being creator and sustainer of the whole world, God is in relationship with all peo-

ples and desires to offer mercy to all (Mt 5:44-45).

Two additional stories are very similar to Mark's material. Matthew has another report of Jesus healing two blind men who cried out to Jesus to have mercy on them (Mt 9:27), and he adds the comment before the feeding of the five thousand that Jesus had compassion on the crowds and healed their sick (Mt 14:14).

In Jesus' teaching material mercy is also emphasized. In Matthew 5:7 Jesus says, "Blessed are the merciful, for they will be shown mercy." The same lesson is illustrated, albeit in reverse, in the parable of the unmerciful servant (Mt 18:33), which is unique to Matthew. After having been forgiven an exorbitant amount of money (which, like the descriptions of mercy in Mark, emphasizes the abundance of God's mercy), the servant refuses to forgive a small amount owed to him by another slave. In a stunning reversal, the master revokes his forgiveness, telling the unmerciful slave that he should have had mercy upon his fellow slave, just as the master had mercy on him. The fact that the master revokes his original forgiveness suggests that God, though patient and merciful, does set limits (see Keener, 460-61). The emphasis on forgiveness as an aspect of mercy, however, presents a new direction when compared to Mark.

The importance of mercy is further highlighted by three separate instances where Jesus rebukes the Pharisees for neglecting to show mercy to others (Mt 9:13; 12:7; 23:23). In the first story Pharisees question why Jesus eats with tax collectors and *sinners, while in the second the Pharisees condemn Jesus' disciples for plucking heads of grain on the *Sabbath. In both cases Jesus directs the Pharisees to learn the true meaning of Hosea 6:6, "I desire mercy [*hesed* in the MT], not sacrifice." The point in these two passages is that the ministry of the kingdom, which focuses on human need, ultimately fulfills the law when mercy is present, even where a technical violation of the law has occurred (see Hagner, 1:330; Hicks, 84). In the final passage (the seven woes) Jesus condemns the Pharisees for tithing even garden herbs but neglecting the weightier matters of the law: justice, mercy, faith. These values are similar to those found in Micah 6:8: "What does the LORD require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness [*hesed* in the MT], and to walk humbly with your God?" (NRSV) and suggest that the Pharisees have imbalanced priorities (see France, 872-73). Jesus, in his Matthean role of reinterpreter of the law, emphasizes what truly matters to God: merciful acts to those in need. Such mercy ultimately defines righteousness (see Hinkle Edin, 356).

Overall, Jesus' provision of mercy in Matthew's

Gospel demonstrates that human need must be met with a practical response. While Matthew includes much of Mark's emphases on mercy as compassionate acts of healing and abundant provision, he also expands the concept of mercy to include forgiveness. Furthermore, mercy is one of the foundational precepts of the law itself.

2.3. Mercy in Luke's Gospel. Most of the occurrences of "mercy" in Luke are unique to his Gospel. Although some of the nuances (such as compassion that leads to healing) are the same as in Matthew and Mark, Luke adds an important element to the discussion: God's mercy leads God to fulfill his covenant promises. In fact, the first five occurrences of "mercy" stem from the joyous praise of God found in the birth narrative. Mary twice praises God for his mercy: God's mercy is for those who fear him from generation to generation, and God has helped Israel in remembrance of his mercy (Lk 1:50, 54). The refrain continues in the specific case of Elizabeth; her relatives hear that God had shown "his great mercy" to her (Lk 1:58). Zechariah joins the praise in Luke 1:72, 78, where he commends God for showing the mercy promised to the ancestors in remembering his covenant and predicts that, by the tender mercy of God, the dawn (i.e., the Messiah) will break forth to give light to those in darkness. The connection of God's mercy to the covenant here underscores the point that God acts because God is merciful (see Bock, 1:159; Green, 117). It is because God's nature is to be merciful and steadfast in his love that God has now fulfilled his covenant in Christ. Thus, the nuance of faithfulness to one's promises emerges from these Lukan uses of "mercy."

In Luke's record of Jesus' teaching several examples accentuate the need to be merciful. In Luke 6:36 Jesus commands his disciples to "be merciful, just as your Father is merciful." In offering this comparison, Jesus roots Christian behavior in the very character of God (see Green, 271). Jesus' teaching also includes three parables that refer to mercy. The first, the parable of the good Samaritan, records that the Samaritan was moved with compassion when he saw the beaten man lying on the side of the road (Lk 10:33). The story then describes the Samaritan's caring actions, which went above and beyond expectations. There is no explicit causal link between the compassion and the action (e.g., one might expect the text to read, "because he had compassion, he bound up the wounds"); rather, the lack of causation suggests that the actions themselves are the compassion. Mercy is not merely a feeling; rather, it is an emotion that necessarily involves action. Mercy does not ex-

ist if one who is able to help does not actively aid the person in need. This is further implied by Luke 10:37, where the lawyer responds to Jesus that the neighbor was the one who showed mercy (more woodenly in the Greek: the one who "did mercy"). This story, like the story of the Canaanite woman in Matthew, also emphasizes that a previous relationship is not a necessary feature of mercy. Jesus teaches that one's neighbor is any person in need whom one encounters; this stands in contrast to the rabbinic writings, where the command to love one's neighbor (Lev 19:18) was interpreted by most rabbis as applying only to fellow Jews (see Neudecker, 499).

The second of Luke's *parables involving mercy is that of the prodigal son. When the father from a distance sees his son returning, he is filled with compassion (Lk 15:20), runs out to meet him (an undignified action for a man in his position), and throws a grand party for the son who had previously shamed him. Luke here emphasizes the unexpected abundance of love demonstrated by the father.

The last parable in Luke to discuss mercy takes an unusual turn in that mercy is denied to one of the characters. In the parable of the rich man and *Lazarus the rich man finds himself in Hades and pleads with Abraham to "have mercy on me" by sending Lazarus to cool his tongue with a sip of water (Lk 16:24). Abraham denies the request, essentially demonstrating Jesus' previous teaching in Luke 6:38: as the rich man had measured, so now it was measured to him. The rich man had not helped Lazarus during their earthly lives, and so the rich man would not receive help from Lazarus now (see Bock, 2:1371-72). This theme of reversal of fortune recurs throughout Luke's Gospel, and here it serves as a warning that severe consequences result when one fails to offer mercy to others. Furthermore, it highlights the nuance of the later OT understanding of mercy as righteousness or right action. It would not have been just for Abraham to offer aid to the rich man, and thus it would not have been mercy.

In addition to Jesus' teachings, Jesus' actions in Luke's Gospel clearly demonstrate mercy for those in need. Like both Matthew and Mark, Luke includes the story of the blind man healed near Jericho after repeatedly pleading to Jesus to have mercy on him (Lk 18:38-39). Luke adds two new stories of mercy as well. First, when Jesus walks into Nain and meets a widow whose only son has died, he is moved with compassion (Lk 7:13). No one has asked Jesus for mercy or demonstrated great faith; rather, he approaches the woman's son of his own accord and raises the son from the dead. This demonstrates that

it is Jesus' nature to have mercy; he does not wait for a request before he feels compelled to respond to a need. In the second story ten lepers approach Jesus and cry out for him to have mercy on them (Lk 17:13), and they are made clean.

Thus, although most of Luke's uses of "mercy" are unique to his Gospel, he nonetheless describes themes similar to those found in Matthew and Mark: mercy is abundant provision to those who are in need; it often involves healing; mercy is required of those who would be Jesus' disciples; and mercy is both an emotion and righteous action simultaneously. To this Luke adds the explicit nuance of God's covenant faithfulness, which is consistent with the Hebrew understanding of God's *hesed* for his people.

2.4. Mercy in John's Gospel. None of the various words for "mercy" occur in John's Gospel. This does not mean, however, that John lacks a theology of God's mercy. Rather, it appears that for John, the concept of God's mercy is captured by other phrases, such as "grace and truth" (Jn 1:14, 17). John likely uses this phrase to allude to God's "steadfast love and faithfulness," a paired expression found in OT passages such as Exodus 34:6, where the term *hesed* is used (see Lincoln, 105-6). Jesus, then, embodies the ultimate expression of God's mercy.

3. Conclusion.

Mercy in the Gospels is consistent with the various OT meanings of *hesed*: compassion, acts of mercy, grace, forgiveness and faithfulness. This mercy can be demonstrated in acts of physical provision such as healing, exorcism and feeding. It can also address spiritual needs, such as teaching and forgiveness. Mercy is never simply a feeling; it always involves action to help those in need. Furthermore, the abundance of mercy is often emphasized in the Gospels. Jesus' expectation of his disciples was that they would show mercy just as they themselves had received mercy; this was one of the key attitudes in the law that Jesus highlighted. In addition, mercy is not only for those with whom one is in covenant relationship; mercy is offered to all people.

See also FORGIVENESS OF SINS; GOD; HEALING; JUSTICE, RIGHTEOUSNESS; LOVE, LOVE COMMAND; RICH AND POOR.

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MESSIAH, MESSIANIC EXPECTATION. See
CHRIST; DEAD SEA SCROLLS; PRIESTS AND
PRIESTHOOD; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

MIDRASH

The Hebrew noun *midraš* (pl. *midrašim*) is derived from the verb *dāraš*, which means "to search [for an answer]." Midrash accordingly means "inquiry," "examination" or "commentary." Only in the rabbinic writings, however, is "midrash" used as a technical term for scriptural interpretation (an interpretative procedure) or for a collection of scriptural interpretations (a type of literature). Scholars therefore refer to "midrashic" interpretation and rabbinic "midrashim." Midrash has also been discussed against the broader background of ancient scriptural interpretation and textual transmission in general. It has become increasingly apparent that portions of the NT itself reflect aspects of midrash. Indeed, there has been considerable scholarly interest in the question of to what extent Jesus and the evangelists may have employed midrashic exegesis.

1. Semantic Development
2. Rabbinic Midrash
3. Midrash in Jesus and the Gospels
4. The Gospels as Midrash

1. Semantic Development.

The verb *darāš* occurs in a variety of contexts in the OT, meaning “to seek,” “to inquire,” or “to investigate.” It could refer to seeking God’s will (2 Chron 17:4; 22:9; 30:19; Ps 119:10), making inquiry of God through prophetic oracle (1 Sam 9:9; 1 Kings 22:8; 2 Kings 3:11; Jer 21:2) or investigating a matter (Deut 13:14; 19:18; Judg 6:29). However, only in Ezra 7:10, which declares that Ezra the scribe “set his heart to study the law of the Lord,” is this verb associated with the study of the Torah. This later development is anticipated in several scriptural texts: “Great are the works of the LORD, studied by all who delight in them” (Ps 111:2); “I have sought your precepts” (Ps 119:45 [cf. Ps 119:94, 155]); “Observe and search out all the commandments of the LORD your God” (1 Chron 28:8).

The nominal form, *midrāš*, occurs in the OT only twice, meaning “story,” “book” and possibly “commentary” (2 Chron 13:22; 24:27). This noun also appears in several Qumran passages, referring to an inquiry of the community (1QS VI, 24), communal study (1QS VIII, 26) or the study of the Torah (1QS VIII, 15; CD-B XX, 6). In 4Q174 I, 14 the term *midrāš* introduces a string of proof texts that are typical for the thematic pesharim (see Dead Sea Scrolls). Philo urges readers of writings to join him in searching (*ereuneō* = *darāš*) Scripture (Det. 57, 141; Cher. 14). In none of these passages, however, is the term *midrāš* used as a technical term for scriptural interpretation. This usage is documented only in the rabbinic literature, which employs midrash as a standard exegetical method to interpret, elucidate or expound the biblical text.

2. Rabbinic Midrash.

In the writings of the rabbis the term *midrāš* is used to designate either a type of literature or an interpretative procedure. As a type of literature, rabbinic midrash refers to a written work that presumes the existence of a closed, fixed biblical text, which is actualized through an (almost) endless combination of individual elements. As an independent entity that is holy and fixed for all time, Scripture can be called upon to answer all kinds of religious questions. One of the most distinctive features of rabbinic midrashim is the existence of multiple synonymous, complementary or even contradictory interpretations of a single verse, which typically are introduced with the phrase “another interpretation” and listed one after another. The openness of the biblical text to diverse interpretations, however, does not necessarily imply the absence of a systematic theo-

logical framework. J. Neusner has repeatedly argued that the theological ideas that inform rabbinic interpretation form a coherent system of various generalizations about God and God’s self-manifestation in Scripture. With the help of midrash, the rabbis transformed the historical accounts of biblical narratives into exemplary patterns that govern the present life and the life to come. In this way, they were able to make scriptural teaching relevant to new circumstances and issues.

As an interpretative procedure, midrash refers to a creative employment of various exegetical techniques, such as etymology, word play, catchwords, analogy and logical inference to interpret Scripture. Many of these techniques focus on minute details in the text, such as individual words or the shapes of the letters, without regard to the authorial intention or a larger literary context in which they appear.

2.1. Rules of Midrash. Midrashic interpretations are frequently guided by specific hermeneutical principles, called *middōt*, which developed over time. The first list of seven rules is attributed to Hillel the Elder. This list appears in two versions, one in *Tosefta Sanhedrin* 7:11 and *ʿAbot de Rabbi Nathan* [A] §37, and one in the introduction to *Sipra*, which are not completely consistent. Hillel himself employs only two of the seven *middōt* attributed to him (*qal wāḥōmer* and *gezērā šāwā*). These inconsistencies indicate that *middōt* are secondary literary constructions of the editors of rabbinic works for the purpose of demonstrating the rational and systematic character or the rabbinic hermeneutical endeavor. Rabbinic exegetical rules share many similarities with Greco-Roman rhetorical strategies. These correspondences could be either generic (Daube) or accidental (Lieberman). Ascription of the development of coherent methods of scriptural interpretation to prominent rabbinic figures such as Hillel may have been motivated by a desire to detach them from the Hellenistic world and thus “rabbinize” them. The fact that all of these rules are utilized in the Gospels indicates their general character and a widespread appeal.

(1) *Qal wāḥōmer* (“Light and heavy”). According to this rule, what is true or applicable in a “light” (or less important) instance is surely true or applicable in a “heavy” (or more important) instance. This rule is not necessarily an exegetical technique but rather a general principle of analogy that is frequently employed in Greco-Roman rhetoric and nonexegetical rabbinic collections. It is plainly in evidence when Jesus assures his disciples that because God cares for the birds (light), they can be sure that he cares for

them (heavy) (Mt 6:26; Lk 12:24).

(2) *Gezērā šāwā* (“An equivalent regulation”). According to this rule, one passage may be explained by another if they share similar words or phrases, regardless of whether they deal with similar subjects. Comparing himself to David, who on one occasion violated the law by eating consecrated bread (1 Sam 21:6), Jesus justifies his apparent violation of the Sabbath (Mk 2:23–28).

(3) *Binyan āb mikkātūb ʿēhād* (“Constructing a father [i.e., principal rule] from one [passage]”). Since God is the God not of the dead but of the living, the revelation at the burning bush, “I am the God of Abraham . . .” (Ex 3:14–15), implies that Abraham is to be resurrected. From this one text and its inference one may further infer, as Jesus did in Mark 12:26, the truth of the general resurrection.

(4) *Binyan āb ābššēnē kētūbīm* (“Constructing a father [i.e., principal rule] from two writings [or passages]”). From the commands to unmuzzle the ox (Deut 25:4) and share sacrifices with the priests (Deut 18:1–8) it is inferred that those who preach are entitled to support (Mt 10:10; Lk 10:7; 1 Cor 9:9, 13; 1 Tim 5:18).

(5) *Kēlāl ūpērāt ūpērāt ūkēlāl* (“General and particular, and particular and general”). When Jesus replies that the greatest commandment (the “general”) is to love the Lord with all one’s heart (Deut 6:4–5) and to love one’s neighbor as one’s self (Lev 19:18), he has summed up all of the “particular” commandments (Mk 12:28–34).

(6) *Kayyōsē’ bō bēmāqôm ʾāhēr* (“Like something in another place [or passage]”). If the Son of Man (or the Messiah) is to sit on one of the thrones set up before the Ancient of Days (Dan 7:9) (which is how Rabbi Akiba interprets Daniel’s plural reference to “thrones” [cf. *b. Hag.* 14a; *b. Sanh.* 38b]), and if the Messiah is to sit at God’s right hand (Ps 110:1), it may be inferred that when the “Son of Man comes with the clouds (Dan 7:13–14), he will be seated at the right hand of God and will judge his enemies. This is evidently what Jesus implied in his reply to Caiaphas (Mk 14:62).

(7) *Dābār halāmēd mēʿinyānō* (“Word of instruction from its context”). This rule is exemplified in Jesus’ teaching against divorce (Mt 19:4–8). Although it is true that Moses allowed divorce (Deut 24:1–4), it is also true that God never intended the marriage union to be broken, as implied in Genesis 1:27; 2:24.

Tradition holds that these rules were expanded to thirteen by Ishmael, a rabbi of the second century (cf. *Baraita de Rabbi Ishmael* §1 in the prologue to *Sipra*). However, like the traditions about Hillel,

most of the stories about Ishmael describe him using only *qal wāhōmer* and *gezērā šāwā*. Rabbi Eliezer ben Yose the Galilean is credited with further expanding these rules, particularly as they relate to the interpretation of narrative. He is probably the author of the tractate *Thirty-Two Rules for Interpreting the Torah* (also called the *Baraita of Thirty-Two Rules* [cf. the beginning of *Midrash Mishnat R. Eliezer* and beginning of *Midrash ha-Gadol* on Genesis]). Most of these thirty-two rules, rules that made it possible to enjoy the “savory dishes of wisdom” (*m. ʾAbot* 3:19), were applied to homiletical, not legal, midrash.

2.2. Halakah and Haggadah. It is customary to classify rabbinic midrash into two basic categories: halakah and haggadah. These categories are distinguished not by method, but by objectives. Halakah (*hālākā*, from *hālak*, “to walk”) refers to a legal ruling (pl. *hālākôt*). Hence, halakic midrash is in reference to legal interpretation. The purpose of halakot was to build an oral “fence” around written Torah, making violation of it (written Torah) less likely (*m. ʾAbot* 1:1; 3:14). Haggadah (*haggaā*, lit., “telling,” from the root *nāgad*, “to draw”) refers to the interpretation of narrative and is usually understood as homiletical or nonlegal interpretation (pl. *haggadôt*). Best known is the Passover Haggadah (cf. *b. Pesah.* 115b, 116b). Haggadic midrash was much more imaginative in its attempts to fill in the gaps in Scripture and to explain away apparent discrepancies, difficulties and unanswered questions. Legal rulings were not to be derived from haggadic interpretation (cf. *y. Peʾah* 2:6). At the same time, however, many haggadic passages are based on legal principles or have practical application. In view of this overlap between halakah and haggadah, G. Porton proposes an alternative division between expositional midrashim, which provide running commentary on a given book, and homiletical midrashim, which focus on only a few verses of a given book or conjoin several nonconsecutive biblical verses around a major theme (Porton 1981). A similar division has been adopted by J. Neusner, who distinguishes three types of rabbinic midrash: (1) verse-by-verse exegesis of a given scriptural book; (2) propositional compositions formed from groups of diverse verses and their exegesis; (3) the repetition of the same point in sequential exegesis of a given book of Scripture (Neusner 2004).

2.3. Rabbinic Periods. The rabbis of the pre-Mishnaic period (50 B.C.–A.D. 200) are referred to as the Tannaim (i.e., the “repeaters”), while the rabbis of the later period (“early”: A.D. 200–500; “late”: A.D. 500–1500) are referred to as the Amoraim (i.e.,

the “speakers,” from *āmôrā*, “interpreter”). Given their proximity to the time of Jesus’ ministry and the emergence of the early church, the Tannaitic traditions are of the greatest value for NT interpretation.

2.4. Rabbinic Literature. The legal corpus in which halakic concerns predominate is made up of Mishnah (lit., “repetition” or “[memorable] paragraph” [ca. A.D. 200]), Tosefta (lit., “supplement [to Mishnah]” [ca. A.D. 300]) and Talmud (lit., “learning” [Palestinian/Jerusalem, ca. A.D. 500; Babylonian, ca. A.D. 600]; note that the word for “disciple” is *talmid*, “one who learns”) (see Rabbinic Traditions and Writings). Many of the halakot found in the Mishnah date back in one form or another to the time of Jesus (e.g., cf. Mk 2:16 and *m. Demai* 2:3 concerning being the guest of a nonobservant Jew; Mk 3:1-6 and *m. Šabb.* 14:3-4; 22:6 concerning healing on the Sabbath; Mk 7:3-13 and *m. Ned.* 1:3 concerning *qorban*). It was believed that the oral law ultimately derives from Moses: “Many rulings were transmitted to Moses on Sinai [and] . . . all of them are embodied in Mishnah” (*y. Pesah.* 2:6).

Many of the nonlegal works are called “midrashim” (“commentaries”). From the Tannaitic period we have *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael* (on Exodus), *Sipre Numbers*, *Sipre Deuteronomy* and *Sipra Leviticus*. From the early Amoraic period we have *Midrash Rabbah* (on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls), *Midrash on the Psalms*, *Pesiqta Rabbati*, *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*, *Seder Elijah Rabbah* and *Midrash Tanhuma*. Tannaitic tradition is often found in these writings as well (and when it is, it is called *baraita*).

2.5. Midrash and Jewish Exegetical Literature. In the past, scholars have frequently regarded midrash as a broad category that includes not only rabbinic interpretation but also translation/paraphrase (LXX, Targumim), rewritten Scripture (*Reworked Pentateuch*, *Jubilees*, *Temple Scroll*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, *Josephus’s *Jewish Antiquities*), the Qumran pesharim and Philo’s exegetical commentaries. In recent study, however, there is a conscious effort to distinguish rabbinic midrash from other types of Jewish exegetical endeavors with regard to their literary genres, social locations, theological outlooks and exegetical aims. The classification of exegetical texts into those that employ implicit exegesis by intertwining text and interpretation and those that employ explicit exegesis by formally separating scriptural quotations (the lemma) from interpretative comments is especially helpful here. Rabbinic midrashim, along with the pesharim of Qumran and Philo’s commentaries, belong to the latter category because they clearly dis-

tinguish the words of Scripture from the explanatory comments (which could also include short stories, dialogues among several sages, or extended monologues). The differences between them, however, should not be overlooked. Unlike the pesharim, rabbinic midrashim do not reflect an apocalyptic mindset and do not promote a singular interpretation of a given scriptural text. Unlike Philo’s commentaries, rabbinic midrashim do not show preference for allegorical exegesis for accessing the timeless truths of Scripture.

3. Midrash in Jesus and the Gospels.

Even though midrash proper is a post-70 A.D. rabbinic phenomenon, some of the biblical exegesis found in the Gospels reflects midrashic principles. As were the students of the rabbis, the followers of Jesus were called “disciples” (*mathētēs*, “learner” = *talmid*). B. Gerhardsson and R. Riesner have argued that Jesus’ teaching has been carefully preserved by his disciples, who had been taught according to rabbinic practices (see Teacher). Comments such as “You search the Scriptures” (Jn 5:39; 7:52; cf. Philo, *Det.* 13; *b. Ta’an.* 5b), “Go and learn” (Mt 9:13; cf. *S. Eli. Rab.* §18 [94]; *Num. Rab.* 8:4, on Num 5:6), “Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me” (Mt 11:29-30; cf. *m. ‘Abot* 3:5; *m. Ber.* 2:2, 5) and “Hear” (Mt 21:33; cf. *m. Ber.* 2:2; *b. Šabb.* 13b), found throughout the Gospels, echo the language of midrash and exegetical dispute (note Jn 3:25: “A dispute [*zētēsis*] arose between some disciples of John and a Jew concerning purification” [cf. Acts 6:9; 9:29; 15:7]). Surely the comment “You search the Scriptures because you suppose that you find life in them” (Jn 5:39) has in mind the widespread rabbinic conviction that “more Torah means more life” (credited to Hillel [cf. *m. ‘Abot* 2:8; cf. 2:7]), and that “Torah is for eternal life” (credited to Ishmael [cf. *Mek. Pisha’* §16, on Ex 13:3]). Specific exegeses preserved in the Gospels closely parallel, and at times are apparently part of, midrashic interpretations that were current in the first century A.D., some of which were later incorporated into rabbinic literature. The comparative method for tracing the development of various interpretative traditions associated with specific scriptural passages that was proposed by R. Bloch is still one of the most useful tools for reconstructing the interpretative moves of the NT authors.

3.1. Matthew. The Matthean infancy narrative (see Birth of Jesus) is rich with scriptural allusions and themes that to some extent reflect midrashic principles and practice. When the evangelist presented the genealogy of Jesus in three clusters of

fourteen generations each (Mt 1:2-17), he probably was hinting at the numerical value of the Hebrew name "David" (*dwd*: 4 + 6 + 4 = 14), the messianic ancestor of Jesus (Mt 1:1). The "star" in Matthew 2:7 very likely echoes Numbers 24:17 ("A star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall arise out of Israel"), as its interpretation in midrash and Targum would seem to indicate (e.g., "A mighty king of the house of Jacob shall reign, and shall be anointed Messiah, wielding the mighty scepter of Israel" [*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*]). Evidently both Philo (*Praem.* 95) and Josephus (*J.W.* 6.312-13) understood Numbers 24:17 as messianic. When the evangelist tells us that Jesus' return from Egypt fulfilled Hosea 11:1 ("Out of Egypt I have called my son" [Mt 2:15]), he likely has interpreted Hosea in the light of the similar passage in LXX Numbers 24:7-8 ("There shall come a man out of his seed, and he shall rule over many nations. . . . God led him out of Egypt"). Dwelling in "Nazareth" fulfills the prophets (Mt 2:23), probably because the three root consonants of "Nazareth" (*nšr*) are common to the word "branch" (*nēšer*), a word that has messianic overtones (cf. Is 11:1 [*nēšer*]; Is 49:6 [*nšyry*]; Jer 23:5; 33:15; Zech 3:8; 6:12 ["sprout," *šemah*]; cf. also Judg 13:5-7 ["nazarite," *nēzir*] (see Nazarene).

3.2. Mark. In several places Mark's Gospel gives evidence that Jesus was acquainted with Israel's Scriptures as they were interpreted in the synagogue of his day (Chilton 1984). When Jesus paraphrased Isaiah 6:10, "lest they repent and it be forgiven them" (Mk 4:12), he has followed the Targum ("and it be forgiven them"), not the Hebrew ("and I heal them"). When Jesus cited Isaiah 66:24, "where their worm does not die and the fire is not quenched," as descriptive of Gehenna (Mk 9:47-48), it is again clear that he had not the Hebrew in mind, which does not mention Gehenna, but the Targum: "for their spirits will not die, and their fire will not be quenched, and the wicked will be judged in Gehenna." Jesus' reworking of Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard (Is 5:1-7) into a parable directed against Jerusalem's religious leaders (Mk 12:1-11), instead of the nation as a whole (as it is in Isaiah), likely reflected the Targum's insertion of "sanctuary" (*Tg. Isa.* 5:2), and the rabbinic interpretation that Isaiah 5:1-7 specifically predicted the destruction of the temple and its altar (cf. *t. Me'il.* 1:16; *t. Sukkah* 3:15; *Tg. Isa.* 5:5).

3.3. Luke. One of Luke's most remarkable accomplishments is the framing and enrichment of the infancy narrative in terms of the stories and language of the OT. Most impressive are the echoes of the infancy narrative of the prophet Samuel (1 Sam 1-2).

*Mary's Magnificat (Lk 1:46-55) is modeled after Hannah's song of thanksgiving following the birth of Samuel (1 Sam 2:1-10). In fact, the Magnificat is replete with scriptural allusions (e.g., cf. Lk 1:48 with LXX 1 Sam 1:11; Lk 1:50 with Ps 103:17). When Luke wrote that "Jesus increased in wisdom and in stature, and in favor with God and people" (Lk 2:52), he undoubtedly had in mind the similar progress report concerning Samuel: "Now the boy Samuel continued to grow both in stature and in favor with the Lord and with people" (1 Sam 2:26).

3.4. John. The opening verses of the Johannine prologue reflect midrashic interpretation at many points. We are told that the Word [*logos*] existed with God from the beginning, that all things were made through the Word, and that the Word was the source of light and illumination (esp. Jn 1:1, 4-5, 9) (see *Logos*). All of these ideas are found in the midrashim and targumim: "You find that at the very beginning of the creation of the world, the King Messiah had already come into being" (*Pesiq. Rab.* 33:6); "By my Word [*memra*] I have perfected the heavens" (*Tg. Isa.* 48:13; cf. 45:12); "And the Word of the Lord said, 'Let there be light'" (*Frg. Tg. Gen.* 1:3); "The earth was void and empty and darkness was spread over the face of the abyss. And the Word of the Lord was the light and it shone" (*Tg. Neof. Exod.* 12:42 [cf. *Gen. Rab.* 1:6, on Gen 1:1]).

The Fourth Gospel presents us with an interesting comparison between Jesus and Jacob. When Jesus tells the astonished Nathanael, "You will see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man" (Jn 1:51), he has alluded to Genesis 28:12, where the patriarch Jacob saw the staircase of *angels in a dream. According to midrashic traditions, the angels came down to gaze upon Jacob because his image was on God's throne in heaven (*Frg. Tg. Gen.* 28:12; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 68:12, on Gen 28:12). Indeed, one interpretation understands that the angels ascended and descended on Jacob, and not simply on the staircase (*Gen. Rab.* 69:3, on Gen 28:12). The Fourth Evangelist probably wanted to invite his readers to view Jesus as superior to the patriarch, for Jesus, not Jacob, is the true image of God, and it is Jesus the Son of Man, not Jacob, upon whom the angels ascend and descend. A similar concern likely underlies Jesus' encounter with the woman at the well (Jn 4:10-26). "When our father Jacob lifted up the stone from upon the mouth of the well, the well surged up, and continued to surge up for twenty years" (*Frg. Tg. Gen.* 28:10). In contrast, Jesus offers water that will "surge up" not for twenty years, but for an eternity (Jn 4:14).

4. The Gospels as Midrash.

Some scholars have argued that the Gospels themselves, in their entirety, represent instances of midrashim. J. Drury suggests that the variations in the Synoptic parallels may represent midrashic embellishment and creation. M. Goulder has argued that the Gospels are midrashim whose contents have followed primitive Jewish Christian lectionaries. One scholar has suggested that Mark's Gospel constitutes a "gigantic midrash" on the Hexateuch and Lamentations (Derrett, 1:38; see also Miller). Another scholar, A. Maynard, has argued that the Fourth Gospel is a midrash of the three Synoptic Gospels. But these conclusions are problematic.

Has Mark really produced a midrash on various OT books? On the contrary, he has not given us an interpretation of the Hexateuch; he has given us an interpretation of Jesus. His primary task was not to interpret the written words of Scripture but rather to interpret the life, death and resurrection of a historical figure. It is true that Mark, like other early Christian interpreters, could not explain the significance of Jesus without a dialogue with the sacred texts, but surely it is inaccurate to describe the Gospel of Mark as a whole as a midrash on parts of the OT. B. Chilton has offered a more accurate assessment (Chilton 1986). According to him, the Gospels share certain affinities with midrashic paraphrase and probably should be regarded in places as "midrashic" but not "midrash," as "targumic" but not "targum." Reaching a conclusion that is compatible with Chilton's findings, F. Downing has compared the evangelists' use of sources, particularly Luke's use of Mark, to Josephus's use of the LXX. It probably is best to conclude, therefore, that the evangelists' interpretation of the OT and their respective presentations of the story of Jesus are to an extent midrashic in character but not midrashim.

See also OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS; TARGUMS; TYPOLOGY.

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MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES

The Synoptic Gospels most often use “deeds of power” (*dynamis* [Mt 11:20-21, 23; 13:54, 58; 14:2; Mk 6:2, 5, 14; Lk 10:13; 19:37; cf. Lk 5:17; Acts 2:22]) to identify the activities of Jesus regarded as miracles. Luke also uses “remarkable/strange things” (*paradoxa* [Lk 5:26]) and “sign” (*sēmeion* [Lk 23:8]). The Fourth Gospel also uses “sign” (*sēmeion* [Jn 2:11, 23; 3:2; 4:48, 54; 6:2, 14, 26; 7:31; 9:16; 11:47; 12:18, 37; 20:30]) and “signs and wonders” (*sēmeia kai terata* [Jn 4:48]). Luke also calls them “wonders” (*terata* [Acts 2:22; cf. Heb 2:4]) and, perhaps, “doing good” (*euergetōn* [Acts 10:38]).

More often, Jesus’ miracle working is conveyed through stories of obviously remarkable feats, such as walking on water (Mt 14:22-33 // Mk 6:45-52; cf. Jn 6:16-21), or through noting the simplicity of the methods used (e.g., Mt 8:8 // Lk 7:7), sometimes over against noting the severity of the illness (e.g., Mk 5:25-26; Jn 5:1-9), or the response of the crowd or Jesus’ spreading fame (e.g., Mk 1:27-28). The space given to the stories, and the summaries (e.g., Mt 8:16-17 // Mk 1:32-34 // Lk 4:40-41), draws further attention to these activities and their perceived importance. Although not taken into account in this article, Jesus is also credited with being involved in events generally regarded as miraculous: his *birth, *transfiguration, *resurrection and *ascension.

1. Jesus
2. Early Interpreters
3. Mark
4. Matthew
5. Luke
6. John
7. Summary of the Gospels
8. Recent Interpreters

1. Jesus.

We know of no other figure from the period who has as many miracle stories associated with him. That miracle working was of central importance to Jesus, and to those who knew him, can be gauged from six lines of evidence. (1) Every Gospel tradition connects miracle working with the large crowds that Jesus attracted: Q (e.g., Mt 12:23 // Lk 11:14), Mark (e.g., Mk 1:45; 3:9), M (passages peculiar to Matthew [e.g., Mt 4:25]), L (passages peculiar to Luke [e.g., Lk 7:11]) and John (e.g., Jn 6:2; 12:9-18). (2) Mark, the earliest Gospel, depicts Jesus drawing crowds almost entirely because of his miracles (Mk 1:32-34, 45; 2:1-2, 13; 3:7-12). (3) The request, found in all four Gospels, for a sign to authenticate Jesus’ status arises out of his reputation as a miracle-worker (Mt 12:38-39; 16:1-4; Mk 8:11-13; Lk 11:16, 29; Jn 6:30; cf. Jn 2:12-22), which was refused perhaps because cosmic or eschatological signs were associated with the promises of false prophets (Acts 5:36-37; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.85; 20.97, 169). (4) Jesus was remembered as a miracle-worker, evident in the use of his name by other healers (e.g., Mk 9:38; Origen, *Cels.* 1.6, 67; *PGM* 4.1227, 3019-20; Justin, *Dial.* 30.3; 76.6; 85.2; 2 *Apol.* 6; Arnobius, *Adv. gent.* 1.46); and Josephus appears to know a tradition in which Jesus was remembered primarily as a miracle-worker (*Ant.* 18.63-64). (5) Jesus can consider himself primarily a miracle-worker (Mt 11:4-6 // Lk 7:22-23) and describe his ministry in terms of conducting miracles, in that they, without preaching, could bring *repentance (Mt 11:21 // Lk 10:13; cf., e.g., Jn 6:14). (6) Jesus’ miracles gave rise to conflict with authority, which led to his eventual arrest (Mt 9:1-8 // Mk 2:1-11 // Lk 5:17-26; Jn 9:1-41).

1.1. Exorcism. From the stories (e.g., Mk 1:21-28; 5:1-20; 7:24-30; 9:14-29) and the summaries, the most frequent type of Jesus’ healings is exorcism, often listed separately (e.g., Mt 8:16-17 // Mk 1:32-34 // Lk 4:40-41; Mk 3:10-11 // Lk 6:17-18; Mt 10:1 // Lk 9:1). Along with the prominence of exorcisms, linking them with the downfall of Satan and his power (Mk 3:23-27; Mt 12:25-29 // Lk 11:17-22) gives the impression that Jesus saw his ministry as a battle against the *demonic and its impurity (cf. Mk

1:23; 4QS IV, 9-10) (see Klutz, 125-37).

1.2. Healings. Jesus is also said to *heal cripples and the paralyzed (Mt 9:1-8 // Mk 2:1-12 // Lk 5:17-26; Mt 12:9-14 // Mk 3:1-6 // Lk 6:6-11; Mt 8:5-13 // Lk 7:1-10; cf. Jn 4:46-54; Lk 13:10-17; Jn 5:1-18), give sight to the *blind (Mk 8:22-26; Mt 9:27-31 // 20:29-34 // Mk 10:46-52 // Lk 18:35-43; Jn 9:1-7), raise the dead (Mt 9:18-26 // Mk 5:21-43 // Lk 8:40-56; Lk 7:11-17; Jn 11:1-57), cleanse lepers (Mt 8:1-4 // Mk 1:40-45 // Lk 5:12-16; 17:11-19), and perform other healings (Mt 8:14-15 // Mk 1:29-31 // Lk 4:38-39; Mt 9:18-26 // Mk 5:21-43 // Lk 8:40-56; Mt 15:29-31 // Mk 7:31-37; Lk 14:1-6; 22:50-51). These are portrayed not only as acts of compassion, but also as acts in which God is involved (e.g., Mk 2:1-12).

1.3. Techniques. There are aspects of Jesus' technique that would have been familiar to his audience: the brevity of his exorcistic commands (cf. 11Q11; Justin, *Dial.* 85.3; Origen, *Cels.* 4.33-44) all having parallels in ancient magic (Twelftree 2006, 83); his commands dependent on (or infused with) a power-authority (Mt 12:28 // Lk 11:20); using spittle to cure blindness (Jn 9:6; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.81), and using pigs into which to transfer demons (Mk 5:12-13; cf. Plato, *Resp.* 398a). The dramatic confrontation between Jesus and demoniacs (see Mk 1:23-24; 5:6-7) may be an expression of the belief that the presence of spiritual power could threaten demons (*Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 4.5; *PGM* 4.2145-240; 12.270-350; 36.275-83). Yet, there are elements of Jesus' methods that appear distinctive: there is no evidence that he collected, maintained or used artifacts or a library of incantations (cf. *PGM* 5); and he does not pray (cf. 1QapGen ar XX; *b. Ber.* 34b; *b. Ta'an.* 24b) or mention his power-authority when healing (cf. Acts 16:18; 19:13).

1.4. Magician? Some accused Jesus of performing exorcisms by Satan (Mt 9:34 // 12:23 // Mk 3:23 // Lk 11:15). In that the charges of being a "false prophet" (*pseudoprophētēs*) or "deceiver" (*planos*) or "magician" (*magos*) were very closely associated (Justin, *Dial.* 69.7; *b. Sanh.* 43a; 107b; *Acts Thom.* 96, 102, 106-107) and were associated with the devil and demons (Acts 13:6-12; Rev 16:13-14; 19:20; Justin, *Dial.* 7.3; 69; Origen, *Cels.* 1.68; *Jub.* 48:9-11; CD-A V, 17-19; *Herm.* 43), Jesus probably was being accused of being a magician—that is, being in league with the devil and leading people astray (Stanton).

1.5. Nature Miracles. The historicity of the so-called nature miracles is often thought difficult to establish: a large catch of fish (Lk 5:1-11; Jn 21:4-14); a coin in a fish's mouth (Mt 17:24-27); stilling a storm (Mt 8:23-27 // Mk 4:35-41 // Lk 8:22-25); feeding a multitude (Mt 14:13-21 // Mk 6:32-44 // Lk 9:10-17 //

Jn 6:1-15; Mt 15:32-39 // Mk 8:1-10); walking on the sea (Mt 14:22-33 // Mk 6:45-52 // Jn 6:16-21); a fig tree withered (Mt 21:18-19, 20-22 // Mk 11:12-14, 20-26); and turning water into wine (Jn 2:1-12). Only the disciples appear to be aware of them, suggesting that they were not widely known, and they are not mentioned in the sayings of Jesus or in the summaries of his miraculous activity, raising questions about their historicity; and they echo OT motifs and the theology and practices of the early church (Blackburn 1994, 370-71), suggesting to some interpreters that they were significantly embellished or created by the early church.

1.6. Jesus' Interpretation of His Miracles. As a healer, Jesus was recognized as a *prophet (cf. Mk 6:1-4; 8:27-30) (Hooker), but in light of sayings that most likely reflect his intentions, his miracles contributed to his self-understanding as God's anointed individual at the center of eschatological events (see Mt 11:4-6 // Lk 7:22-23; cf. Is 29:18; 35:5; 42:7; 18: 61:1; Ps 146:8; 4Q521 2 II, 8, 12). Particularly important is the saying "If by God's Spirit/finger I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you" (Mt 12:28 // Lk 11:20 [cf. Is 61:1; *Tg. Isa.* 42:1-4]) (see Holy Spirit). Jesus almost certainly was claiming that his exorcisms made evident that he was endowed with the eschatological Spirit and was therefore himself an eschatological figure. The miracles were not signs or evidence of the coming of God's reign; in themselves they were the kingdom of God expressed in the lives of those healed (see Mt 11:4-6 // Lk 7:22-23).

In the parable of the strong man (Mt 12:29 // Mk 3:27 // Lk 11:21-22) Jesus also expresses the view that his exorcisms are the destruction of Satan. Although Satan was expected to be destroyed in the eschaton (e.g., Is 24:21-22; 1 En. 10:4-6; 1QS IV, 18-19), Jesus is the first to connect exorcism with Satan's downfall. Given that he considered himself to be involved in events of eschatological significance, Jesus probably made the connection between exorcism and the defeat of Satan because the demons that he was evicting were understood to be minions of Satan (cf. 11Q13 III, 24; also, e.g., 11Q13 II, 12-13; 4Q387^a 3 III, 4; *Jub.* 10:7-8). However, reflecting a two-stage defeat of Satan held at the time (e.g., Is 24:22; 1 En. 10:4-6, 11-13), Jesus probably took his exorcisms to be the first stage of the defeat that would be completed in the eschaton (cf. Mt 13:24-30).

2. Early Interpreters.

2.1. The Q Tradition. The importance of Jesus' miracles for this reconstructed tradition (see Q) is

seen from thaumaturgical themes being integral to it (e.g., Lk 17:6), and in one of the two major narratives being of the healing of the centurion's servant (Lk 7:1-10; cf. Lk 4:1-13), and the only other brief narrative mentions Jesus "casting out a demon that was mute" (Lk 11:14). This material is used to show that Jesus' miracles, of central importance to his ministry (Lk 7:22; 10:13), are empowered by the Spirit, not Satan (Lk 11:14-15, 17-19), and that they are visible expressions of the coming of the kingdom of God (Lk 11:20) in which people are rescued as if spoil from a guarded castle so they can be gathered as followers of Jesus (cf. Lk 11:24-26). Despite difficulties and rejection (Lk 9:57-60; 10:3, 10-12), there is also the expectation that Jesus' followers will perform miracles as part of their mission (Lk 10:9).

2.2. Paul. Paul provides very little direct information about Jesus, but he may be referring to Jesus' miracles in Romans 15:18-19. In also talking about his own miracles, his statement about Christ working through him only has force if he thought Jesus conducted miracles. In the parallelism "by the power of signs and wonders, by the power the Spirit of God" Paul is expressing the same view as the Jesus tradition, that his own miracles are also the activity or expression of the Spirit (Mt 12:28 // Lk 11:20).

Paul also takes up Jesus' theme of the kingdom of God (Rom 14:17; 1 Cor 4:20; 6:9, 10; 15:24, 50; Gal 5:21; 1 Thess 2:12; cf. Eph 5:5; Col 1:13; 4:11; 2 Thess 1:5; 2 Tim 4:1; 4:18), and he also connects it with his own preaching and with his miracle working, and, like Jesus, he associates both with empowerment by the Spirit (1 Cor 4:20; 1 Thess 1:5).

3. Mark.

The importance of miracles for the earliest Gospel is evident in almost half of the narrative before Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem (Mk 11:1) being concerned with miracles, and in the expectation that his followers would be miracle-workers (Mk 3:15; 6:7, 13; 9:18).

3.1. Divine Man? The view that Mark was correcting the portrait of Jesus as a "divine man" (*theios anēr*), which he found in the miracle stories, has been laid to rest. The legendary or historical genius, or religious hero, whose indwelling by the divine brought divinity and supernatural power, which was expressed in miracle working, turns out to be a figment of scholarly imagination. The term "divine man," which was not a fixed expression, is relatively rare in Greek literature, and it is not ascribed to those who were thought to be sacred or who distinguished themselves by conducting miracles (Blackburn 1991).

3.2. Denigrating the Miracles? The idea that Mark was emphasizing the *passion at the expense of the miraculous, depicting Jesus as powerless, or reluctantly including the miraculous is also not credible. Given the amount of space given to the miracle stories, they are no less significant than the passion. Mark also writes positively of the miracles (e.g., Mk 1:27-28; 2:12; 4:41), stressing their magnitude (e.g., Mk 5:3, 26; 9:18), even equating them with the *gospel (Mk 1:1, 14-15; 3:19-30). The interrelated importance of the miracles and the passion is seen in noting that, on the one hand, language and imagery in the miracle stories point to a self-giving Savior (Mk 6:41; 8:6; cf. Mk 14:22) and adumbrate the passion (Mk 9:26-27), and that, on the other hand, the passion is accompanied and interpreted by the miraculous (Mk 15:33, 38; 16:1-8), so that Jesus' miracles and his self-giving death are an interpretive whole.

3.3. Miracles Identify Jesus. Mark links many themes to the miracle stories—for example, failure of the Jews (Mk 8:1-12); inclusion of the *Gentiles (Mk 5:1-20; 7:24-30; 8:1-10); the power of Jesus over impurity (Mk 1:23), sin (Mk 2:1-10) and Satan (Mk 3:21-27); and the ability of Jesus to protect his followers (Mk 4:35-41). However, Mark's consistent interest, and the overarching function of the miracle stories, probably was to identify Jesus. In relation to the miracles, specifically the exorcisms, the demons are said to know Jesus (Mk 1:24, 34; 3:11; 5:7). In Jesus' forgiving and healing a paralytic, the question is asked, "Who can forgive sins but God alone?" and the crowd glorifies God (Mk 2:7, 12). Jesus is shown to have the right to override the *Sabbath (Mk 3:2), to be empowered by the Spirit (Mk 3:19-30), and to bring *salvation (Mk 10:47-52). Moreover, in walking on the water, for example, Mark portrays Jesus as God himself uniquely present (Mk 6:47-52; cf. Ex 33:17-23; Job 9:8).

3.4. Miracles and Teaching. The first miracle story is set in the context of Jesus teaching, and the crowd is amazed over the teaching as well as the miracle (Mk 1:27). Mark goes on to portray the crowds seeking Jesus as a healer (cf. Mk 1:32-34, 37), but Jesus' response is to say that he must proclaim the message (Mk 1:38), even though Mark then says that Jesus went throughout Galilee speaking as well as exorcising (Mk 1:39). The tension between Jesus' wishing to teach though being sought as a healer is also seen in the ensuing story of Jesus teaching at home, yet being sought as a healer (Mk 2:1-12; cf. 3:1-6). Expressing the unity of Jesus the teacher and miracle-worker, blind Bartimaeus, who expects Jesus to heal him, addresses Jesus as "teacher" (*rabbouni* [Mk 10:51]; cf. Mk 4:38; *m. Ber.*

2:5-7; *m.* *ʾAbot* 1:6). As a healer, then, Jesus is addressed and sought as *teacher (cf. Mk 9:28), and in his teaching he is sought as a healer. Jesus' activity and identity involve both.

3.5. *Miracles as Parables.* Mark understands Jesus' miracles not as unequivocal signs (cf. Mk 8:11-13), but as parabolic or ambiguous in their significance (see Parables). From one perspective, miracles are the defeat of Satan (Mk 3:23); from another, they are the realization of the kingdom of God (Mk 1:15). Some see them as empowered not by the Spirit but by Satan (Mk 3:20-30). The miracles provoke both hostility to Jesus and *worship of God (e.g., Mk 2:1-11), and even the disciples do not grasp their meaning (Mk 4:35-41; 6:51-52; 8:14-21). As much as in other aspects of Jesus' ministry (e.g., Mk 2:13-17; 11:15-18; 12:1-12), miracles brought about conflict with the religious leaders (e.g., Mk 3:1-6), a conflict that saw its climax in the passion. As with the parables, faith is required to perceive their meaning (cf. Mk 4:10-12, 40; 8:14-21).

3.6. *Jesus Cannot Be Hidden.* Some commands to silence make the point that Jesus' identity is improperly comprehended apart from his passion (Mk 1:34; 3:12). Other injunctions to silence highlight the inability of Jesus' ministry to be hidden (Mk 1:45; 5:19-20; 7:36). In some miracle stories a command to silence would be senseless or unnecessary because these miracles, taking place in the presence of a crowd, spark Jesus' spreading fame (Mk 1:29-31; 2:1-12; 3:1-6; 5:25-34; 9:14-29; 10:46-52) to Gentiles. Representing Mark's readers, they receive Jesus with acclaim equal to that accorded by the Jews (Mk 5:1-20; 6:53-56; 7:24-8:10). The impossibility of Jesus being hidden is captured in the irony of the last verse of the Gospel (Mk 16:8).

3.7. *Miracles as Models.* In that the disciples are called to emulate the ministry of Jesus (cf. Mk 3:14-15), the miracle stories are models for the healing ministry of the readers. That Mark intends the miracle stories to teach how to carry out healing can be seen from the structure of his narrative: the called disciples (Mk 3:15) only sent out on mission after having been with Jesus the teacher and miracle-worker (Mk 6:7-13). More widely from Mark's narrative, readers could assume that followers of Jesus would be able to heal because they have his authority to cast out demons and his power to heal the sick (cf. Mk 1:15; 5:30; 9:38). Also, didactic intent is explicit in the story of the healing of the epileptic boy (Mk 9:14-29), where *prayer, an exercise in faith (cf. Mk 6:5-6; 9:19; 11:24), is enjoined as a method of exorcism (Mk 9:29).

3.8. *Miracles and Faith.* So integral is faith in Jesus' healing that, apart from the exorcisms, all the healing stories include some expression of trust in Jesus before, during, or after the healing. Notably, all occurrences of the noun "faith" (*pistis*) are associated with a miracle story (Mk 2:5; 4:40; 5:34; 10:52; 11:22). *Faith is essential not only in Jesus being willing (Mk 2:5; 3:5; 5:36; 7:29; 9:14-29; 10:51), but also in his ability to perform miracles (Mk 6:5-6; cf. Mk 5:34). Miracles are, for Mark, an encouragement—a summons or demand to repentance and faith (cf. Mk 1:15)—to be with Jesus (Mk 3:14; 5:18), to follow him (Mk 10:52), or to serve him (Mk 1:31) on the basis of the eschatological *salvation offered in the miracles (Mk 10:48, 51).

4. Matthew.

In establishing Jesus as the Messiah, as *son of David and *Abraham, as well as his conception by the Holy Spirit, and his name as "Jesus" ("Joshua" in Hebrew, related to the verb "to save") (Mt 1:18-21), readers know that God will be saving his people from their sins, and that the miracles will embody and manifest salvation (cf. Mt 8:23-27).

4.1. *Word and Deed.* Together, the great sermon (Mt 5-7) (see Sermon on the Mount) and the miracle stories (Mt 8-9) form a two-part panel portraying Jesus as the new *Moses, who teaches (Mt 5:1-2) and performs miracles (both Ex 7-12 and Mt 8-9 have ten miracles). However, in being placed second in this arrangement, the miracles take second place to the teaching. This view, reinforced through Matthew's place in the NT, has become part of the orthodoxy of mainstream Christianity and established in Jesus scholarship.

Jesus' ministry of word and deed is to be reflected in the ministry of his followers (Mt 10:1-42). In that the disciples do not go out on mission in Matthew's narrative, it is in the narrative of the readers he expects this twofold ministry is to be carried out (Mt 28:16-20).

In following each three cycles of stories in Matthew 8-9 with teaching by Jesus, Matthew uses the miracle stories to develop a number of themes relating to discipleship. In the first cycle of stories the sufferers are among the outsiders: a leper (Mt 8:2), a Gentile (Mt 8:5) and a woman (Mt 8:14). Readers would be encouraged in their mission to the Gentiles, and Gentile readers would be encouraged in receiving healing salvation from Jesus. In the final story of the first cycle the healed woman serves Jesus (Mt 8:15), a theme that Matthew then develops (Mt 8:18-22). The theme of discipleship (particularly its

difficulty [Mt 8:23-24, 34]) is also taken up from the second cycle of stories (Mt 9:9-13), but *Christology is of prime importance (Mt 8:27, 33-34), as can be seen in people glorifying God (Mt 9:8). The third cycle is introduced by the theme of newness (Mt 9:14-17) that goes beyond the issues of *fasting and mourning the dead to raising the dead, so that the amazed crowd concludes that nothing like Jesus' ministry has been seen in Israel (Mt 9:33).

4.2. Christology. When compared with Mark, the most obvious feature of Matthew's miracle stories is that they are (except for Mt 15:21-28 // Mk 7:24-30) abbreviated by abridging the narratives while simultaneously expanding the discourse. This focuses attention on the elements of interest to Matthew, especially Christology, in which the title "Son of David" is significant (this is the only Gospel with the phrase "*the* Son of David" [Mt 12:23; 21:9, 15]). In that the title is used mostly in the healing miracles (Mt 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30, 31; cf. Mt 1:1, 20; 21:9, 15), they are, as for Mark, revealing Jesus' true identity. Matthew portrays this revelation as progressive: from "Never was anything like this seen in Israel" (Mt 9:33), to "Can this be the Son of David?" (Mt 12:23 [expecting a negative answer]), to the bold statement "Hosanna to the Son of David!" (Mt 21:15). Matthew's unexplained practice of introducing a second sufferer (Mt 8:28; 9:27; 20:30) may be to supply a second witness to the credibility of the confession (cf. Mt 26:60; Dt 17:6).

The Jesus of the miracles is also God himself acting mightily among his people. In the story of the calming of the sea, for example, the disciples' initial address to Jesus (Mt 8:25) resembles the sailors' cry to God in Jonah 1:4. And Jesus' rebuke to the winds and the sea recalls God controlling the chaos and sea in the OT (e.g., Ps 33:7; Jer 31:35). In the story of the healing of the paralyzed man the scribes' accusation of blasphemy arises because Jesus has acted in God's place by forgiving the man's sins (cf. Ex 34:6-7; Is 43:25; Dan 9:9; CD-A III, 18). In walking on water, something accomplished only by God in the OT (Job 9:8; cf. Mt 14:25 with Ex 14:24), Jesus is also portrayed as God, and Peter's cry to Jesus (Mt 14:30) echoes the psalmist's cry to God (Ps 69:1).

4.3. A Wonder Worker? Although the crowd responds in wonder or amazement (*thaumazō* [Mt 8:27; 9:33; 15:31; 21:20]; *existēmi* [Mt 12:23]), this is, for Matthew, an incomplete understanding of Jesus. For example, while the amazed disciples only question who Jesus is after he has calmed the storm and draw no particular conclusions about Jesus (Mt 8:27), the stories immediately following present a

crescendo of understanding and acclamation in view of Jesus' wonders: first the demons call him "Son of God" (Mt 8:29; cf. Mt 12:23), and then God is glorified in light of the paralytic being healed (Mt 9:8; cf. Mt 15:31).

4.4. Exorcisms. Matthew has downplayed both Jesus as an exorcist and the role of exorcism in the ministry of the disciples, perhaps due to difficulties that he saw exorcists caused (cf. Mt 7:15-23). Nevertheless, Matthew considered that Jesus' exorcisms revealed his identity, were the first stage in the defeat of Satan performed in the power of the Spirit, and, with the other miracles (Mt 11:2-6), were evidence God's new reign had arrived (Mt 12:28 // Lk 11:20).

4.5. Miracles in Nature. The function of the non-therapeutic miracles may be gleaned from their connection to the four places where the followers of Jesus are reprimanded for having "little faith." For example, Peter is, at least initially, successful in walking on the water. On noticing the strong wind, he becomes frightened and sinks, whereupon Jesus reprimands him for having "little faith" (Mt 14:31), probably because he had just seen Jesus, using severely limited resources, feed the five thousand (Mt 14:13-21; cf. Mt 6:30; 8:26; 16:8). Therefore, the function of these nontherapeutic miracles is to teach followers of Jesus to have faith rather than "little faith" in Jesus' ability to care for his followers in difficult life situations.

4.6. Faith. Trust in Jesus enables miracles to take place, as well as to be understood (cf. Mt 13:54-58). However, the miracles in themselves neither create faith nor dispel doubt, but only confirm the distance between Jesus and those who do not understand the source and nature of his miracles (Mt 12:14, 24; 14:33, 35; 15:30-31; 19:2; 21:16). The origin of faith is in seeing Jesus for who he is, as in the case of the leper who, on seeing Jesus coming down the mountain, knelt before him (Mt 8:1-2). It is faith that evinces the compassionate Jesus' willingness to heal (Mt 8:2). This means that salvation is also available for Gentiles who have faith (Mt 8:6). Yet, in the healing of Peter's mother-in-law there is no mention of faith. Jesus, independently informed, asks absolutely no conditions to heal her (Mt 8:14-15). When faith is evident, no matter how small (Mt 17:20), it is a practically expressed confidence in Jesus' ability and willingness to heal.

4.7. The Shadow of the Cross. More clearly than in the other Gospels, in Matthew the miracles anticipate the cross. The exorcisms, especially, cause the Pharisees to begin to plot against Jesus (Mt 12:14), and the Last Supper is foreshadowed in the

feeding of the five thousand; both stories are set “when it was evening” (Mt 14:15; 26:20), and the same key vocabulary in the same order is used in each story for Jesus taking, blessing, breaking and giving the bread to the disciples (Mt 14:29; 26:20-29). The parallel is heightened by Matthew omitting mention of the fish in the distribution to the crowd (Mt 14:29). The second feeding story also looks forward to the Eucharist (Mt 15:36) and is also a foretaste of the messianic banquet with the Gentiles (cf. 2 Bar. 29:1-8; 4 Ezra 6:52) (see Table Fellowship).

5. Luke.

Of the Synoptic Gospels, Luke appears to have the most vested in the miracles, identifying Jesus as the eschatological prophet, Messiah and Lord, who is empowered by the eschatological Spirit.

5.1. *Miracles and the Spirit.* The agenda that Luke sets for Jesus (Lk 4:18-19), and the saying about Jesus casting out demons by the finger of God (Lk 11:20) (which he would have understood as God’s hand or Spirit [cf. Ex 7:4-5; 8:19; 9:3, 15; 31:18]), leave no doubt that Luke saw God’s Spirit as the source of Jesus’ miracles. Thus, the Spirit gives rise not only to prophecy but also to the miracles of Jesus (cf. Lk 4:14, 31-44).

5.2. *Miracles and “Power.”* Another way Luke attributed the miracles of Jesus to God was through the use of “power” (*dynamis*). Luke’s concept of power is to be understood not against a background of magic, but rather in light of the LXX. Reflecting the LXX, Luke uses *dynamis* of “the host of heaven” (Lk 21:26; cf. Is 34:4 [B]) and associates *dynamis* with God (Lk 5:17; 22:69; cf. Ps 20:14 [ET 21:13]; 53:3 [ET 54:1]; 139:8 [ET 140:7]) and the Spirit (Lk 1:17, 35; 4:14; cf. Ps 32:6 [ET 33:6]; Is 61:1-2), and of a miracle itself (Lk 10:13; 19:37; cf. Ps 76:15 [ET 77:14]; 144:4 [ET 145:4]). Notwithstanding, this power can be portrayed as an impersonal force working independently of Jesus (Lk 6:19), as well as immediately and impersonally in response to his contact with a believer (8:46) (see Turner).

5.3. *The Ambiguity of Miracle.* As with the other Gospel writers, Luke recognizes the ambiguity of the miracles of Jesus, seen most clearly in the accusation that his exorcisms are empowered by Satan (Lk 11:14-23; cf. Lk 6:11). Jesus’ defense is that it is logically impossible for Satan to cast out Satan (Lk 11:17-18; cf. Acts 19:13-17). Instead, it is by the finger of God, or God himself (Lk 11:20), that Jesus is empowered. Also, Luke portrays Jesus as a prophet bringing God’s authentic voice (Lk 4:24-27, 32; cf. Ex 4:15-16; Acts 10:36) or the “word of God” (Lk 5:1; 8:11, 21;

11:28). Further, rather than describe a self-aggrandizing magician (cf. Acts 9:9-24), Luke gives attention to Jesus’ poverty (Lk 2:7, 12, 16, 24; 9:58), his ministry to the poor (e.g., Lk 4:18; 7:22); his reliance on the support of others (Lk 8:1-3), his teaching on humility (Lk 14:7-14; 18:9-17; 22:24-27), his commendation of humility in others (Lk 7:1-10), and in his own humility (Lk 22:27).

5.4. *Miracles as the Work of God.* Having established that the coming of Jesus is the saving visitation of God (Lk 1:69-79), Luke rewrites the healing stories to highlight Jesus’ miracles as the work of God. For example, where Mark says simply that the demons knew Jesus (Mk 1:34), Luke has the demons cry out, “You are the Son of God!” (Lk 4:41), a term that Luke uses as almost identifying Jesus with God (Lk 1:35; cf. Lk 8:39; 9:43; Acts 20:28). Frequently, the person healed (Lk 5:25; 7:16; 13:13; 17:15; 18:43) or the crowd (Lk 5:26; 7:16 [cf. 13:17]; 18:43) praises God. That the healings can be salvation is seen in the use of the verb *sōzō* for both healing (Lk 6:9; 8:36, 48, 50; 17:19; 18:42) and salvation (Lk 7:50; 8:12; 9:24; 13:23; 18:26; 19:10). Yet, healing and salvation are not identical; for a miracle to be experienced as God’s mercy or salvation, thanksgiving is to be added to faith (Lk 17:16, 19).

5.5. *Miracles and Faith.* In his delaying the call of the first disciples (Lk 5:1-11) until after Jesus has performed miracles (Lk 4:31-41; cf. Mk 1:16-31) gives the impression that discipleship is based not only on Jesus’ teaching, but also on his miracles. This perspective is confirmed in the call story itself (Lk 5:1-11). Also, it was after obeying Jesus’ call to “put out into deep water” and catching so many fish that the nets were beginning to break that Simon “fell down at Jesus’ feet” (Lk 5:8), an act of worship, and was then called by and followed Jesus (Lk 5:10-11). Also, after the story of the healing of the paralytic Luke omits mention of teaching (cf. Mk 2:1-14), so the call of Levi to discipleship follows immediately after the miracle (Lk 5:18-28). In line with this, Luke draws attention to “seeing” what Jesus was doing as grounds for response to his ministry (Lk 10:23). Then, in the story of the *triumphal entry into Jerusalem Luke has the crowd cry out because of “all the mighty works that they had seen” (Lk 19:37).

Similarly, faith as a direct response to miracle is also important in Luke. The theme arises early in that, on being healed, Simon’s mother-in-law is said to begin to serve them (Lk 4:39 // Mk 1:31), “to serve” (*diakoneō*) being a way of describing not only the immediate act as service, but also *discipleship (see Lk 8:3; 12:37; cf. Lk 10:13 // Mt 11:21; Lk 18:35-43; Acts 6:8; 7:60; 14:3-4).

As well as a basis for faith, Luke portrays miracle as a result of faith, as in Jesus responding to the centurion's declaration by saying that he has not found such faith in Israel. It is then said that the servant was found to be in good health (Lk 7:1-10; cf. Lk 7:50; 8:25, 48; 17:19; 18:42).

Miracle as both a basis for and a result of faith is illustrated in the story of the cleansing of the ten lepers (Lk 17:11-19), in which the question of the nature of faith is the context of this story (Lk 17:5-10). The final verse in the story ("your faith has made you well") shows Luke thought faith was the preparation for the healing (Lk 17:19). But in having one leper, on discovering that he was healed, return to Jesus "praising God with a loud voice" also shows that faith is the proper response to a miracle. Notably, this verse (Lk 17:15) is one of a number of places where Luke shows that the object of faith is not the miraculous powers of Jesus, but *God (Lk 13:13; 18:43; 19:17).

5.6. Mission and Miracle. When the Twelve are sent out on *mission (Lk 9:2), Luke displaces the story of Jesus' rejection (Lk 4:16-30 // Mk 6:1-6a), so that the mission follows immediately after a series of dramatic miracle stories (Lk 8:22-56) and is seen to arise out of the miraculous activity of Jesus that they have witnessed. The disciples' mission can also be seen as Jesus needing to enlist the help of others in light of his very successful early mission (cf. Lk 10:2).

5.7. Exorcism. In contrast to Mark, who begins his Gospel giving the impression that exorcism is the most significant aspect of Jesus' ministry (Mk 1:21-28) yet goes on to reduce its place in the ministry of Jesus (there is no hint of exorcism after Mk 9:41), Luke maintains the place of exorcism in Jesus' ministry. To begin with, empowered by the Spirit (Lk 1:35; 3:16, 22; 4:1, 14, 18), Jesus not only preaches the kingdom of God (Lk 4:18, 43) and heals (Lk 4:18, 40), but also exorcises (Lk 4:31-39; cf. Lk 4:40-44). To sustain the place of exorcism in Jesus' ministry, Luke also inserts brief mentions of Jesus dealing with the demonic (Lk 6:17-19; 7:21 // Mt 11:3-4; Lk 13:32; 11:14-23 // Mt 12:22-30 // Mk 3:22-27; Lk 11:24-26 // Mt 12:43-45; Lk 13:10-17).

Luke also turns healing stories into exorcisms. In the healing of Simon's mother-in-law Luke says that Jesus "stood over her" (cf. PGM IV.745, 2735; Lucian, *Philops.* 31) and "rebuked" the fever, actions characteristic of an exorcist (Lk 4:35, 39, 41). The crippled woman who was healed is said to "have a spirit of infirmity" (Lk 13:11) and to be loosed from being bound by Satan (Lk 13:16). Yet, Luke also portrays Jesus dealing with the demonic as if he were per-

forming a healing. In the summary of healings at the beginning of the Sermon on the Plain Luke does not say that Jesus rebuked the unclean spirits, but that he "healed [*therapeuō*] those who were troubled with unclean spirits" (Lk 6:18).

It is not the case that Luke thought that all illness was caused by demons (there is no specific demonic dimension to the healing of the lepers [Lk 5:12-16; 17:11-19]), but in the blurring of the distinction between healing and exorcism, sickness is given a demonic and cosmic dimension; and in all healing God's adversary is being subdued and the person released as a prisoner from jail (cf. Lk 4:18; 11:14-23).

Exorcisms were important to Luke because God was at work in them, or his powerful presence was manifest (Lk 11:20; cf. Lk 8:37-39), and the destruction of the reign of Satan was taking place (Lk 11:21-22; 13:11-12). However, Luke did not see Jesus' exorcisms as the final defeat of Satan. In the story of the Gerasene demoniac Jesus sends the demon(s) not into the abyss (*abyssos* [8:31]), their place of final destruction (e.g., 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6; Rev 20:1-3; 1 En. 10; 18:11-16; *Jub.* 5:6-11), but into pigs that are drowned as the demons enter their new, watery home (Lk 8:32-33). Also, at the end of Jesus' healing ministry (Lk 22:3, 31), and in the post-Easter situation (Acts 5:3, 16; 8:7; 16:16-18; 19:11-20; 26:18), Satan is still active.

5.8. A Balanced Ministry. Maintaining the importance of exorcism is an aspect of Luke balancing word and deed throughout Jesus' ministry. Jesus' first sermon involves notice of healings (Lk 4:18) and is followed by a ministry interweaving miracles and message (cf. Lk 4:40-44). Just before the Sermon on the Plain (Lk 6:20-49) Luke reverses the order of the stories of the choosing of the Twelve (Lk 6:12-16) and Jesus healing multitudes by the sea (Lk 6:17-19; cf. Mk 3:7-19a), bracketing the sermon with the healing of the multitude (Lk 6:17-19) and the centurion's slave being healed (Lk 7:1-10). And, in the healing of the multitudes Luke introduces the idea that the crowds come to Jesus not only because of what they had heard about him (cf. Mk 3:9) but also to be healed by him (Lk 6:17). Luke makes the same kind of change in his introduction to the story of the feeding of the five thousand (Lk 9:11 // Mk 6:34).

Luke carries through his balancing act in retelling miracle stories. For example, in the story of the healing of the demoniac in the synagogue Luke has the crowd respond separately and, first, to Jesus' teaching (Lk 4:31-32; cf. Mk 1:27). In the conclusion to the story of the cleansing of a leper Luke says that crowds would gather to hear Jesus, as well as to be healed (Lk 5:15; cf. Lk 6:6 with Mk 3:1; Lk 9:11 with

Mk 6:34; see also Lk 4:40-44; 6:17-26; 7:18-23; 8:1-3; 9:1-2; 10:8-9; 13:10-17). The balancing of the miraculous with other aspects of Jesus' ministry continues in the passion narrative, with the story of the healing the high priest's servant's ear (Lk 22:50-51), and near the end of the Gospel those with Jesus state that he was "a mighty prophet in deed and word" (Lk 24:19 [cf. Acts 1:1]). The miracles do not illustrate or demonstrate the good news, but are themselves, with the teaching, the good news of Jesus bringing salvation to those who have faith, and they are expected to be part of the ministry of his followers (Lk 9:1; 10:9).

6. John.

Even though John's Gospel has the least number of miracle stories—only eight (Jn 2:1-12; 4:46-54; 5:1-18; 6:1-15, 16-21; 9:1-7; 11:1-57; 21:4-14)—and no exorcisms, we reach the other end of the spectrum from Matthew's perspective, which saw the miracles as less important than the teaching of Jesus. In the Fourth Gospel the most profound miracles, with their distinctive language, take center stage in the presentation of Jesus. They do not illuminate the teaching of Jesus; they themselves are the message, and the words are required to explain what are portrayed as life-giving eschatological events.

6.1. *Miracles as Signs.* *Sēmeion* ("sign"), a key word in the Fourth Gospel, is used in the LXX almost always of God showing himself to be the almighty one, and Israel as his chosen people, through the events associated with the exodus (e.g., Dt 26:8; Jer 39:2-21 [ET 32:2-21]; cf. Philo, *Mos.* 1.210). Signs were also events demonstrating the authenticity of a prophet or the prophetic message (e.g., Ex 3:13; 4:1-9; 1 Sam 10:1-9). In using "sign" for the miracles, John is saying that, like the parables of the Synoptic Gospels, the miracles point beyond the immediate to the identity or *glory of Jesus and his filial relationship, even identity, with the Father. Though nonmiraculous actions of Jesus can be understood as "symbolic actions" (Jn 2:13-21; 3:14-15), the miracles stand in a class of their own as "signs" that *God is the author of these extraordinary events that authenticate the identity of Jesus and elicit faith in him and in the Father. Also, in that the Fourth Gospel has Jesus twice say, "The hour comes, and now is" (Jn 4:23; 5:25 [cf. Jn 12:30-31]), the reader is alerted to the glory of Jesus being seen not only in the story of Jesus' death, but also in the signs (Jn 2:11; 11:4 [cf. 9:3]; 11:40; 12:41, 43). As in the Synoptics, the miracles are realizations of God's present reign.

6.2. *Miracles as Signs of the Great Sign.* There is in John's Gospel a progression of signs of roughly

increasing magnitude, reaching a climax in the raising of *Lazarus (Jn 11:1-57), which both prefigures the great sign of Jesus' *death and *resurrection (Jn 2:18-22; 11:4, 40) and is the prism through which to look back at the other signs (Jn 11:15; cf. 2:11; 11:47; cf. 5:9-18), as well as forward to the parousia (Jn 11:23-27). Thus, the ministry of miracle-signs, while no less significant than the great sign, is seen to anticipate the larger and clearer sign of the glory of God in Jesus: the great sign of the death and especially the resurrection of Jesus (Jn 3:14-15). In turn, the great sign anticipates the final earthly sign of the return to the Father, which itself is an anticipation of the return of the Spirit and the parousia (Jn 13-14).

6.3. *Miracles as the "Work" of God.* In using "work" (*ergon*) especially for Jesus' miracles (Jn 5:20; 6:28; 9:4; 10:32-33; 14:11-12), the Fourth Gospel conveys the idea that God is to be understood as the author of, particularly, what is seen in Jesus' miracles. For the LXX uses "work" for the salvific work of God on behalf of his people (Ex 34:1; Ps 65:5 [ET 66:5]; 76:13 [ET 77:12]). However, while the miracles are a distinct "work" of Jesus (Jn 10:32-38; 14:8-12), in also using "work" for the whole ministry of Jesus (Jn 7:3; 10:37-38; 14:11; 15:24; cf. Jn 9:3; 10:25), and even his words (Jn 5:36-38; 8:28; 14:10; 15:22-24), John blurs the distinction between the miracles, the words and the entire work of Jesus, so that in the miracles, as much as in the overall ministry of Jesus, God is to be understood as the agent of what is seen in Jesus, to the point of identifying Jesus and God. Not wanting Jesus to be seen acting apart from God may be the reason why the Fourth Gospel never uses *dynamis* ("power"). Such a high view of Jesus means that he takes the initiative in conducting the miracles (e.g., Jn 11:6), and that his actions are determined not by compassion but only by the Father (e.g., Jn 5:17-21).

6.4. *The Identity and Destiny of Jesus.* The first miracle ends with the statement that Jesus had revealed his "glory" (*doxa* [Jn 2:11]), which readers know (cf. Jn 1:14) is grace and truth replacing the *law of Moses (Jn 1:17) and is the invisible reality of God seen specifically in Jesus' miracles. With "glory" being used, after the prologue, only three times in connection with the life of Jesus, each of them concerning the miracles (Jn 2:11; 11:4, 40), the glory is the miraculous power, and faith (cf. Jn 11:40) comprehends that glory. Therefore, in Jesus' miracles, no less than in his passion and return to the Father (Jn 2:4; 7:39; 12:16, 23, 28; 13:31-32; 17:1-2), Jesus and God are being revealed.

Yet, the Jesus of the signs is never entirely or fully

disclosed. At one level, there are hints of Jesus' identity through echoes of other stories—for example, of Dionysus (Jn 2:1-11; cf. Pausanias, *Descr.* 6.26.1-2), Moses (Jn 6:3; cf. Ex 19:3; Jn 6:14, 50, 58; cf. Ex 16:15) and Elisha (see Elijah and Elisha) (Jn 6:1-15; cf. 2 Kings 4:42-44). At another level, Jesus' glory, fully revealed in his passion and ascension as "the Messiah, the Son of God," who gives *life (Jn 20:31), is anticipated in the signs. At a further level, what is revealed is not a god or divine being, but a human being. Even in the most spectacular miracle—the raising of a dead man—Jesus is still a human who weeps (Jn 11:35), for he is "the Word became flesh" (Jn 1:14). While the signs of the first half of the Gospel reveal the *identity* of Jesus, the great sign of the second half of the Gospel—the death and resurrection of Jesus—reveals his *destiny* as the risen *Lord ascended to his Father (Jn 14:12, 28; 16:10, 17, 28; 17:11; 20:17).

6.5. Miracles and Faith. The Fourth Gospel expects those who encounter Jesus to trust his word (Jn 9:7, 38; 11:40) and then to witness the miracles. Belief is to be based on the words and the works (miracles), even though miracle-based faith can be sufficient. However, this Gospel portrays a number of responses to Jesus in relation to the miracles: (1) not responding to the signs with faith (Jn 11:45-53; 12:37; cf. Jn 5:7); (2) seeing the signs only as wonders or portents and, so believing in Jesus only as a miracle-worker (Jn 2:23-25; 3:2-3; 6:2, 14-15); (3) seeing the true significance of the miracles, enabling belief in Jesus and an understanding of who Jesus is in relation to the Father (Jn 2:11; 4:53; 9:38; 20:31); (4) believing in Jesus without seeing any signs (Jn 20:29), at first glance conveying the idea that faith in Jesus not based on the miracles is a superior level of faith. This last response, however, is not a criticism of miracle-based faith; rather, it is a caution that miracle-based faith may be a misunderstanding of Jesus, and a recognition that some will never believe without seeing miracles. Also, (5) there are those who see signs without knowing Jesus' identity: a person without initial faith in Jesus is able to experience a miracle (Jn 9:11, 17).

6.6. Missing Miracles. It is unlikely that the author of the Fourth Gospel was unaware of Jesus' reputation as an exorcist, or of the traditions of Jesus healing withered limbs, lepers, fevers, hemorrhages, the deaf and dropsy, which also do not appear in this Gospel (see Synoptics and John). Nor was the writer probably trying to avoid healing techniques that others used or might lead to an accusation of magic, for he includes healing from a distance (Jn 4:46-54) and the use of spittle (Jn 9:1-7). Rather, relatively

commonplace healings, especially exorcisms of ambiguous origins, were not sufficiently clear and spectacular to convey the unmistakable work of God in Jesus. Also, in relation to exorcism, not just the few deranged, but everyone needs to be rescued from Satan, and not through the hand of an exorcist, but through knowing the truth: Jesus (Jn 1:14; 8:48-52; cf. 1QS III, 13-26) (see Twelftree 2007, 198-204). Further, with the replacement of the theme of the kingdom of God with the kingship of Jesus (Jn 1:49; 12:13, 15; 18:33-39; 19:3, 14-15, 19, 21), and also with Jesus' battle against and defeat of Satan tied to the cross (Jn 12:31), the exorcisms are both cut loose from the tradition and seen to be inadequate to convey the nature of Jesus' ministry.

6.7. Miracle and Mission. The final miracle story (the catch of 153 fish), part of the appendix (Jn 21:1-25), is not so much a sign as an allegory. Augustine (*Tract. Ev. Jo.* 122.8) noted that 153 is the triangular number of 17 (the sum of the numbers from 1 to 17), which (cf. Jn 21:13) is the sum of 5 (the number of baskets multiplied) and 12 (the number of baskets collected after the feeding of the five thousand). The story of the feeding of the five thousand anticipated the death of Jesus (Jn 6:4, 51-58), and this story, involving fish (a symbols of life and immortality [see Goodenough, 5:47-50]), reflects the implications of the resurrection. In following the great commission (Jn 20:21) and involving fishing (also a symbol of mission [cf. Mk 1:17]), this story promises, through seemingly irrational obedience to Jesus, success in mission, and that the church, without being destroyed by division, will be able to contain all who can be brought into its compass.

7. Summary of the Gospels.

For all the Gospels, the miracle stories carry the signature of the one who performed them: God is encountered in them, and they reveal Jesus as God himself at work, so that the miraculous activity of Jesus is the eschatological work and message of salvation. Even though divine revelation is inconceivable apart from miracles, this revelation is not without ambiguity; the miracles give rise not only to faith and discipleship, but also to antagonism. In simplest terms, in Mark, the earliest Gospel, Jesus is the miracle-worker who teaches and must also suffer. In Matthew Jesus is the teacher who also performs miracles. Luke carefully balances word and deed. In the Fourth Gospel Jesus is in such communion with and so identified with God that he is first and foremost the author of the most stupendous wonders, signs of his unmistakable identity, origin and des-

tiny, seen preeminently in the sign of his death and resurrection.

8. Recent Interpreters.

In the early days of the scientific study of the Bible, supposing that the Gospel writers had not been involved in reliable investigation and had entangled themselves in glaring contradictions, Hermann Reimarus (1694-1768) suggested that they invented miracle stories. Karl Bahrdt (1741-1792), seeking to direct attention away from the miraculous, was among the first to apply a nonsupernatural interpretation to the miracle stories. He said, for example, that Jesus walked not on the sea but on a piece of timber in the water near the shore.

In reaction to both supernaturalism and rationalism, in *The Life of Jesus* (1834), D. F. Strauss (1808-1874) proposed that the miracles were mythical, either pure myths, such as the healings of the blind, having no historical base, or historical myths, such as the miraculous catch of fish (Lk 5:1-11) growing out of Jesus' saying about fishers of men (Mk 1:17).

Influenced by the mythical approach, and the history-of-religions school, which showed that Jesus' miracles were similar to others in the period, Rudolf Bultmann (1884-1976) attributed Gospel miracles to non-Christian sources. Although Martin Dibelius (1883-1946) took the miracles of nature to be foreign to the tradition, he said that the healing miracles were an essential part of the Jesus tradition, and that they involved psychically conditioned maladies that were cured by Jesus' psychical impact. Adolf Schlatter (1852-1938), arguing that any attempt to remove the miracle stories from the Jesus traditions involved a violation of history, was out of step with the intellectual climate, which was influenced by the view of Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) that the essence of Christianity was not in the miracles, but in the religious experience of Jesus and in his teaching about God the Father, and by C. H. Dodd (1884-1973), who was arguing that the kerygma was the center of the gospel. By the middle of the twentieth century, the miracle stories were generally left aside or given very brief treatment in studies of the historical Jesus. With some exceptions, this remains the case, even though the miracle traditions are attracting some scholarly attention.

Attempting to understand Jesus' miracles in the context of his time, Geza Vermes (*Jesus the Jew* [1973]) argued for Jesus to be seen as one of the early Hasidim, or holy men, who were known for their miracle working. With an attention to the miracles, Morton Smith (1915-1991) argued that Je-

sus was a magician. The most thorough and outstanding recent discussion of the miracle stories has been by John Meier, concluding that some miracle stories, such as healings, have a historical foundation, while others may have a symbolic base, such as the feeding of the multitude, which was a meal that Jesus shared with a large crowd. Otherwise, for Meier, all the nature miracles appear to have been created by the early church. Eric Eve credibly locates Jesus the healer at the creative confluence of magical folk religion and traditions about prophets such as Elijah and Elisha and the Enochic-Qumran traditions concerned with the eschatological defeat of the demonic.

See also AUTHORITY & POWER; BLINDNESS & DEAFNESS; DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; FAITH; HEALING; HOLY SPIRIT; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS; RESURRECTION; SALVATION.

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MISHNAH. See RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS.

MISSION

Jesus sought out the people who lived in the towns and villages of *Galilee and called them to *repent and to believe in the good news that the *kingdom of God is arriving and that God's promises to *Israel are being fulfilled through his ministry. This is "mission" (Lat. *missio*; Gk. *apostolē*), understood as the activity of individuals (or of a community of faith) who distinguish themselves from the society in which they live both in terms of religious convictions (theology) and social behavior (ethics), who are convinced of the truth of their beliefs, and who actively work to win other people to their convictions and way of life. Jesus understood himself to be sent by the Father (the mission of Jesus). Jesus called *disciples, trained them as his envoys, and sent them into the towns and villages of Galilee and eventually into Judea, Samaria and beyond (the mission of the Twelve). The missionary work of the *apostles, as recounted by Luke in the book of Acts, is inseparably linked with the ministry of Jesus. Without Jesus' message and without his *death and *resurrection, there would have been no good news to share, at least not the good news that Peter and the Twelve proclaimed in Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria and that Paul and other missionaries proclaimed in the cities of the wider Mediterranean world.

1. The Mission of Jesus
2. The Mission of the Disciples
3. Mission in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John

1. The Mission of Jesus.

Jesus held that he was sent by God the Father, asserting not only that both his message and his work of driving out *demons and *healing the sick are divinely authorized, but also that both his message and his work constitute the fulfillment of God's plan and God's promises.

1.1. The “I Have Come” Sayings in the Synoptic Gospels. There are six “I have come” (Gk. *ēlthon*) sayings that describe the purpose of Jesus’ mission. In Mark 1:38 (cf. Lk 4:43) Jesus insists that he has to visit and preach in other villages in Galilee, “for that is why I have come [*exēlthon*].” In Matthew 9:13 // Mark 2:17 (cf. Lk 5:32) Jesus declares, “I have come [*ēlthon*] to call not the righteous, but sinners.” According to Matthew 5:17, Jesus asserted that he has not come to abolish the law or the prophets, adding, “I have come [*ēlthon*] not to abolish them, but to fulfill them.” In Luke 12:49 Jesus explains, “I have come [*ēlthon*] to cast fire onto the earth, and how I wish it were already kindled” (similarly Mt 10:34 // Lk 12:51). Two statements speak of the coming of the *Son of Man. In Matthew 20:28 // Mark 10:45 Jesus claims, “Even the Son of Man came [*ēlthon*] not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.” And in Luke 19:10 Jesus asserts, “For the Son of Man came [*ēlthon*] to seek and to save what was lost.” Two passages in which evil spirits speak of Jesus’ coming can be added. According to Mark 1:24 // Luke 4:34, a man with an unclean spirit in Capernaum cries out, “What have you to do with us, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come [*ēlthes*] to destroy us? I know who you are, the Holy One of God.” And in Matthew 8:29 two demon-possessed men in the region of the Gadarenes shout, “What have you to do with us, Son of God? Have you come [*ēlthes*] here to torment us before the time?”

In response to R. Bultmann’s skepticism regarding the historicity of the “I have come” sayings, J. Jeremias argued for an underlying Aramaic expression *ʾatayit*, which can mean “I am there” or “I will” or “it is my task” (Jeremias, 83) and “to have the intention, or purpose to” or “to have as a task, or mission to” (Arens, 265–70). A critical examination of the examples adduced for this interpretation calls into question the linguistic foundation: two consistently idiomatic uses of Hebrew *bôʾ* + infinitive concern metaphorical references to the “coming” of Scripture and “coming” within the scope of the law or some legal category, none of which are parallel to Jesus’ *ēlthon* sayings, which is also the case for the remaining two statements (*m. Roš Haš. 2:9; b. Šabb 18b*) (see Gathercole 2004).

The *ēlthon* sayings formulate summaries of Jesus’ mission as a whole: he came with the purpose to preach and heal in the villages of Galilee, he came to call and bring *salvation to sinners, he came to fulfill the *law and the prophets, he came to bring *judgment, he came to give his life as a ransom for sinners, he came to seek out and save the people who are lost,

and he came to destroy the power of the devil and his demons. Since the language of “coming” presupposes an origin from which the speaker has come, since the language of “I have come to do such and such” presupposes a time during which the person was not carrying out the task mentioned, and since Jesus describes in the *ēlthon* sayings his entire earthly mission, the conclusion seems inescapable that the place of Jesus’ origin is somewhere outside of the human sphere (Gathercole 2006, 86–87, 148–76).

1.2. The “Sending” Statements. Several statements that use the language of “sending” summarize the goal of Jesus’ mission (for the corresponding Johannine portrait, see 3.4 below). In Luke 4:18–19 Luke relates Jesus as quoting Isaiah 61:1–2; 58:6, aligning his mission with the mission of the prophet’s *Servant of the Lord, who has been anointed with God’s Spirit to bring good news to the poor, and declaring, “He has sent [*apestalken*] me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free.” As Jesus states that this prophecy has been fulfilled “in your hearing” (Lk 4:21), he asserts that the mission of the Servant of the Lord is his own mission. Luke’s version of the *ēlthon* saying found in Mark 1:38 explains Jesus’ coming with Jesus having been sent: “I must proclaim the good news of the kingdom of God to the other cities also; for I was sent [*apestalēn*] for this purpose” (Lk 4:43). The aorist passive *apestalēn* (from *apostellō*), translated as “I was sent,” describes Jesus’ “coming” as a sending. Since Jesus has not been sent by a human authority, he evidently claims that he has been sent by *God. This is made explicit in the several passages in which Jesus refers to God the Father as “the one who sent me” (Mk 9:37 // Lk 9:48; Mt 10:40; Lk 10:16). In Matthew 15:24 Jesus asserts, “I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,” explaining his reluctance to help the Gentile woman from Syrophenicia. In two *parables Jesus alludes to being sent by the Father. In the parable of the great banquet, the man who gives the banquet sends his servant to the invited guests (Lk 14:17), who refuse to come. In the parable of the tenants, the landowner sends various envoys to collect from the tenants in authority over his vineyard, but they treat all of the envoys shamefully, beating and even killing some of them, until eventually, “last of all,” he sends his beloved son (Mk 12:6), whom the tenants likewise kill.

1.3. The Galilean Mission. Jesus’ preaching and healing in Galilee provided the context for the training of the Twelve, whom he called to “fish for people” (Mk 1:17). The following elements of Jesus’ Gali-

lean mission are important.

(1) Jesus called Israel to repent and to believe in the present fulfillment of God's covenant promises. Jesus offers healing to the sick and salvation to sinners (Mt 9:12-13 // Mk 2:17 // Lk 5:31-32). The offer of salvation for the sinners is demonstrated vividly when Jesus dines with tax collectors and sinners (Mt 9:10 // Mk 2:15 // Lk 5:29). When Jesus describes himself as "physician," he seems to allude to Ezekiel 34:1-6 (Landmesser, 104-5). Because Israel's shepherds were feeding themselves while neglecting the flock entrusted into their care, failing to strengthen the weak and heal the sick and bring back those who have gone astray, Yahweh will intervene and take care of his flock himself. He declares, "I will seek the lost, and I will bring back the strayed, and I will bind up the injured, and I will strengthen the weak" (Ezek 34:16). This is a new reality that will come to pass when God sends a new shepherd, "one shepherd, my servant David" (Ezek 34:23). When he comes as God's shepherd, Israel will experience the reality of God being "with them" as he cares for God's people as the "sheep of my pasture" (Ezek 34:30-31). Jesus identifies himself with this bringer of salvation (Mt 9:12-13 // Mk 2:17 // Lk 5:31-32): he is the physician sent by God to heal the sick and to save the lost, inviting sinners to the table of the festival of God's kingdom. The righteous are not excluded, but Jesus' ministry aims primarily at the sinners; if the righteous reject Jesus' call to repentance by which lost sinners are invited into God's presence, then they reject Jesus as God's envoy and thus become lost sinners themselves.

(2) Jesus' ministry of teaching and healing was directed to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 10:6), meaning the Jewish people, a focus that was not lost after Easter when Jesus commissions the Twelve to proclaim the good news in Jerusalem and Judea (Acts 1:8 [at the time of Luke writing Acts, Galilee belonged to the province of Judea]). At the same time, Jesus' announcement that God's kingdom was coming and that God's promises were being fulfilled (Mt 4:17; Mk 1:14-15) implied a reference to the entire world, on the basis of promises and expectations such as Isaiah 2:2-5 (= Mic 4:1-5); Is 49:1-6; Zech 8:20-23. He had encounters with *Gentiles who sought him out (Mt 8:5-13; Mk 5:1-20; 7:24-30; Jn 12:20-22; cf. Jn 4:1-42). He announced that the Gentiles will share in the blessings of God's kingdom (Mt 8:11-12 // Lk 13:28-29), and he asserted that the final consummation would not occur until the *gospel of the kingdom has been preached in the entire world to "all nations" (Mt 24:14; cf. Mk 13:10). He

challenged the true Israel to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world (Mt 5:13-16). After the resurrection, Jesus commissioned the Twelve to go the "end of the earth" (Acts 1:8) and make disciples of all nations (Mt 28:19) (see 2.4 below).

(3) Jesus sought out the simple villagers, and he spoke with sophisticated *scribes and *Pharisees. He ministered among powerless Galileans and dialogued with influential leaders of the Jerusalem establishment. He had *table fellowship with people of ill repute, and he spent time with the pious. Jesus compared his ministry with a dragnet in which fish "of all kinds" get caught (Mt 13:47). Jesus was willing and eager to reach all people, regardless of traditional social or religious barriers. Jesus did not invite people to come to him to Capernaum. Rather, he went out to visit all the small farms (Mk 6:56), the villages, the towns of Galilee, and on occasion (according to the Gospel of John) even urban centers such as *Jerusalem. The references to Jesus' geographical movement in Matthew 9:35; Mark 6:6; Luke 4:43 possibly indicate that Jesus systematically planned his travels in Galilee.

2. The Mission of the Disciples.

After Jesus prepared the Twelve over a period of time for the task of "fishing for people," he sent them out in six teams of two disciples to preach and to heal in the towns and villages of Galilee (Mt 10:5-16 // Mk 6:7-13 // Lk 9:1-6). They were to proclaim the good news of the dawn of the kingdom of God in regions that Jesus had not visited or wanted to visit later. This was a missionary tour through Galilee limited to a short period of time; at the same time, it provided elements of a paradigm of a permanent mission in the future.

2.1. A Short-Term Missionary Tour. Jesus sends the Twelve in pairs of two (Mk 6:7). Matthew relates that Jesus instructs the disciples to restrict their preaching to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" (i.e., to Jews) and not to go to the Gentiles or to Samaria (Mt 10:5-6). This was a temporary restriction, as Jesus' later commission for an international mission to all nations indicates (Mt 28:19); the reason for the restriction of the mission of the Twelve to Galilee was theological: salvation is offered first to Israel, then to the Gentiles. This explains why the number "twelve" is emphasized in Matthew 10:1-2, 5: the Twelve represent Israel and therefore are sent to the Jews. Jesus commands the Twelve not to accept money (Mt 10:9); they could assume that most people whom they would encounter on their missionary tour through Galilee had either already heard of Je-

sus and his message or had been visited before when they had traveled with Jesus from village to village. Jesus commands the Twelve not to take provisions (Mt 10:9-10 mentions gold, silver, copper, bag, extra tunic, sandals and staff) and not to shop around for the most comfortable accommodation (Mt 10:11-15). This directive is readily plausible in the context of a missionary activity that was limited in time and took place in a region where Jesus was known and had many sympathizers (cf. Lk 22:35-38). Since this is a short-term mission, the Twelve are directed not to engage in extensive preparations and not to carry unnecessary provisions. They would be able to travel unencumbered by heavy provisions and to rely on the hospitality of people.

2.2. Paradigm for the Future Mission of the Twelve. The short-term mission of the Twelve in Galilee constituted training for their later missionary activity. The following elements of Jesus' missionary discourse in Matthew 10 are relevant. Jesus instructs the Twelve to proclaim the good news of the arrival of God's kingdom, following the lead of Jesus' own proclamation (Mt 10:7). Jesus' disciples preach what Jesus proclaims: God is fulfilling his promises to Israel in Jesus' ministry as he calls people to repentance and to faith in the good news of the kingdom of God and as he drives out demons and heals the sick. Jesus' disciples heal as Jesus heals: they will have the authority to heal and to drive out demons on account of Jesus' transfer of authority to them (Mt 10:1). Jesus sends the disciples in groups; while the pairing in six groups of two disciples fits a short-time mission of Twelve people, the underlying principle stands: this pairing serves mutual encouragement, attests the veracity of the testimony of two witnesses, and models the new community of followers of Jesus that is being established through the work of the apostles. Jesus warns the Twelve that they will be flogged in "synagogues, hated and persecuted and dragged before rulers and kings "as a testimony to them and the Gentiles" (Mt 10:18; cf. the entire section Mt 10:17-25). While the Twelve could expect to experience opposition and rejection as they travel through the Galilean towns and villages, it is only when their mission reaches Jerusalem and capitals of Roman provinces that they will be dragged before rulers and that their "witness is a testimony to Gentiles.

2.3. The Mission of the Seventy. Luke reports that on one occasion Jesus sent out seventy disciples (Lk 10:1-16 [some manuscripts read "seventy-two"]). The historicity of such a mission has been questioned. Neither Mark nor Matthew knows of such a

mission; the instructions that Jesus gives to the Seventy in Luke 10 also appear in Matthew 10:7-16 (cf. also Mt 9:37-38), suggesting that Luke created a literary doublet from Q material, with parallels in Mark 6:6-13. Some argue that the discourse in Luke 10 is not a unified composition but rather is the result of redactional growth. However, other scholars argue that the passage is a compositional unity, and that Luke follows his sources, deeming it improbable that he invented the mission of the Seventy in order to solve the tension between Jesus' commission to the Twelve and the existence of a larger group of evangelists in the post-Easter church. The similarities of Jesus' instructions in the mission of the Seventy and the mission of the Twelve cannot automatically be used as an argument against the historicity: if Jesus indeed sent out disciples on different occasions with the assignment to proclaim his message of the kingdom and to heal the sick, it is to be expected that some instructions would be similar if not identical. The reference to the "plentiful harvest" (Lk 10:2) suggests that many people would be ready to accept the disciples' message of the dawn of God's reign.

2.4. The Commission to Initiate an International Mission. The comprehensive "missionary commission" in Matthew 28:19-20 (for questions of historicity, see Schnabel, 1:349-52) and Acts 1:8 describes the future mission of the Twelve in the following terms.

(1) The mission of Jesus' disciples is authorized by God and takes place in the context of God's authority over heaven and earth, which has been given to Jesus, who has been vindicated after his death in his resurrection. Because Jesus, as the exalted Son of Man (cf. Dan 7:13-14), is Lord over heaven and earth and therefore over all nations, the mission of the disciples is universal: they are directed to make disciples of "all [*panta*] nations" and to teach the nations "everything" (*panta*) that Jesus has commanded them, and they work in the presence of and with the help of Jesus "all [*pasas*] days to the end of the age." The expression "all nations" (*panta ta ethnē*) includes the Jewish people (cf. Mt 24:7; 24:14; 25:32, where the term *ethnē* signifies "all nations" without any restriction) as well as the Samaritans, the Greeks and Romans as well as the barbarians (cf. Rom 1:14; Col 3:11).

(2) The Twelve are commanded to "go" (*poreuthentes*). The participle is implicitly imperatival: the Twelve can reach "all nations" only if they leave Galilee (or Jerusalem) and go beyond the confines of Judea to other regions and other cities. The modified repetition of the risen Jesus' commission to the Twelve in Acts 1:8 clearly describes a geographical

movement from the center (Jerusalem, Judea) to the periphery (the end of the earth). Jesus traveled from Galilee to Jerusalem (Lk 23:5; Acts 10:37); the disciples will travel from Jerusalem via Judea and Samaria to the end of the earth. Jerusalem is both the center of the apostles' mission and the point of departure for their travels as witnesses of Jesus. The phrase "the end of the earth" alludes to Isaiah 49:6, where Yahweh says of his servant, "I will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth." Jesus sends the apostles to the end of the earth; their mission is world mission. It begins in Jerusalem, it reaches the surrounding regions of Judea and Samaria, and it extends as far as people live, as far as Spain (in the ancient Greco-Roman world the "end of the earth") in the west, Ethiopia in the south, Scythia in the north, and India in the east, transcending both geographical and ethnic boundaries.

(3) The Twelve are commanded to "make disciples" (*mathēteusate*) among all nations. Since disciples are people who hear, understand and put into practice Jesus' teaching (cf. Mt 12:46-50), the Twelve are commissioned to establish communities of Jesus' followers. The command to make disciples implies the prior proclamation of the gospel (which is not specifically mentioned, perhaps regarded as unnecessary after Mt 10:7). Since Jesus had lived with and trained the Twelve as his disciples, they are the paradigm for all future disciples.

(4) The Twelve are commanded to *baptize or "immerse" (*baptizontes*) the new converts in water as a demonstration of their cleansing, the forgiveness of their sins, on account of God's offer of salvation through the death and resurrection of Jesus, in whom they believe. The immersion happens "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"—that is, with respect to the fact that salvation has been provided by God the Father through Jesus, the messianic Son of Man and Son of God, mediated through the *Holy Spirit, who is God's transforming power and who will be poured out by Jesus on Pentecost. Note that references to the triad of Father, Son and Spirit were intelligible in Syria, where a triad of deities (supreme god, mother goddess, son) was worshipped.

(5) The Twelve are commanded to "teach" (*didaskontes*) the new disciples, who are willing and eager to learn, which again implies the establishment of local congregations of followers of Jesus, whose words they learn to obey. They teach as Jesus' "witnesses" (*martyres*), which means in the context of Acts 1—2 that they are witnesses of the life, suffering,

death and resurrection of Jesus.

(6) The disciples are assured of Jesus' powerful presence: "And remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age" (Mt 28:20). As Yahweh was with his people, so Jesus will be with his disciples and with the people who will become disciples through their missionary activity. And they are assured of the power of the Holy Spirit, who helps them in their task of witnessing about Jesus' life, death and resurrection (Acts 1:8, 22).

3. Mission in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.

All four Gospels focus on Jesus' mission, and all four Gospels describe aspects of the disciples' mission. Only some of the characteristic elements of the Gospel authors' perspective can be mentioned here.

3.1. Mission in Matthew. The Gospel of Matthew begins with *Abraham and David (Mt 1:1) and with a condensed history of Israel (Mt 1:2-17), and it ends with Jesus' commission to the disciples to make disciples of all nations (Mt 28:16-20). A key element of Jesus' mission is expressed in his characterization as "Emmanuel," meaning "God with us" (Mt 1:23), as the Son of God, in whom God's promised presence in Israel becomes a reality. Matthew wants to strengthen his readers in the conviction that "the work that Jesus completes *for Israel* as 'Messiah' leads into his ministry *for the nations* as 'Son of Man.' Jesus is the son of Abraham who leads Israel's history of election to its goal and who thus fulfills God's promise to make Abraham into a 'large nation' that exists as a light for the nations. His ministry as Son of Man is based on his work as Messiah; Jesus is 'Lord' of the nations only on the basis of his mission to Israel" (Wilk, 151).

The mission of the twelve apostles involves being called by Jesus and being trained as his envoys who will "fish for people" (Mt 4:19). Their training involves following and observing Jesus, and it includes a preaching mission in Galilee during which they preach and teach what Jesus is preaching; and it includes doing what Jesus is doing, driving out demons and healing people of their illnesses (Mt 10:1, 5-8). Matthew's description of Jesus' post-Easter commission in Matthew 28:16-20 (see 2.4. above) is more detailed than similar descriptions in the other Gospels. Some suggest that the Gospel of Matthew was written in Jerusalem as the Gospel of the mission of James, the brother of Jesus, some time before he was killed in A.D. 66/67, when the leaders of this mission fled to Pella at the beginning of the Jewish Revolt (Ellis, 288-92).

3.2. Mission in Mark. The Gospel of Mark por-

trays the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, who is the Son of God, as “the beginning of the good news” (Mk 1:1). This programmatic statement in the first line of this Gospel, if read in the context of central claims of the Roman imperial cult, suggests to some that Mark presents Jesus in opposition to the Roman emperors who are hailed as “savior” and “lord”: Jesus is the one, true Son of God, who is humankind’s true Savior and Lord, and Mark narrates “the story of Jesus in such a way that such a confession will appear compelling and plausible to Jews and Romans alike” (Evans, xciii). More importantly, Mark’s programmatic statement asserts that the content of his book summarizes the content of the “good news” (*euangelion*) of Jesus Christ, whose life, death and resurrection are the content of the missionary proclamation and the instructional teaching of the church.

Mark situates Jesus’ mission among the Jewish people in Galilee. He narrates only limited contact with non-Jews; two Gentiles recognize his dignity as God’s agent (Mk 7:25–30; 15:37–41). Mark’s focus on Jesus’ passion in the last third of his Gospel establishes that Jesus’ ministry is fulfilled in his death. Jesus’ death is a substitutionary death “for the many” (Mk 10:45; 14:24), and thus it also establishes the community of Jesus’ followers as the “house of prayer” for all nations (Mk 11:12–12:12), which are reached by the preaching of the gospel (Mk 13:10; 14:9).

3.3. Mission in Luke. Luke’s two-volume work shows, among other things, that the promised restoration of the people of God is taking place. In his description of Jesus’ earthly ministry Luke consistently focuses on Jesus’ identity as the Messiah, who is the Son of God and the Son of Man, who ministers in the power of God’s Spirit, who brings good news to the poor, proclaims release to the captives, restores sight to the *blind, brings *freedom from oppression and proclaims the year of the Lord’s favor (Lk 4:18–21) (*see* Jubilee). The restoration of the people of God begins with Jesus’ messianic mission to Israel. The events of salvation that are connected with Jesus’ ministry are described early in this Gospel as “the glory of the people of Israel” (Lk 2:32), which eventually becomes the “light for revelation to the nations” (Lk 2:32).

Jesus’ mission includes his departure (Lk 9:31) through suffering to glory (Lk 24:27), where he sits at God’s right (Lk 20:41–42; 22:69; Acts 2:32–36), continuing to act and to speak (Acts 1:1; cf., e.g., Acts 3:6; 4:10; 9:4–6) through the ministry of the apostles. The goal of the restoration of the people of God is realized as the disciples proclaim, as Jesus’ witnesses, the significance of his life, death, resurrection and *ascension (Lk 24:46–53; Acts 3:12–26).

3.4. Mission in John. John’s Gospel emphasizes Jesus’ significance as the bringer of God’s revelation. Jesus is the light of the world (Jn 8:12; 9:5) and the savior of the world (Jn 3:17; 4:42; 6:33, 51; 11:27; 12:20–23). Jesus frequently is described as the Son sent by the Father (Jn 3:16–17; 5:23, 30, 36; 10:36; 12:49; 14:24; 17:3, 18, 21, 23, 25; 20:21). The statements related to the sending of Jesus focus on his obedience to and dependence on the Father. Jesus as the one sent is to bring glory and honor to the one who has sent him (Jn 7:18; 8:50, 54; 11:4, 40). Jesus is to do not his own will but rather the will of the Father, who sent him, in particular to do the works of the Father (Jn 4:34; 5:17, 19–20, 36; 9:4). Jesus speaks the words of the one who sent him (Jn 7:16; 12:48–50; 14:24). Jesus as the one who has been sent has the responsibility to represent his sender (Jn 5:19–23; 13:20; 12:44–45; 14:9), a responsibility described as “bearing witness” (Jn 7:28–29; 8:26; 18:37). As Jesus accomplishes the mission for which the Father has sent him, accountable to the Father in terms of both his works and his words, he exercises delegated authority (Jn 5:21–22, 26–27; 13:3; 17:2). Jesus as the one sent maintains an intimate relationship with his sender (Jn 7:29; 8:16, 29; 16:32).

John emphasizes that Jesus was sent by God to reveal him in the world and to take away the sin of the world (Jn 1:18, 29, 36; 3:16). This is the “work” that the mission of Jesus accomplishes (Jn 4:34; 17:4). The “works” that Jesus performs are “signs” of his messianic authority. Jesus is the promised messianic shepherd (*see* Ezek 34:23–24; Zech 13:7–9), who, in contrast to the Jewish leaders, gives his life for the sheep and leads them safely to green pastures (Jn 10:1–15). The new flock, which initially consists of Jews, eventually includes “other sheep” as well (Jn 10:16). The people of God now are defined not by ethnic identity but rather by faith in Jesus. All those who hear Jesus’ voice belong to the flock that is God’s messianic people, whether they are Jew or Gentile, so that “there will be one flock, one shepherd” (Jn 10:16).

The mission of the disciples is a function of the mission of Jesus, derived from his mission (Jn 17:18; 20:21) and subordinated to his mission. The disciples have been called by Jesus (Jn 1:35–51) and commissioned by Jesus (Jn 20:21–23). They follow Jesus (Jn 1:37; 21:22), they reap where they have not labored (Jn 4:38), and they bear fruit that they have not produced themselves (Jn 15:8, 16). They give witness not of themselves but rather of Jesus (Jn 15:27). Their mission takes place “in the world,” which hates them because it hated Jesus (Jn 15:19).

See also APOSTLE; GENTILES; GOSPEL: GOOD

NEWS; ISRAEL; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN.

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MORALITY. See ETHICS OF JESUS.

MOSES

Along with *Abraham, Moses is the most recognized character in the OT and the writings of Second Temple Judaism. All thirty-eight occurrences in the four Gospels refer to him as the most prominent character of ancient Israel. Jesus grew up and preached the in-breaking *kingdom of God in a world defined and dominated by Moses and his *law.

1. Moses in the Old Testament and Second Temple Writings
2. Moses in the Four Gospels
3. Conclusions

1. Moses in the Old Testament and Second Temple Writings.

Within both the OT and the Second Temple period

the primary focus is on the prophetic and legislative aspects of Moses' character. The Pentateuch describes Moses as the incomparable prophet chosen by God and granted unique access to God (Ex 33:19, 23; Num 12:8; Deut 34:10-12). Occasionally he is depicted as "serving as God" to other people (Ex 4:16; 7:1). His mission is to lead Israel and serve as mediator between Israel and God (Deut 5:5). He is portrayed as the promulgator and interpreter of the divine will. In order to guide Israel after Moses, God promises to raise up a prophet like Moses to whom the people should listen (Deut 18:15, 18). This establishes a prophetic tradition with eschatological and even apocalyptic expectations associated with Moses.

Within a Hellenistic environment Moses came to be portrayed as royalty (e.g., Ezek. Trag. 74-79; Philo, *Mos.* 1.158, 334; *Sib. Or.* 11:38-40; cf. Ex 4:20; Deut 33:5), the inventor of the alphabet (Eup., frg. 1) and the founder of Egyptian and Greek cultures (Artap., frg. 3). He is the perfect human and Israelite (Josephus, *Ant.* 2:229; cf. Num 12:3), an ingenious military commander (Josephus) and a king among philosophers (e.g., 4 Macc 2:17; 9:2; 17:19; 18:18; Philo, *Mos.* 2.2). More revelatory writings are attributed to him, with his fictitious authorship guaranteeing their validity (e.g., *Jubilees*; *Assumption of Moses*; Moses apocrypha in the writings of Qumran [e.g., 1Q29; 2Q21; 4Q375; 4Q376; 4Q377; 4Q378; 4Q379; 4Q388; 4Q389; 4Q390]).

Second Temple writings usually portray Moses as promulgator and mediator of the law (e.g., 1 Esd 1:6, 11; 5:49; 7:6, 9; 8:3; Sir 24:3; *As. Mos.* 1:14; 3:12). The law became "the law of Moses" (e.g., LXX [Theod.] Dan 9:13; Sus 3, 62; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*), and Moses the lawgiver (e.g., 2 Macc 7:30; *Let. Arist.* 131-170). With law often identified with wisdom (e.g., Sir 24:3, 8, 23), Moses becomes the chosen one who received "the law of life and knowledge" (Sir 45:1-5; cf. Ex 19:16-21). The Qumran community called for repentance and return to the law of Moses (e.g., 1QS V, 8; 4Q504).

Moses is sometimes portrayed as a quasi-divine figure (e.g., Sir 45:2, 5; 1 En. 89:16) who was allowed to sit on Yahweh's throne (Ezek. Trag. 73-79; cf. Ex 7:1). However, he usually is portrayed as prophet par excellence (e.g., *Ascen. Isa.* 5:1-13; *As. Mos.* 11:16; *L.A.B.* 53:2, 8-10; Philo, *Mut.* 103, 125 [*archiprophētēs*]) or as a priest (cf. 4Q504 1-2 II, 9-10; Philo, *Mos.* 2.2, 71, 75, 187). In Qumran Moses served as prototype for the teacher of righteousness (e.g., CD-A VI, 4-7), whose legitimacy and authority derived from his being a prophet like Moses (1QpHab II, 7-8; CD-A VI, 7; cf. Deut 18:15, 18). Other Qumran writings portray

Moses as the true prophet foretelling the coming messiah (4Q175) or view him in the messiah's company (1QS IX, 11). In 4Q377 Moses is endowed with the divine spirit and called God's "anointed" (4Q377 2 II, 4), probably indicating his prophetic status. Moses was the divine prophet over all the earth (*As. Mos.* 11:16) who continued to reveal God's will, including things to come (e.g., *As. Mos.* 7:1–10:10). Expectations of his eschatological return or of a prophet like Moses (1QS IX, 11; 4Q175 5-8; *Deut. Rab.* 3:17; 10:1; *Tg. Neof.* Ex 12:42; cf. Jn 1:21, 25; Acts 3:22; 7:37) often were based on traditions of Moses being translated to heaven (e.g., Philo, *QG* 1.86; *Mos.* 2:288-291; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.323, 325; 9.28; *Sipre* 357; *Midr. Deut.* 34:5), despite the testimony of Deuteronomy 34:5-6 (e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 4:326).

2. Moses in the Four Gospels.

The Gospels compare Moses' role as mediator and promulgator of God's will with the divine revelation of Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus' ministry focused on the interpretation of the Mosaic *law without questioning its validity or criticizing obedience to it. He offered new standards of interpretation (e.g., Mk 2:27; 7:15), and his own proclamation always took precedence without defining its basic relation to Moses' law.

2.1. The Gospel of Mark. Mark mentions Moses eight times (Mk 1:44; 7:10; 9:4, 5; 10:3, 4; 12:19, 26). Moses appears as a narrative character only in the *transfiguration (Mk 9:2-10). Most of the references relate to the writings of Moses (Mk 1:44; 7:10; 10:3, 4; 12:19, 26), where he is portrayed as an authority representing the religious laws and social customs of Israel.

2.1.1. Utterances and Provisions of Moses. Except for Mark 12:26, all the references to the writings of Moses refer to specific provisions of "his" law. With the exception of Mark 1:44, all of them, Mark 12:26 included, occur in the introduction to quotations characterized as Moses' oral or written utterances (Mk 7:10; 10:3-4; 12:19, 26). These serve mostly to portray Jesus as the superior interpreter of the law who challenges the authority of its professional interpreters, the *Pharisees and *Scribes (Mk 7:1-23; 10:2-12), and the *Sadducees (Mk 12:18-27). Pharisees and Scribes are criticized for putting their exegetical traditions first (Mk 7:9), while the words of Moses have the quality of divine commands (Mk 7:8-9). Moses' utterances or provisions are highlighted positively (Mk 7:10; 12:26) or critically (Mk 10:4-5) or serve to kindle dispute (Mk 12:19). However, it is Jesus who defines God's commandment

(Mk 7:10), intention (Mk 10:6-7) and power of life (Mk 12:24). Jesus even has the authority to object to important passages of the law (Mk 7:15; cf. Lev 11–15; Deut 14:3-21).

In Mark 1:44 Jesus' adherence to Moses is assumed without reservation. To complete his *healing of the *leper (Mk 1:40-45), Jesus asks the leper to undergo the cleansing rites commanded by Moses to accomplish his social and religious reintegration (cf. Lev 14:1-32). The declaration of his healing should prove to the official hieratical institution of *Judaism that God's in-breaking *kingdom realized by Jesus does not violate Moses' law.

2.1.2. The Transfiguration Narrative. The Markan transfiguration story is embedded in the core section of the Gospel (Mk 8:27-10:45), which is shaped by a threefold revelatory teaching of Jesus regarding his identity and his passion and resurrection. The whole passage serves as an introduction to *discipleship, focusing on the requirements for following Jesus. Key elements of the transfiguration are narrated by assuming the point of view of the three disciples (Barton), with the events framed as a visionary and auditory experience of the disciples.

The Markan transfiguration narrative is shaped by biblical motifs reflecting the divine epiphanies experienced by Moses and *Elijah at Sinai (Moses: Ex 24:1-18; 33:18-23; 34:1-9, 29-35; Elijah: 1 Kings 19:8-18). These include the following elements: a high *mountain (e.g., Ex 24:12, 15; 1 Kings 19:8, 11; cf. Mk 9:2); a cloud of divine presence overshadowing the mountain (Ex 24:15-18; cf. Mk 9:7); a divine voice from the cloud (Ex 24:16; cf. Mk 9:7); the radiance of a central figure (Ex 34:29-30; cf. Mk 9:3); a fearful response from the watchers (Ex 34:30; cf. Mk 9:6); the presence of three spectators (Ex 24:11: Aaron, Nadab, Abihu; cf. Mk 9:2: Peter, James, John); and a reference of six days (Ex 24:16; cf. Mk 9:2).

Various lines of interpretation have been offered to explain why Mark introduces Elijah and Moses as a pair (Mk 9:4). (1) A typological approach takes Moses and Elijah as representatives of the biblical writings, "the law and the prophets." Although this interpretation is very old (e.g., Tertullian), both Moses and Elijah are prophetic characters, and Mark's ordering of Elijah first gives an improbable sequence to the biblical writings. (2) Both characters are eschatological prophets and forerunners of the Messiah (e.g., Hooker) (for Moses, see 1 above; for Elijah, see Mal 4:5-6; Sir 48:10). With only one rabbinic witness to the notion of their eschatological return as a pair (*Deut. Rab.* 3:17; 10:1), this seems unlikely. (3) Elijah and Moses are prototypical vicarious suf-

ferers, so their appearance relates to Jesus' passion prediction in Mark 9:9-10 (e.g., Harstine). But there is no discussion of this topic in Mark 9:2-10 or even in Mark 9:9-10, nor is there sufficient evidence of these two being prototypical for the many other righteous sufferers in Israel. (4) Elijah and Moses appear as representatives of righteous people who did not die but were admitted to heaven (Lee) (for Moses, see 1 above; for Elijah, see, e.g., 2 Kings 2:11-12; Sir 48:9; *Liv. Pro.* 21:15; *Apocr. Ezra* 7:6.). Mark clearly sees both figures as inhabitants of the heavenly realm. (5) There are various biographical commonalities between Moses and Elijah, most fundamentally their encounter with God on Mount Sinai/Horeb. Though depicted differently in Exodus 24:34 and 1 Kings 19, the traditions were sometimes viewed as parallel (cf. Sir 45:5; 48:7; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.264-269; 8.349-352). Thus, the transfiguration narrative is framed to reflect the theophany narratives of the Sinai tradition. Both prophets were chosen by God for a mission of life and salvation, a mission consummated in Jesus' gospel. Thus, Moses and Elijah depict God's will to save, and they attest to the credibility and finality of Jesus' ministry.

Why does Mark introduce them in the order he does: Elijah with Moses (Mk 9:4)? Elsewhere, Mark introduces two people or groups by adding a second to the first in order to enhance the grouping or coupling (cf. Mk 4:10; 8:34). The effect can be paraphrased: first Elijah, and then even Moses appears (Heil 1999; 2000). This is clarified in Mark 9:5, where the sequence is reversed: "one for Moses, one for Elijah."

The divine command to listen to Jesus (Mk 9:7) possibly alludes to the tradition of a prophet like Moses (Deut 18:15) or to the divine envoy of Exodus 23:20-23. The instruction to the disciples to listen to the beloved Son exclusively suggests that Jesus surpasses Elijah and Moses, as well as the eschatological expectations related to them.

2.2. The Gospel of Matthew. Matthew mentions Moses seven times. Six are adopted from Mark (Mt 8:4; cf. Mk 1:44; Mt 17:3-4; cf. Mk 9:4-5; Mt 19:7-8; cf. Mk 10:3-4; Mt 22:24; cf. Mk 12:19). Matthew 23:2 derives from Matthew's special material. Matthew 15:4; 22:31 parallel Mark 7:10; 12:26. However, Moses is replaced by God to underscore the character of divine revelation.

2.2.1. The Unchallenged Validity of the Law of Moses. Matthew's account of Jesus healing a leper (Mt 8:1-4) emphasizes Jesus' adherence to the law (Mt 8:4). Observance of the law serves as positive testimony to the hieratic authorities and Israel that Jesus the Messiah adheres to the law of Moses.

The accounts in Matthew 19:3-12; 22:23-33 demonstrate insufficient insight into God's will by the Pharisees and Sadducees. The Mosaic provisions regarding the issue of divorce letters are assessed as concessions due to the hardness of Israel's heart (Mt 19:8). By contrast, Jesus evaluates *divorce on the grounds of God's creational will (Mt 19:6-7), which precedes Moses' law (19:8). The focus is not on Moses but rather on the Pharisees' restriction of God's will to its legal provisions in contrast to God's creational intent.

In Matthew 22:23-33 the Sadducees' denial of the *resurrection of the dead is refuted by Jesus. While the Sadducees cannot adequately assess Scripture and God's power (Mt 22:29), Jesus offers insight into God's ultimate will without abandoning the law of Moses.

Matthew does not challenge the *authority of the scribes and Pharisees, who sit on the seat of Moses (Mt 23:2; cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 1:7), probably a teaching chair situated near the Torah ark in synagogues. The "seat of Moses" symbolizes the scribes' and Pharisees' authority and competence to interpret the law. According to Jesus, this authority, though rightfully theirs (Mt 23:3), is severely flawed in its disregard for justice, mercy and faith (Mt 23:23). It cannot model adherence to Moses' law (Mt 5:20).

Matthew's references to Moses and "his" law substantiate Jesus' teaching. He does not intend to abolish the scriptural tradition of Israel (Mt 5:17), for the law of Moses remains valid and effective until the end (Mt 5:18). Jesus' teaching prohibits the annulment of its least provisions (Mt 5:19). Jesus fulfills the law (Mt 5:17) by revealing its intrinsic intention, a righteousness exceeding the righteousness of Israel's leading parties (Mt 5:20, 47).

2.2.2 The Transfiguration Narrative. Matthew's account of the transfiguration (Mt 17:1-9) serves two purposes. First, it reveals "the legitimacy of Jesus' divine sonship as the eschatological revealer of the will of God for the people of God" (Barton). Second, it focuses on the issue of discipleship, thus giving it an ecclesiological thrust.

Matthew follows Mark's structure, with a few significant changes. First, the description of Jesus' transfiguration is enlarged by the motif of his radiant face (Mt 17:2), which evokes the radiant skin of Moses (Ex 34:29-30; Philo, *Mos.* 2.70). This link to Sinai is not surprising, since Matthew's entire narrative is shaped by "Mosaic imagery" (Allison; Baxter). Second, the appearance of Moses and Elijah is narrated by adopting the expected sequence of their names: "Moses and Elijah" (Mt 17:3). Any allusion to

their representing “the law and the prophets” remains questionable. Others explain it as representing a broader Matthean Moses Christology, with Jesus as “the greater Moses” (Allison; A. D. A. Moses). Although Matthew certainly draws on the theme of Jesus being greater than his predecessors in the history of salvation (Mt 12:6, 41–42), it is doubtful that this phrase carries the elaborate notion of a Moses Christology. A third interpretation sees Moses and Elijah as inhabitants of the heavenly realm (Barton; Lee). Their appearance with Jesus emphasizes his transfigured status and offers a glimpse into the eschatological life awaiting all righteous believers. Matthew’s describing the divine cloud as suffused with light (Mt 17:5) links with the righteous (Mt 13:43) and the *angel at the tomb (Mt 28:3). Thus, the transfiguration discloses Jesus’ future glory as the heavenly Son of Man (Mt 16:27), a future that precludes the positive eschatological destiny of all his followers (Mt 22:11–14; 25:31–46).

2.3. The Gospel of Luke. Luke’s Gospel shows considerable interest in the character and writings of Moses (ten occurrences in Luke; nineteen in Acts). The prevailing focus is on the testimony of Moses and his writings to God’s final revelation in Jesus Christ.

2.3.1. Moses and His Writings as Mediation of God’s Will. Five references to Moses originate from the Lukan special material (Lk 2:22; 16:29, 31; 24:27, 44). The other five have Synoptic parallels (Lk 5:14; 9:30, 33; 20:28, 37). The account of Jesus’ birth and childhood serves as a christological prelude to his ministry. His parents are portrayed as pious Jews acting in accord with Moses’ law (Lk 2:22–24), thus demonstrating their compliance to God’s will. Jesus himself acts likewise, as illustrated in the story of the leper’s healing (Lk 5:12–16). In order for the healing to be concluded successfully, the requirements of the Mosaic law must be obeyed (Lk 5:14).

Most of the other occurrences of Moses refer to his writings. The entirety of Israel’s Scriptures is reflected in “Moses and all the prophets” (Lk 24:27; cf. Lk 24:44). These Scriptures testify to the credibility of Jesus’ divine mission. Jesus’ story of the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:16–31) also refers to “Moses and the prophets” (Lk 16:29, 31). It addresses material wealth and its eschatologically fatal consequences to people who idolize wealth and ignore the basic needs of the indigent (*see* Rich and Poor). This is a grave violation of God’s will as found in Moses and the prophets (Lk 16:29).

There are two occurrences of Moses in the Lukan account of Jesus’ controversy with the Sadducees. Luke 20:28 introduces the provision of levirate mar-

riage quoted by the Sadducees. Jesus simply refutes their position (Lk 20:34–38), omitting any critique of a misguided interpretation of the Mosaic law by the Sadducees (Lk 20:34; cf. Mt 22:29; Mk 12:24). Jesus’ authority to interpret God’s will is reinforced by Moses’ own theological reasoning. The Sadducees, with their exclusive allegiance to the law of Moses, are refuted by Moses himself.

2.3.2. The Transfiguration Narrative. Luke’s transfiguration story (Lk 9:28–36) serves as a prelude to the travel account (Lk 9:51–19:48). Luke draws on Mark, but, like Matthew, he rewrites significant parts. First, Jesus’ white shining clothing emphasizes his affiliation with the heavenly world (e.g., 1 En. 71:1) rather than his association with Moses (Ex 34). Second, the appearance of Moses and Elijah, in their heavenly attire and glory, is for the benefit of Jesus alone, since the disciples are “weighed down with sleep” (Lk 9:32) (Harstine). Jesus’ own glory foreshadows his resurrection and parousia (cf. Lk 9:26; 21:27; 24:26). Moses and Elijah discuss Jesus’ coming “exodus” in Jerusalem (Lk 9:31)—that is, his resurrection and ascension. The term *exodos* (NRSV: “departure”) (see Reid) echoes Moses’ leading Israel out of Egypt to the promised land and reflects continuity between the old exodus and the new one (O’Toole).

Jesus’ “departure” is characterized as an accomplishment including the aspect of fulfillment foretold in Scripture (Lk 18:31–33; 24:27, 44–46). It allows for the assumption that Moses and Elijah are perceived as representatives of Israel’s holy Scriptures—that is, the law (of Moses) and the prophets (Bovon). However, their presence also relates their mission to Jesus’ divine mission (Lee; Harstine). As both Moses and Elijah revealed God’s will, so does Jesus (Lk 9:35; cf. Deut 18:15). Luke primarily underscores a “basic continuity” (Lee) between Moses’ and Elijah’s divine mission and that of Jesus. However, Jesus alone is God’s Son, the chosen one (Lk 9:35). As Jesus alone remains with the disciples (Lk 9:36), henceforth Jesus will be the only mediator, interpreter and teacher of God’s salvific will (Croatto). Ultimately, it is the risen Jesus who will interpret the writings of Moses and the prophets to explain his “exodus” to the disciples (Lk 24:27, 44–46).

2.4. The Gospel of John. Most of John’s thirteen references to Moses are related to the divine law mediated or “written” by Moses (Jn 1:17, 45; 5:45–46; 7:19, 22 [2x], 23; 8:5) or to his religious authority in Israel (Jn 9:28–29). Two occurrences mark certain events in his life (Jn 3:14; 6:32). John’s Gospel is often thought to mirror a vigorous dispute between a Jewish Christian Johannine community and a *Judaism

in reorganization mode after A.D. 70. To be a disciple of Moses and Jesus at the same time was no longer possible (Jn 9:28). As a party in this conflict, John's Gospel lays claim to Moses and the religious traditions of Israel. As a consequence, this Gospel never attempts to refute the religious authority of Moses and his role as mediator of the divine law; however, it repeatedly compares Moses and Jesus (Lierman).

John's prologue (Jn 1:1-18) corroborates that the law was given by God through Moses (Jn 1:17a; cf. Jn 7:19, 22). However, it has no salvific power. Only Jesus, the Logos incarnate, has this power (Jn 1:17b). Thus, the sole purpose of Moses and his law and writings is to testify to Jesus. Without citing Moses' writings, John's Gospel maintains that all eschatological hopes of salvation condensed in the Scriptures that Moses "wrote" (Jn 1:45; 5:46-47) are definitively realized in Jesus (Jn 1:45). This Gospel unfolds the new role of Moses and his law by embedding it in an escalating dispute between Jesus and various Jewish adversaries (Jn 5:1-10:42) (see Schapdick). In these debates the use of the law as an interpretive standard to judge Jesus' divine mission is rejected (Jn 7:23; 9:16, 24, 29). In addition, Moses' activities to secure Israel's survival in the wilderness provide no criteria for evaluating Jesus' salvific revelation (Jn 6:31-33). In fact, an adequate reading of Israel's Scriptures reveals that Moses wrote about Jesus (Jn 5:46). Anyone who does not concur demonstrates unbelief and will be accused by Moses himself (Jn 5:45). Such interpreters of the law might consider themselves disciples of Moses (9:28), but as long as they fail to accept Jesus' divine mission, they are not. Specific contents of the law are mentioned only when the legitimacy of Jesus' revelatory claim requires vindication (Jn 7:20-24 [Sabbath, circumcision]). A minor exception is John 8:5, in a passage that most certainly was not part of the original Gospel (Jn 7:53-8:11). The episode describes the authority of Jesus to object to a penalty of the law (stoning) in reference to the sin of adultery (see Lev 20:10). It serves to illustrate Jesus' acceptance of sinners (Jn 8:7-11). References to events from Moses' life focus on life-saving or life-preserving acts (see Ex 16:1-36; Num 21:4-9), which are attributed not to him but rather to God (Jn 3:14; 6:31-33). This proves God to be the sole savior of life. God's final gift is eternal life exclusively related to Jesus. The ministry of Moses to Israel serves as an antecedent to Jesus' ministry (Lierman).

3. Conclusions.

The Gospels introduce Moses mainly for christological purposes. Soteriological and eschatological

aspects related to Moses are reconfigured to portray Jesus. Moses and his Scriptures become the prime witness for the continuous salvific will of the God of Israel, which takes its definitive form in the gospel of Jesus. Moses' revelatory role at Mount Sinai affirms Jesus' revelatory role (Matthew, Mark, Luke), the expectation of a prophet like Moses affirms the divine authority of Jesus (esp. Luke), and events from Moses' life depict the salvation offered in Jesus and his mission (John). Finally, Moses' admission to heaven (Mark, Matthew, Luke) illustrates and evaluates (Mark) the status of a transfigured Jesus in order to offer a glimpse into the future world of salvation (Matthew) and to foreshadow the consequences of his mission, his passion, resurrection and ascension (Luke).

See also ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB; ELIJAH AND ELISHA; ISRAEL; JUDAISM, COMMON; LAW; MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF; MOUNTAIN AND WILDERNESS; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; TRANSFIGURATION.

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S. Schapdick

MOTHER OF JESUS. See MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS.

MOUNT OF OLIVES. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

MOUNTAIN AND WILDERNESS

In the Gospels geographical facts are the vehicles of literary and theological ideas. What matters primarily is not on which mountain or in what part of the wilderness any particular event occurred, but rather the *typological or symbolic significance of a given location.

1. Mountain
2. Wilderness

1. Mountain.

Most of the mountains in the Gospels carry theological meaning because they can be related to (1) Sinai; (2) speculation about Zion; or (3) the eschatological prophecy in Zechariah 14:4 about the Mount of Olives.

1.1. Terminology. In the LXX and Josephus *to oros* can mean not only “(the) mountain” but also “mountainous area” or “(the) hill country.” But “(the) mountain” is the more common meaning of the Greek expression, and as there were other words available for “mountainous area” and “(the) hill country,” and as in several Gospel texts *to oros* must mean “(the) mountain” (e.g., Mt 5:14; 17:1), it seems best to render *to oros* consistently as “(the) mountain.”

1.2. Jewish Background. In Jewish literature mountains are associated with numerous themes, including power (Jer 51:25; Dan 2:45), revelation (*Jub.* 1:2-4; 2 Bar. 13:1), antiquity (Job 15:7; Prov 8:25;), eternity (Gen 49:26; Ps 125:1) and pagan religion (Is 14:13; 16:12). But the most important fact is that several mountains were the scenes of theophanies and/or played crucial roles in salvation history, as the names “Moriah,” “Nebo/Pisgah,” “Carmel” and especially “Sinai” and “Zion” attest. Around the latter two there gathered relatively well-defined clusters of motifs (Sinai: *Moses, wilderness, law-giving; Zion: kingship, *Jerusalem, *temple, inviolability).

Whereas Sinai only occasionally appears in material about the latter days (e.g., in 1 En. 1:4 it is the place of future judgment, and in *Liv. Pro. Jer.* 11–19 the ark and the saints will be gathered to Sinai, where they will be protected), Zion is prominent in Jewish eschatology. In the OT and elsewhere Zion is to be the place of Israel’s congregating (Jer 31:1-25; Tob 14:5-7), the goal of the Gentiles’ pilgrimage (Is 2:2-3; Zech 2:6-12), the site from which the eschatological Torah will be promulgated (Is 2:2-3; Mic 4:2), the location of the enthronement of God or his representative (Mic 4:6-7; Pss. Sol. 17:21-46) and the home of the new temple (*Jub.* 1:29).

1.3. Jesus’ Ministry. The following Gospel texts place Jesus on a mountain: Matthew 4:8; 5:1; 14:23 // Mark 6:46; Matthew 15:29; 17:1 // Mark 9:2; Luke 9:28; Matthew 21:1 // Mark 11:1; Matthew 24:3 // Mark 13:3; Matthew 26:30 // Mark 14:26; Luke 22:39; Matthew 28:16; Mark 3:13 // Luke 6:12; Mark 5:5, 11 // Luke 8:32; Luke 4:29; 21:37; John 6:3, 15; 8:1. Christian tradition has repeatedly sought to identify the several unnamed mountains in these texts (e.g., Tabor has been thought the site of Jesus’ transfiguration). It is not possible, however, to link more than a very few events with known mountains, at least with any degree of probability. The Gospels explicitly identify only three mountains: the Mount of Olives (e.g., Mk 11:1; 13:3; 14:26), the hill on which Nazareth was situated (Lk 4:29) and Mount Gerizim (Jn 4:20-21).

Given the regularity with which the Gospel tradition, in all its strands (Mark, Q, M, L, John), has Jesus

on a mountain, the association may be accepted as historical. Perhaps Jesus sometimes retired to mountains, which typically were deserted places, for solitude. It is also possible that mountains held some symbolic or theological significance in his own thinking, although no specifics can be credibly hazarded.

1.4. Parallels with Sinai. In accordance with the conviction that Jesus fulfilled the oracle of Deuteronomy 18:15, 18 (cf. Acts 3:22-23), the Gospel writers and those who passed on the tradition before them drew parallels between Jesus and Moses. In this way, Sinai made its presence felt. For instance, in Matthew 17; Mark 9; Luke 9 Jesus is transfigured on a "high mountain." This recalls Sinai. Sinai was thought to have been "high" (Philo, *Mos.* 2.70; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.76), and there are numerous parallels between Mark 9:2-9 par. and traditions about Moses on Sinai (see esp. Ex 24; 34). Both Jesus and Moses were transfigured by light, both were accompanied by a select group of three, and both went up on the seventh day. In addition, both transfigurations were associated with a descending cloud, in both incidents a voice came forth from that cloud, and in both cases those who saw the radiant figure became afraid. Furthermore, Moses and Elijah, who appeared and conversed with the transfigured Jesus (see Transfiguration), are the only OT figures of whom it is related that they spoke with God on Sinai. Clearly, the Gospel story was told in such a fashion as to call to mind the theophany on Sinai (this holds for all three Synoptic accounts).

Matthew 5:1 ("and going up on a mountain, he sat down") and Matthew 8:1 ("coming down from the mountain") are also illuminated by Sinai. Not only does the wording of the Greek sentences resemble OT texts about Moses (e.g., LXX Ex 19:3; 32:1; 34:29; Deut 9:9), but also the *Sermon on the Mount follows a series of events that is closely paralleled in the story of Moses as it is known from Scripture, Josephus and other sources (e.g., prophecy of Israel's savior, a father's uncertainty about his wife's pregnancy, the slaughter of Jewish infants by a wicked Gentile king, a return from exile after those seeking the savior's life have died, crossing of the waters/baptism [cf. 1 Cor 10:1-5], temptation in the wilderness for forty years/days); and in some Jewish texts Moses sits on Sinai (Ezek. Trag. 67-82; *b. Meg.* 21a-b; *b. Sotah* 49a; the notion is based on a possible translation of MT Deut 9:9: "and I sat on the mountain forty days and forty nights"). The Sermon on the Mount is obviously some sort of counterpart to the giving of the law on Sinai.

John 6:3 reads, "Jesus went up to the mountain

and sat down there with his disciples" (cf. Jn 6:15, where Jesus is alone on the mountain; this is reminiscent of LXX Ex 24:2; 34:3). This verse, which so closely resembles Matthew 5:1-2 and its OT parallels, heads a chapter filled with explicit correlations between Jesus and Moses. Here too, then, Jesus on the mountain is like Moses on Sinai. In this way, it is plain that Jesus fulfilled the eschatological expectations of Judaism, according to which the last redeemer (the Messiah) will be like the first redeemer (Moses) (see also Mk 3:13?).

1.5. Zion Typology. In Matthew 15:29 Jesus goes up and sits on a mountain (cf. Mt 5:1-2). This mountain is a place of gathering, healing and feeding. Also, Matthew 15:30-31 may well allude to Isaiah 35:5-6, part of an eschatological prophecy concerning Zion (cf. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 11.18). All this suggests a Mount Zion typology (see Donaldson). In Jewish expectation Zion is the eschatological gathering site of Israel (see 1.2 above), a place of healing (Is 35:5-6; cf. Mic 4:6-7) and the location of the messianic feast (Is 25:6-10; *Pesiq. Rab.* 41.5). Matthew 15:29-38 seemingly interprets the ministry of Jesus as the fulfillment of the Jewish hopes surrounding Zion.

How does this relate to the fact that elsewhere in Matthew the mountain motif is so clearly linked to Sinai (see 1.4 above)? Already in the OT Sinai and Zion are closely associated, as in Psalm 68, and this is true also in later Jewish tradition (e.g., *Liv. Pro. Jer.* 11-19; *Tg. Neof. Ex* 4:27; *Midr. Bab. Ps* 68:9). A key text in this regard is Isaiah 2:2-3, which includes "Torah shall go forth out of Zion." Here Mount Zion functions as the eschatological Sinai, the mountain of the law. In view of this, the Sinai and Zion parallels should not be set over against each other. The two go hand in hand. Both make Jesus the eschatological counterpart of Moses.

It is sometimes suggested that Matthew 5:14 ("a city set on a mountain cannot be hid") has in view eschatological Zion or the new Jerusalem. It was expected that Zion would be raised to a great height and shed its light throughout the whole world (Is 2:2-4; 60:1-22; *Sib. Or.* 5:420-23). But the reference is uncertain. The verse is perfectly understandable without it referring to any particular city, and the wording lacks a definite article ("a city"). Furthermore, the parallel in Matthew 5:15 (one does not conceal a lit lamp but rather sets it out) speaks against the proposal, as any lamp would fit the bill.

1.6. The Mount of Olives. Zechariah 14:4 reads, "In that day his feet will stand on the Mount of Olives, . . . and the Mount of Olives will be split in two from east to west." This eschatological prophecy

makes Jesus' choice of the Mount of Olives as the site for his eschatological discourse (Mk 13 par.) especially appropriate (note also Acts 1:11, which links the parousia and the Mount of Olives). There may also be an allusion to Zechariah's prophecy in Mark 11:23, according to which true belief can cast "this mountain" into the sea. In its context, Mark 11:23 could allude to the Mount of Olives (cf. Mk 11:1) and so to Zechariah 14:4, which foresees the splitting of that mountain (alternatively, the verse, which curiously recalls Homer, *Od.* 5.480-85, where the Cyclops literally casts a mountain into the sea, could also allude to the destruction of the Temple Mount, upon which Jesus stands as he speaks).

Matthew 27:51-53 may also draw on Zechariah 14:4-5 (interpreted, as in the Targum and *Did.* 16:6-7, as a prophecy of the resurrection). In both texts there is a resurrection of the dead immediately outside Jerusalem, an earthquake occurs, the same verb is used (*schizō* ["to split"] in the passive), and the resurrected ones are called *hoi hagioi* ("the holy ones"). Even today, the western rise to the Mount of Olives is covered with Jewish graves because of the belief, inspired by Zechariah 14:4-5, that on the last day the Messiah will return to that place, where the *resurrection will commence.

1.7. A Literary Function in Matthew. The mountain in Matthew 4:8 (the Lukan parallel, presumably following Q, has no mountain) serves a literary function. It relates a scene near the beginning of the Gospel to the Gospel's conclusion. In Matthew 4:8 the devil (see Demon, Devil, Satan), on a mountain, offers Jesus, who has yet to suffer and die, all the kingdoms of the world. But in Matthew 28:16-20, again on a mountain, Jesus, who has been crucified, declares that he has all authority in heaven and earth. The lesson, made plain by Matthew's redactional insertion of a mountain into the two scenes, is that only after the passion, and only from God, can Jesus accept legitimate authority.

2. Wilderness.

The wilderness is significant primarily because of its association with the theme of a new exodus.

2.1. Terminology. In the Gospels *hē erēmos* refers to an abandoned or uncultivated place, not necessarily a desert. In the LXX the word translates several Hebrew equivalents, including *midbār*, *ārābā* and *negeb*, words with different shades of meaning.

2.2. Jewish Background. The law was handed down in the wilderness of Sinai, and the entry into the promised land was preceded by Israel's desert wanderings. Thus, despite the tradition of disobedi-

ence and murmuring in the desert and the fact that there is no nomadic or desert ideal in the OT, the time in the wilderness was sometimes described in glowing terms (e.g., Is 63:11-14). Moreover, it came to be held that a return to the wilderness and a second exodus would herald the messianic age, and the blessings of the new age were moved to the period of the wandering and vice versa—not unnatural developments, given that the desert had been a place of revelation and Israel's constitution. Pertinent texts include Isaiah 35:1-2; 40:3-5; Ezekiel 20:33-44; Hosea 2:14-23; 1QS VIII, 12-16; Revelation 12:6, 13-14.

That the expectation of a return to the desert could be taken literally is shown by the activity of the Jews at Qumran (they chose to dwell in the desert in fulfillment of Is 40:3-4) (see Dead Sea Scrolls), by the behavior of certain so-called *prophets (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.259, 261; 6.351; 7.438) and by the warning in Matthew 24:26.

2.3. Jesus' Ministry. Jesus, like *John the Baptist (Mt 11:7; Mk 1:3-4; Lk 7:24; Jn 1:23), spent time in the wilderness (Mt 4:1 // Mk 1:12; Lk 4:1; Mt 14:13, 15 // Mk 6:31-32, 35; Lk 9:12; Mk 1:35 // Lk 4:42; Mk 1:45 // Lk 5:16; Jn 11:54). The motivation for withdrawal may have been simply or above all a desire to escape on occasion the crowds and the demands of ministry. This would concur with the tradition stating that Jesus' retreats to the wilderness were occasions for prayer (Mk 1:35; Lk 5:16).

2.4. New Exodus. The theme of returning to the wilderness in fulfillment of eschatological expectation dominates Mark 1:1-13. John dwells in the wilderness and calls *Israel thence to be baptized. He is the fulfillment of LXX Isaiah 40:3 (a voice crying in the wilderness). Jesus himself first appears in the wilderness and there undergoes temptation. In addition, two of the three OT texts combined in Mark 1:2-3 (Ex 23:20; Mal 3:1; Is 40:3) have to do with the wilderness tradition (Ex 23:20 is about an angelic guardian and guide for the desert, and Is 40:3 explicitly refers to the desert). The concentrated focus on the wilderness means that the story of Jesus begins as a second exodus. Beginning and end mirror one another (cf. 1 Cor 10:1-5).

The theme seems to be continued in Mark 6:30-44, where Jesus in the wilderness gives rest (cf. Deut 3:20; 12:9-10) and feeds the people (cf. Ex 16; Num 11). There are several other parallels here between Jesus and Moses (e.g., Mk 6:34 recalls Num 27:17), and one suspects that Mark intended Mark 6:30-44 to call to mind Exodus 16; Numbers 11: like Moses, Jesus fed Israel in the wilderness (that Jesus himself had similar thoughts is a real possibility [see McKnight]).

Whether Matthew and Luke saw a new-exodus theme in the feeding of the five thousand is not so clear. But in John 6:31, 49, in a discourse following the miraculous feeding, reference is made to Israel eating manna “in the desert” (cf. Jn 3:14). It is true that the Fourth Evangelist places the feeding near a mountain (Jn 6:3), not “in the wilderness.” But John 6:3 alludes to Sinai (see 1.4 above), Sinai and the wilderness were firmly linked (“the wilderness of Sinai” being a fixed expression), and in some contexts “the mountain(s)” and “the wilderness” were almost interchangeable (note Mt 18:12 // Lk 15:4). So the story in John 6 apparently takes place in the wilderness, and the explicit reference to the desert in John 6:31, 49 means that the theme of the eschatological return to the wilderness is present.

We have already observed (see 1.4 above) that Matthew 1—8 draws extensive correlations between the story of Moses and the exodus and the story of Jesus. Here we may note that Israel’s time in the wilderness has its parallel in Matthew 3—4, where Jesus in the wilderness passes through the waters of *baptism and then enters the desert to undergo *temptation. Once again the wilderness setting is at the service of the new-exodus motif.

2.5. The Wilderness and Demons. In the temptation narratives Jesus confronts Satan in the wilderness. In Luke 8:29 we learn that the Gerasene demoniac was driven into the desert by a demon. And in Matthew 12:43-45 and its parallel, Luke 11:24-26, the unclean spirit who has been cast out “passes through waterless

places.” These texts are illumined by the Jewish belief that the wilderness, being beyond the bounds of society, is the haunt of evil spirits (see Lev 16:10; Is 13:21; 1 En. 10:4-5; Tob 8:3; 4 Macc 18:8; 2 Bar. 10:8). The idea dominated later Christian monasticism.

See also JERUSALEM; JOHN THE BAPTIST; MOSES; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN; TEMPTATION OF JESUS.

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MULTIPLE ATTESTATION, CRITERIA OF. See CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY.

N

NAIN. *See* ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

NARRATIVE CRITICISM

Narrative criticism is a methodology for reading storied genres. This method has its origins in literary-critical circles and first emerged as a discrete method applied to biblical studies in the 1970s. In Gospel studies narrative criticism has become an important interpretive tool and has continued to evolve; it is often intentionally combined with other methodologies, such as feminist criticism or even historical criticism.

1. Definition of Narrative Criticism
2. History of Narrative Criticism in Gospel Studies
3. Methodological Description of Narrative Criticism
4. The Changing Face of Narrative Criticism

1. Definition of Narrative Criticism.

In broadest terms, narrative criticism is a method of interpreting biblical narratives that attends to their literary qualities and, specifically, to their narrative or storied shape (Resseguie, 18-19). Literary features, such as plot, sequencing, pacing, point of view, characterization and irony, capture the attention of narrative critics. Such literary analysis is accompanied by a focus on the final form of the text rather than emphasis on issues of the text's production (e.g., source analysis). In fact, early application of narrative criticism to the Gospels purposely bracketed out the historical-critical concerns paramount to Gospel studies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Powell 1990, 8). Also characteristic of narrative criticism is an assumption of the unity of the text, although recent critique and reassessment have raised questions about the validity of this assumption.

2. History of Narrative Criticism in Gospel Studies.

2.1. Influence of Literary Criticism. The phe-

nomenon of the "New Criticism" came into vogue in literary circles of the 1930s as a reaction to attempts to understand a literary work by retrieving an author's psychological motives for writing. The New Criticism highlighted the autonomy of a literary work from its situational moorings. The text as autonomous from its author became the focus of the interpretive task for this particular methodological school. A similar sensibility emerged in Gospel studies in the 1970s, paving the way for approaches that centered not on historical analysis of the text but rather on its literary features. One such approach was structuralism, which attended to what were termed "deep structures" that go beyond messages at a text's surface. The goal of this analysis was to uncover the universal and unifying elements of a text. Narrative criticism was another such approach, with its focus on an individual Gospel without recourse to various historical facets of the text, including authorial motives or sources used. While narratology is the discipline within the field of literary criticism most similar to narrative criticism, narrative criticism itself, in its nomenclature and evolution, is essentially unique to biblical studies.

2.2. Influence of Redaction Criticism. In the modern period biblical scholars had focused closely on historical issues surrounding the Gospels. Scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were preoccupied mostly with questions regarding sources for the Gospels, involving issues of written dependence among the Synoptics (*see* Synoptic Problem) and *oral forms that preceded their composition. By the 1950s *redaction criticism had emerged as an extension of these source interests. Redaction critics sought to determine the evangelists' particular theological interests by analyzing changes made to their source material. These editorial moves and associated theological contributions were then used to reconstruct an evangelist's specific ecclesial and social setting. One result of redaction

criticism (particularly in its later manifestation of compositional criticism) was a more studious engagement with the final form of each Gospel. Focus on the final form became a hallmark of narrative criticism. So while there are significant differences between redaction and narrative criticisms, the former helped paved the way for the rise of the latter in Gospel studies.

2.3. *The Emergence of Narrative Criticism in Gospel Studies.* Although there were multiple early forays into literary-critical analysis of the Gospels (e.g., Perrin; see Stibbe, 6), the work of the Society of Biblical Literature Markan Seminar (1971-1980) proved to be seminal in Gospel studies. In a paper presented to the Markan Seminar in 1980 summarizing the seminar's work, D. Rhoads first employed the term "narrative criticism" for literary analysis of the Gospels (Rhoads 1982, 412). In that paper he identified two developments that led to narrative criticism in Mark. The first was a movement from textual fragmentation resulting from the application of historical-critical methods toward greater narrative unity. The second development was a shift of attention from history to fiction. By the latter, he meant that "in the end [Mark's] narrative world of the story is a literary creation of the author" with integrity apart from its historical referents (Rhoads 1982, 413). Some of the fruit of the exploratory work of the Markan Seminar was published in *Mark as Story* (Rhoads and Michie). Narrative criticism applied to the other Gospels followed in subsequent years in works such as *Matthew as Story* (Kingsbury 1988a [first published in 1986]), *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts* (Tannehill) and *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel* (Culpepper).

Early issues that emerged in narrative criticism centered on its relation to historical engagement with the Gospels, especially since historical criticism had so long reigned as the prevailing method of Gospel studies. For example, in an early form of narrative criticism the critic approached a Gospel as a first-time reader, which included a commitment to reading as if one did not know subsequent parts of the story. Assuming the perspective of the first-time reader also included (for some) a minimalist view of the implied reader's knowledge. For example, R. Edwards, a narrative critic in Matthew, defined the implied reader as a first-time reader who knows only whatever historical or cultural information is provided in the narrative itself (Edwards, 10). In contrast to this perspective, a more common application of narrative criticism envisions an implied reader who knows everything that the implied au-

thor expects the reader to know, including linguistic competence, universal knowledge and sociocultural knowledge presupposed by the narrative, and knowledge of other literature used, such as the OT (Powell 1993, 32).

Although a significant commonality of commitments, terminology and goals typifies narrative criticism of the four Gospels, some differences in emphasis based on the unique features of each Gospel have emerged. For example, the abrupt nature of the ending of Mark (Mk 16:8) made it a fertile area for discussion of narrative closure—or lack thereof, in Mark's case. Narrative criticism of John's Gospel, on the other hand, has necessarily grappled with the way irony is used across that book.

3. Methodological Description of Narrative Criticism.

3.1. *Two Levels of a Narrative.* Many early narrative critics based their framing of the discipline on S. Chatman's *Story and Discourse* (1978), with special focus on Chatman's distinction between two levels of a narrative. Accordingly, narrative criticism typically highlights attention to the story level and the discourse level of a narrative (with Rhoads and Michie referring to these as the story and rhetorical levels). The story level consists of elements that most readers easily notice as they read narratives: the settings, events and characters that make up the plot of the story. The discourse level (or the narrative's "rhetoric") consists of elements such as point of view, narration, event sequencing and pacing, plot-tedness, characterization, irony, structural patterns and stylistics (Brown 2002, 25; Powell 2010, 245-49). A Gospel's narrative logic is illuminated by asking interpretive questions of the narrative's discourse. E. Malbon describes this as attending to "*how* the story means, that is, how the implied author uses characters, settings, plot, and rhetoric to communicate meaning" (Malbon 2008, 47). While narrative criticism has received critique for introducing a certain amount of conceptual and lexical complexity, the basic features of narrative criticism are more about what J. Green calls the development of "literary sensibilities" rather than of a "literary technology" (Green 2010, 98).

An example of attending to how a story means can be seen in Matthew's arrangement of Jesus' teaching into five major discourses (Mt 5-7; 10; 13; 18; 24-25). The arrangement of much of Jesus' teaching into these blocks affects the pacing of the story. The reader is provided an experience of Jesus' teaching with fewer narrational interruptions and

with a greater “real time” sense of being taught by Jesus. The audience of these teaching blocks on Matthew’s story level (usually the disciples) fades to a certain extent as each discourse progresses, so that the reader experiences a more immediate sense of being the recipient of Jesus’ teaching (Brown 2005).

3.2. Implied Author and Reader Concepts. Another central methodological lens of narrative criticism involves the concepts of the implied author and the implied reader. These constructs are not to be equated with the empirical author and audience. Instead, the implied author is the author presupposed by the narrative and so is a textual construct. Rather than reconstructing the historical author of Mark’s Gospel, for instance, narrative criticism draws upon the implied author of Mark (i.e., the author who begins his Gospel with an OT composite to illuminate Jesus’ identity in relation to Israel’s hopes and who portrays the disciples as hardhearted and obtuse).

A central aspect of narrative-critical methodology is the task of reading the narrative as the implied reader—“that imaginary person in whom the intention of the text is to be thought of as always reaching its fulfillment” (Kingsbury 1988a, 38). Yet the concept of the implied reader is quite varied among narrative critics. For some, it is a fully textual construct—that is, the reader presupposed in the text. For instance, according to R. Culpepper, the implied reader is “defined by the text as the one who performs all the mental moves required to enter into the narrative world and respond to it as the implied author intends” (Culpepper, 7). In this definition the text itself provides the cues for an “ideal” reader to understand and respond appropriately and so to fulfill the intentions of the text’s implied author.

Other narrative critics, following W. Iser’s more open-ended description, define the implied reader at the intersection of a text and its empirical readers. For Iser and those who use his implied reader construct, actual readers necessarily contribute to the meaning of the text by filling in its inherent gaps. By doing so, they give shape to the implied reader as the one who actualizes the intentions of the narrative (e.g., Howell, 210–11). As such, “narratives cannot be hermetically sealed off from the social situations in which audiences encounter them” (Thatcher, 33).

These concepts of implied author and reader are central for narrative criticism and its interpretive method because a key goal of a narrative-critical reading is to construct the implied reader for a particular narrative. From a narrative perspective, the communicative intentions of the Gospel of Luke are determined by the shaping of Luke’s implied reader

by the implied author. If it is determined that Luke’s implied reader is one who participates in the reign of God brought by Jesus through renouncing status concerns and embracing those who have been on the margins of society, then such participation is part of the meaning and goal of Luke’s narrative.

4. The Changing Face of Narrative Criticism.

4.1. Critiques and Responses. Narrative criticism continues to hold an important place in Gospel studies, in spite of and possibly because of critiques that have emerged and been addressed by narrative critics. As a method, narrative criticism has shown itself to be fairly flexible, as its practitioners have responded to concerns by reenvisioning its parameters.

4.1.1. Historical Critique. Appraisals of narrative criticism have raised historical questions from the time of its inception. For example, narrative criticism was accused of ignoring historical issues in its pursuit of textual autonomy. Early attempts to bridge these concerns included the use of the construct of the implied reader for historical purposes. J. Kingsbury, for instance, argued that the implied reader might provide an approximate index to the empirical audience. In a final chapter of *Matthew as Story* he extrapolates his own historical conclusions about Matthew’s audience from a narrative reading. In doing this kind of reconstruction, narrative critics have emphasized the importance of understanding a Gospel holistically, rather than using a gospel in piecemeal fashion to reconstruct the intended audience (Kingsbury 1988b, 459; Culpepper, 11).

In response to early assessments indicating that narrative criticism should be complemented by historical methods, narrative critics in recent years have taken a more comprehensive approach. Arguing that “narrative analysis of the Gospels should be methodologically as inclusive and comprehensive as possible,” P. Merenlahti and R. Hakola recommend an eclectic methodology that understands narrative analysis to be integral to historical study (Merenlahti and Hakola, 47–48; see also Stibbe). How this integration happens is a matter of some debate. Merenlahti argues for a kind of narrative criticism that attends to the ideological dissonance in every Gospel narrative (Merenlahti, 97). He defines the plot of a Gospel as both a literary entity and “a historical process of ideological meaning-making” (Merenlahti, 100). The latter notion is an acknowledgment of historical particularities and tensions within a Gospel without making those historical exigencies the sole focus of or the central means to interpretation. Instead, Merelahti and Hakola speak of appre-

ciating the polyphony of the text, with its echoes of differing oral traditions, multiple authors and contexts, and contrasting ideologies (Merenlahti and Hakola, 32).

Alternately, Green, while affirming the importance of historical analysis in the study of the Gospels, critiques reading them in a way that presumes an ability to distinguish clearly between narrative and history. Since all narratives that make historical claims, including the Gospels, are themselves “narrative representation[s] of history,” it is important to attend first to the narrative quality of the text (Green 1997, 2). Yet Green readily acknowledges that the Gospels, as “cultural products,” require an understanding of their cultural and social milieus as an essential narrative-critical task (Green 1997, 19). He is more resistant, however, to wedding a narrative sensibility with a historical-critical paradigm that assumes that the Gospels provide material for a reconstruction of the past, since the latter task issues in a reworked narrative quite different from any provided in the four canonical Gospels (Green 2011).

4.1.2. *Critique of Chatman’s Model.* From another angle, critique surfaced early on regarding narrative criticism’s two-level model inherited from Chatman. S. Moore argues that a narrative does not have story and discourse levels. For Moore, the story level already functions as discourse level; the implied author’s hand is thoroughly embedded in the story elements. “Narrative is inescapably rhetorical” (Moore, 66). Moore’s work has challenged narrative criticism’s formalistic perspective that tends to assume the autonomy of the text both from the empirical author and real readers. Critiques such as these have led to a more complicated rendering of the construct of the implied reader in contemporary versions of narrative criticism.

4.1.3. *Critique of Assumed Coherence.* A significant issue that continues to spark debate is the question of whether narrative criticism should assume narrational coherence. This assumption was characteristic of early narrative criticism, but critiques have led to more divergent ways of understanding and expressing narrative cohesion. Fairly early on, M. de Boer critiqued narrative criticism for asserting narrational coherence as a methodological presupposition (de Boer, 44). More recently, Merenlahti has claimed that a narrative reading that “successfully integrates any inconsistent features into a complete whole” is not true to the nature of narratives, which include dissonant voices by virtue of their ideological stance (Merenlahti, 97).

Rhoads helpfully indicates that narrative criti-

cism has drawn on narrative unity as a heuristic device to begin its work (Rhoads 1999, 267). As such, assumptions of unity may be held more loosely than critics of the method have supposed. Moreover, narrative unity might be better conceived in line with ancient Greek understandings of it, which were less about unity of theme and more about unity of purpose, less about beauty and more about truth (Merenlahti and Hakola, 32). This conception provides the possibility of shifting focus in narrative criticism of the Gospels from merely a literary appreciation of narrative coherence to recognition of a kind of overarching coherence of purpose. If narratives, ancient and modern, are an “attempt to set events within a coherent, meaningful series,” then the making of meaning is an essential characteristic of the Gospels as narratives (Green 1997, 15; also 2010). When viewed from this perspective, narrative unity, understood as coherence of purpose and meaning, might remain a working assumption for narrative-critical readings of the Gospels.

4.1.4. *Critique of Categories Derived from Fiction.* Critics of narrative criticism from its beginning have wondered whether methods developed to interpret contemporary fiction are adequate to address ancient narratives that purport to represent historical realities in some way. Recent contributions on this issue have emphasized that, while there is little to no formal difference between fictional and nonfictional narratives, other key distinctions adhere from both authorial and audience perspectives. Thus, formal categories derived from modern fiction can prove helpful for analyzing ancient historical narratives without a corresponding collapsing of distinctions between fictional and nonfictional narratives. In relation to authorial point of view, the kind of truth claims implicit in a nonfictional narrative indicates that the author has a different attitude toward the narrative than if it was fictional. Thus, a Gospel writer is in some way the guarantor of the narrative’s veracity (e.g., the sentiment expressed in Jn 19:35) (Merenlahti and Hakola, 34-35).

On the side of the audience, readers respond differently to fiction and nonfictional narratives, both affectively and by the ways they fill in the gaps inherent to all narratives (Merenlahti and Hakola, 38). For example, although it has been argued that *Pilate is portrayed fairly positively in the Gospel of Matthew (see Mt 27:24-25), the fact that a first-century A.D. Jewish audience would have filled in narrative gaps with sociocultural knowledge complicates this claim. Jewish antipathy toward Pilate, given his frequent transgression of Jewish customs and sensibili-

ties, would fill in the edges of Matthew 27 to produce a negative portrayal that lays significant culpability for Jesus' *death at Pilate's feet (despite his protests at Mt 27:24, cf. Mt 27:26). L. Doležel draws on the notion of narrative gaps to indicate how nonfictional narratives lead their reader to draw from history rather than fiction to fill in any narrative gaps. Accordingly, historical narratives function with a greater set of constraints in relation to narrative gaps than do fictional narratives (Doležel, 269). Careful delineation between fictional and nonfictional narrative means that methods developed for analysis of fiction may be profitably applied to nonfictional narratives as well, while also affirming the distinct stance of a Gospel's author and audience as that Gospel makes truth claims that extend beyond the parameters of the story.

4.2. Ongoing Influence. Narrative criticism, as one of a number of literary methods (e.g., structuralism, reader-response criticism, deconstructionism) introduced into biblical studies in the past forty years, has gained prominence and has contributed to a methodological eclecticism that includes any number of other approaches that focus on the intersection of text and culture, such as *social-scientific criticism, *postcolonial criticism and *feminist criticism.

As at its inception, narrative criticism continues to be viewed, by some, as an enhancement and nuancing of historical-critical enterprises (e.g., Reinhartz). Narrative criticism has also been utilized as a methodological tool for understanding and elaborating a particular gospel's theology (e.g., Malbon 2009). Other applications of narrative criticism to the Gospels include its use to illuminate text-critical questions (e.g., Shepherd) and to inform the practice of preaching (e.g., Graves and Schlafer). Narrative approaches also continue to draw from other disciplines in order to provide multifaceted readings that better acknowledge the Gospels as narratives that are ancient. One example is increased attention to the orality of the Gospels in narrative approaches (Rhoads 1999, 276). Since the Gospels as documents were intended to be delivered orally, attention to their oral (and aural) features is a productive interpretive task.

The flexibility of narrative criticism to address questions and critiques and to adapt to changing interests has contributed to its continuing use and influence in Gospel studies. From early versions of narrative criticism with ahistorical tendencies, narrative critics have engaged historical questions and concerns in numerous ways, allowing narrative criticism to become "technically more advanced and

methodologically more inclusive" (Merenlahti, 116). As such, narrative criticism has become an established methodology in the study of the Gospels, with a growing influence in an ever-widening arena.

See also CANONICAL CRITICISM; FEMINIST AND WOMANIST CRITICISMS; FORM CRITICISM; GOSPEL: GENRE; HISTORICISMS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY; LATINO/LATINA CRITICISM; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; POSTCOLONIAL CRITICISM; REDACTION CRITICISM; SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC CRITICISMS.

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J. Brown

NAZARENE

The English word *Nazarene* is used to translate forms of *Nazōraios* and *Nazarēnos*, referring to someone from Nazareth. It clearly means something

more, however, in the famed text of Matthew 2:23. Interpreting that verse is difficult because it is unclear why Jesus’ residence in a town unmentioned in the OT fulfills the prophets.

1. Primary Meaning of *Nazōraios* and *Nazarēnos*
2. Meaning of *Nazōraios* in Matthew 2:23

1. Primary Meaning of *Nazōraios* and *Nazarēnos*.

By the time the Gospels were written, *Nazōraios* and *Nazarēnos* were already employed to designate simply someone from Nazareth. Given that “Jesus” was a common name in first-century Palestine, “the Nazarene/of Nazareth” is used in the Gospels (and Acts) to identify this Jesus specifically, usually for the sake of those who do not already know him (see esp. Mt 26:69–73 // Mk 14:66–70; Lk 18:36–37; Jn 18:4–8; 19:19; Acts 22:8). Additionally, in Acts 24:5 *Nazōraion* refers to Jesus’ followers: “the sect of the Nazarenes.” It is, however, in Matthew 2:23 that the evangelist uses *Nazōraios* in a more theologically developed way, for there the evangelist recounts how Jesus’ family had moved to Nazareth, thus fulfilling an obscure prophecy: “He will be called a Nazarene.”

2. Meaning of *Nazōraios* in Matthew 2:23.

Several factors make Matthew 2:23 difficult to interpret. First, there is no pre-Matthean text that reads “He will be called a Nazarene.” Second, Matthew refers to plural “prophets,” but he does not signify what specific prophetic corpus is in view. Third, if Matthew 2:23 refers to a general teaching of all “the prophets,” the question remains what that prophetic teaching might be. Therefore, it is unclear how Jesus’ residence in Nazareth fulfills “the prophets.” Only two theories have amassed scholarly momentum (for the minority report, see Menken 456–60); both refer Matthew 2:23 back to the OT.

Looking to Judges 13:5, 7; 16:17, where Samson is called a “Nazirite” (MT: *nāzîr*; LXX [A]: *naziraios*), some scholars see a Samson-Jesus typology in Matthew 2:23. Other similarities between Judges 13 and Matthew 1–2 support this reading: divine intervention in conception (Judg 13:2–3; Mt 1:18, 20, 23); the appearance of the angel of the Lord (Judg 13:3, 9; Mt 1:20; 2:13, 19); the child’s calling to save Israel (Judg 13:5; Mt 1:21). Moreover, in the Western text of the LXX, Judges 13:7; 16:17 read “holy one of God” in place of “Nazirite of God,” suggesting a degree of synonymy between the two titles, the former of which is applied to Jesus (cf. Mk 1:24). In this case, the reference to the prophets is to the OT Historical Books. The question here is whether these consider-

ations are sufficient to outweigh a very basic point: Jesus was not a Nazirite (cf. Num 6:2-3; Mt 11:19).

The second option may be slightly better. In MT Isaiah 11:1 the messiah is called a *nešer* ("shoot, branch") that will grow out of the family of David. In this case, Matthew makes an awkward, but nonetheless understandable and plausible, pun on *nešer*. This reading is supported by Matthew's obvious concern with Jesus' Davidic heritage (Mt 1:1, 17, 20; 2:6), repeated interest in the narrative of Isaiah 7–12 (Mt 1:22-23; 4:13-16), and a reference to the Spirit in Matthew 3:11, 16 reminiscent of Isaiah 11:2. With so many contextual similarities, it is not hard to imagine why Matthew would employ this prophecy of the shoot/branch from David. The Davidic shoot/branch was also a common messianic image for other early Christians (Rom 15:12; Rev 5:5; 22:16; Justin, 1 *Apol.* 32; *Dial.* 86-87, 126; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.9.3; see also *b. Sanh.* 43). By this theory, Matthew's reference to "the prophets" is to the cadre of similar prophecies that employ synonyms for *nešer* (Jer 23:5; 33:15; Zech 3:8; 6:12; see also *T. Jud.* 24; 4Q161 III, 11-24; 4Q174 III, 10-13; 4Q285 5, 2-4; 11Q14 I, 7-13) in reference to the expected Davidide who arises out of the ashes of the exile. Thus, the relevance of Nazareth would be two-fold: in the linguistic similarity, but more importantly in the connection between the obscurity and ignominy of that town (cf. Jn 1:46) and the dilapidated state of the house of David, whence the Messiah emerges (see Son of David).

This theory is not without its own problem, however. A punning reference to Isaiah 11:1 works in Hebrew but not in Greek. But this obstacle perhaps is overcome in light of other indications that Matthew presumed a knowledge of Hebrew on the part of his readers (e.g., the meaning of Jesus' name in Mt 1:21 and the possible gematria based on David's name in Mt 1:17).

Some scholars see legitimacy in both options, giving priority to one or the other. If Judges 13:5, 7; 16:17 is the primary background, then Matthew 2:23 creates an inclusio with Matthew 1:21-23 serving to highlight Jesus' saving mission to Israel. If, on the other hand, Isaiah 11:1 is the basic background, then this places emphasis on Jesus' lowly beginnings and God's promise to lift up the house of David. Fulfillment, in this text at least, does not mean that Jesus' residency in Nazareth per se accomplishes the prophets' words, but that his association with the town is characteristic of the lowly estate as the Messiah. In either case, the term foregrounds Jesus' mission to *Israel. Given the way the name caught on (cf. Acts 24:5), the believing community seems to

have emphasized Jesus' distinction as a Nazarene and to have found the term theologically useful for their own self-identity.

See also SON OF DAVID.

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NAZARETH. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

NEW BIRTH

The concept of a new birth is part of the larger NT theme of a "new creation" (*kainē ktisis* [2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15]). "New birth" terminology in the Gospels includes both a personal, spiritual dimension (in John 3:3, 7 *gennēthēnai anōthen* ["to be born again, from above"]) and a cosmic, eschatological dimension (in Mt 19:28 *palingenesia* ["regeneration, recreation"], variously translated as "the renewal of all things" [NIV], "the new world" [ESV], "the Messianic Age" [HCSB]). The personal, spiritual notion of a new birth consisting of a new beginning and a decisive inner transformation of a person's life, involving cleansing and a new law being written on one's heart, is found in several OT prophetic passages (e.g., Jer 31:31-34; Ezek 11:19-20; 36:25-27). In the Gospels new birth is mentioned most prominently in John. "New birth" in the other Gospels involves a cosmic, escha-

tological dimension because all of creation, not only individuals redeemed in Christ, will be renewed (*palingenesia*) at the end of time (Mt 19:28; cf. Lk 22:30). This cosmic, eschatological new birth of creation, likewise, is built on OT antecedents (Is 65:17-20; 66:22).

1. New Birth in Ancient Extrabiblical Literature
2. New Birth in the Old Testament
3. New Birth in John's Gospel
4. Cosmic New Birth in the Synoptic Gospels
5. Conclusion

1. New Birth in Ancient Extrabiblical Literature.

Philo used language of regeneration with reference to the restoration of the world subsequent to the flood (*Mos.* 2.65) as well as concerning the restoration of life to individuals (*Cher.* 114; *Poster.* 124). *Josephus spoke of “rebirth” with regard to the return of an Israelite remnant after the exile (*Ant.* 11.66). The hope of a restored creation is alive in Jewish apocalyptic literature (e.g., *1 En.* 45:4-5; 72:1; 91:16; *2 Bar.* 32:6; 44:12; 57:2; *4 Ezra* 7:31), the *Dead Sea sectarian literature (e.g., 1QH^a XIII, 11-12; 1QS IV, 25) and in the Targumim and other Jewish literature (e.g., *Tg. Onq.* Deut 32:12; *b. Sanh.* 92b; 97b). The Stoics used *palingenesia* to describe the restoration of the universe, including human souls, after a final cosmic conflagration (e.g., Chrysippus, *SVF* 2.191 citing Chrysippus, *De mundo* §10.627). In both Jewish apocalyptic and Stoic thought this regeneration of the cosmos is a future event. Stoicism, however, held to an endless cosmic cycle of destruction and re-creation, whereas Judaism held firmly to a definitive, once-for-all, cosmic catastrophe precipitated by the coming of Yahweh in the Day of the Lord to bring final judgment and salvation (cf. Is 34:4, 8-10; Joel 2:31; 3:14; Zeph 1:14—2:3). It may be presumed from its general usage in the educated world that *palingenesia* played a role in the mystery religions, but concrete evidence is lacking for the first century A.D. (see Büchsel).

2. New Birth in the Old Testament.

New birth in the OT revolves around Yahweh's giving birth to Israel, Israel's rejection of Yahweh as father, and the promise of a new birth for Israel. This metaphor vividly pictures Yahweh's bringing of Israel into a covenant relationship with himself (birth), Israel's breaking of that covenant resulting in *exile (rejection of Yahweh as father), and Yahweh's restoration of Israel (new birth). The OT first applies the birth metaphor to Yahweh's relationship with Is-

rael in Deuteronomy 32:18-20: “You were unmindful of the Rock that bore you, and you forgot the God who gave you birth. The LORD saw it and spurned them, because of the provocation of his sons and his daughters. And he said, ‘I will hide my face from them; I will see what their end will be, for they are a perverse generation, children in whom is no faithfulness.’” Deuteronomy understands the forming of the nation of Israel to be Yahweh giving birth to his people.

The prophets pick up on this idea, as Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Isaiah use vivid “new birth” language to speak of Yahweh's faithfulness, Israel's unfaithfulness, and the necessity of a second birth for Israel as a nation. Isaiah most clearly uses this imagery from Deuteronomy 32:18 in Isaiah 40—55 (see esp. Is 45:9-11; cf. Is 17:10; 26:4; 30:29). Alluding to the broader context of Deuteronomy 32, Isaiah speaks of Yahweh as Israel's “Rock” over against the idols of the nations: “Fear not, nor be afraid; have I not told you from of old and declared it? And you are my witnesses! Is there a God besides me? There is no Rock; I know not any” (Is 44:8 ESV [cf. Is 44:9-20]). In keeping with the broader context of Deuteronomy 32, Isaiah proceeds to denounce the gods of the nations, which are merely idols made by human hands (Is 44:9-20). That which Yahweh foretold in Deuteronomy has now come to pass: Israel, Yahweh's first-born, has forsaken its father and followed after other gods. Thus, Israel is in need of a new creation, a new exodus, a new birth.

Recounting Israel's idolatrous past, Isaiah invokes Yahweh's long-suffering and patience. Now Yahweh will do a new thing, cleansing Israel from its idolatry by giving Israel ears to hear and eyes to see (Is 42:9). This cleansing and restoration is spoken of as a new birth: “I have kept silent from ages past; I have been quiet and restrained Myself. But now, I will groan like a woman in labor, gasping breathlessly” (Is 42:14 HCSB). What follows is a description of Israel's return from exile, a new exodus (see Exile and Restoration). In contrast to its predecessors, Israel will be born again as the faithful people of God, displaying the glory of Yahweh to the nations (Is 46:13; 49:3; 52:1; 55:5; cf. Is 60:9; 60:21; 61:3). Following Israel's new birth, creation will be restored (see Is 56—66).

In Jeremiah, Israel's cleansing and restoration from idolatry at its return from exile comes in the form of the promised new covenant (Jer 31:31-34). The new covenant will not be like the old covenant that Yahweh made with Israel when he brought them out of Egypt—the covenant that Israel broke

because of its idolatry. In this new covenant Yahweh will write the law on Israel's heart rather than on tablets of stone. The result will be the forgiveness of sins and a people who know Yahweh as their God. Thus, Israel will be a people refashioned in the image of their God.

Ezekiel's imagery for restoration from exile is quite vivid and diverse. He employs the imagery of a rebellious child who, in spite of Yahweh's loving faithfulness, rebelled in harlotry and will be restored back to Yahweh (Ezek 16). Ezekiel 37 pictures Israel as a valley of bones that need to be raised by the Spirit of Yahweh. In Ezekiel 36, similarly to Jeremiah, Ezekiel envisions the return from exile as Yahweh making a new covenant with Israel. Yahweh will cleanse Israel with clean water, replace Israel's heart of stone with a heart of flesh, and place his Spirit within the people so that they may obey his commands (Ezek 36:16-27). Following the institution of this new covenant, the land will also be restored (Ezek 36:28-38). The joint notion of Israel's new birth, return from exile, and new covenant forms the background for the concept of new birth in the NT, especially John's Gospel.

3. New Birth in John's Gospel.

3.1. New Birth "from Above." According to John's Gospel, Jesus speaks of the necessity of a new birth "from above" (*anōthen*) to Nicodemus (Jn 3:3-5). The term *anōthen* can mean either "from above," whether figuratively (Jn 3:7, 31; 19:11; Jas 1:17; 3:15, 17) or literally ("from top to bottom" [Mt 27:15 par.; Jn 19:23]), or "from the beginning" (Lk 1:3; Acts 26:5; Gal 4:9). This potential ambiguity opens up the possibility of misunderstanding. Nicodemus thought that the phrase meant literally "again," but as John makes clear, Nicodemus misconstrued the meaning of Jesus' words. According to Jesus, Nicodemus must be born "from above"—that is, be reborn spiritually. In John 3:5 "born again/from above" is explicated further as "born of water and spirit." Rather than referring to water and spirit baptism, two kinds of birth, or a variety of other possibilities, the expression probably denotes one spiritual birth. This is suggested by the fact that "born of water and spirit" explicates the meaning of the phrase "born again/from above" in John 3:3, by the use of one preposition (*ek*) to govern both phrases in John 3:5, and by antecedent OT prophetic theology.

Perhaps the closest OT parallel is Ezekiel 36:25-27, which envisions God's cleansing of human hearts with water and their inner transformation by his Spirit (cf. Is 44:3-5; *Jub.* 1:23-25). The terminology

may also be reminiscent of first-century proselyte baptism, in which the Gentile convert to Judaism was compared to a newborn child (*b. Yebam.* 22a; 48b; 62a; 97b; *b. Bek.* 47a). In John 3 Jesus seeks to move Nicodemus from a woodenly literal to a spiritual understanding of what it means to be "born again/from above." In response to Nicodemus's question, Jesus maintains that even if it were possible for a person to be literally born a second time, this "second birth" would accomplish nothing because it would still be a physical birth. What is needed instead is a spiritual birth (cf. Gal 4:29; 1 Jn 2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:1, 4, 18). John 1:12-13 explicitly ties being born of God and becoming a *child of God to the reception of Jesus, further explained as belief in his name. The importance of "believing" in John's Gospel can hardly be overstated (see Jn 20:31, and note the ninety-eight instances of *pisteuō* throughout). Receiving Jesus by *faith results in one's experience of a "new birth" from God (Jn 1:12-13).

The progression of the narrative in John 2:13—3:21 from the temple clearing (*see* Temple Act) to the Nicodemus pericope presents Jesus' emphasis on the necessity of spiritual regeneration for entrance into the *kingdom of God (Jn 3:3, 5) as an explanation for the antagonism of the Jewish leadership (Jn 2:18-20) and the shallow belief of the people (Jn 2:23-25). By this, John indicates that entrance into the kingdom of God is dependent not on ethnicity but rather on a new birth (Jn 3:3, 5-7; cf. Jn 3:16). Together with Titus 3:5 and 1 Peter 1:3, 23, John 3:3, 7 indicates a widespread early Christian usage of "new birth" language to describe what takes place at conversion. John 3:5-8 associates this new birth with the activity of the Spirit.

3.2. New Birth as Part of the "New Creation" Theme in John. John's teaching on the new birth is part of a larger "new creation" theme in his Gospel. From the very outset, John links Jesus' coming to God's creation "in the beginning" (Jn 1:1; cf. Gen 1:1). He proceeds to develop the significance of Jesus' coming in terms of *"life" and *"light" (Jn 1:3-5, 7-9), both of which are part of OT creation terminology (see esp. Gen 1:3-5, 14-18). In the place of the Synoptic teaching on the kingdom of God, John focuses on Jesus bringing "eternal life" to those who believe in him (e.g., Jn 3:16; 20:31). In this context John also speaks of the necessity of a new, spiritual birth for believers (Jn 1:12-13; cf. Jn 3:3, 5). Even the first week of Jesus' ministry is presented in a fashion analogous to the week of creation (Jn 1:19—2:11). In the Sabbath controversy in John 5 Jesus affirmed that his activity stood in direct continuity with God's creative work

(Jn 5:17; cf. Gen 2:2-3). Possible instances of the “new creation” motif abound in the Johannine *passion narrative. It is set in a garden (Jn 18:1, 26; 19:41) (see Gethsemane), and Jesus is identified (albeit mistakenly) as “the gardener” (Jn 20:15); Jesus’ *resurrection may be cast as the beginning of a new creation (Jn 20:1; cf. Jn 1:3); Jesus rises from the dead and appears to his followers in keeping with repeated earlier predictions (Jn 20; cf. Jn 2:20-21; 10:17-19); *Pilate calls Jesus “the man” (Jn 19:5), a possible Johannine double entendre presenting Jesus as the “new Adam”; and Jesus breathes on his disciples and gives the Spirit in the final commissioning scene (Jn 20:22), invoking the creation of Adam (Gen 2:7; cf. Ezek 37:9).

4. Cosmic New Birth in the Synoptic Gospels.

Whereas John focuses attention on the “already,” completed aspect of God’s work in Christ to bring about a new creation, Jesus’ statement in Matthew 19:28 draws attention to the future consummation of God’s new creation: “Truly I say to you that in the regeneration [*palingenesia*], when the Son of Man sits on his glorious throne, you who followed me will also sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” This usage of *palingenesia* to describe the eschaton is unique in the NT but shares some similarities to the Stoic literature noted above. The cyclical nature of the endless cosmic cycle of conflagration and rebirth in the Stoic accounts, however, stands in contrast to the linear, definitive nature of NT eschatology.

The parallel in Mark 10:30 refers to “the age to come,” while the parallel in Luke 22:30 speaks of the future coming of the kingdom of God. Matthew 24:3 describes the curiosity of the disciples regarding the timing of this cosmic “new birth” by recounting their request, “When will these things be and what will be the sign of your coming and the completion of the age?” The parable of the weeds in Matthew 13 describes this future event (Mt 13:24-30, 36-43): “The Son of Man will send his angels, and they will weed out of his kingdom all causes of sin and doers of lawlessness and they will cast them into the furnace of fire. . . . Then the righteous ones will shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father” (Mt 13:41-43).

The reference to the eschatological regeneration of creation in Matthew 19:28 may simply indicate belief in temporal progression of history culminating in the age to come. However, in addition to a simple temporal referent, it likely points to the widespread belief in future cosmic destruction and renewal (see 1 En. 45:4-5; 72:1; 91:16; 2 Bar. 32:6; 44:12; 57:2; 4 Ezra

7:31; Sib. Or. 4:160-161, 175-182; 1QH^a III, 28-33; 1QS IV, 25; Is 65:17; 66:22; 1 Cor 7:31; 1 Jn 2:17; Heb 12:26-27; 2 Pet 3:10-13; Rev 21:1). This interpretation is strengthened by the way in which Matthew 5:18 (// Lk 16:17 [note the difference between Matthew’s temporal use of *heōs* and Luke’s use of the comparative *eukopōteron*]) and Matthew 24:35 (cf. Mk 13:31) both speak of a future passing away of heaven and earth (Sim).

5. Conclusion.

In the Gospels, the new birth, within the larger framework of the theme of the “new creation,” has both a personal/spiritual and a cosmic/eschatological dimension. The former is seen in passages such as John 3:3-8 and harks back to OT prophetic passages such as Jeremiah 31:31-34; Ezekiel 36:25-27; the latter is evident in the accounts of Jesus’ teaching on the “renewal of all things” at the end of time in the Synoptics (see esp. Mt 19:28) and likewise builds on OT antecedent theology such as Isaiah 65:17-20; 66:22. Thus, the individual believer’s new birth is set within the larger context of the (inaugurated, but yet to be consummated) renewal of all things at the end of time.

See also ESCHATOLOGY; EXILE AND RESTORATION; FAITH; LIFE, ETERNAL LIFE.

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NEW EXODUS. See MOUNTAIN AND WILDERNESS; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; TRIUMPHAL ENTRY.

NEW QUEST. See QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS.

NUNC DIMITTIS. See SONGS AND HYMNS.



OATHS AND SWEARING

The practice of swearing oaths in order to bolster the veracity of one's claims or to obligate oneself was a ubiquitous convention in the ancient Mediterranean world. However, the practice involved a certain risk when the oath forms threatened the sanctity of the invoked deity. As a result, casuistic formulae were invented, and some even restricted the use of oath swearing. In Matthew's Gospel (Mt 5:33-37; 23:16-22) Jesus rejects oaths altogether, demanding instead that his followers speak with straightforward, truthful speech.

1. The Social Practice of Swearing Oaths
2. The Limits of Swearing Oaths

1. The Social Practice of Swearing Oaths.

According to speech-act theory, formalized human speech can be examined according to (1) appropriate conditions for the discourse to be effective, (2) proper authority to conduct the convention, and (3) suitable execution of the procedure (Austin, 14-15, 26-38). For the swearing of oaths, certain necessary conventions were typically important: a shared custom of oath formulae, including the invocation of the deity and self-imprecation, shared beliefs in the binding authority of such words, and shared beliefs that the deity will intervene with punitive action if the oath is not fulfilled. Oaths were fundamental to many social orders in the ancient Mediterranean world and were useful for guarding against perjury, securing loans, strengthening friendships and engaging in formal acts of devotion.

Oath swearing can be indicated by the use of certain terminology, such as the verbs *šbʿ* Niphal + *bē* in Hebrew, or *omnyō* and *horkizō* in Greek, or by recognized formulae (e.g., 1 Sam 19:6; 2 Kings 6:31) (Lieberman, 116, 121-35; Searle, 2, 9-12, 28). According to Israelite tradition, oaths were performed by Israel's God (Gen 22:16; Ps 89:3-4; Lk 1:73; Acts 2:30; Heb 6:13-18) and pious exemplars (Gen 21:23-24;

1 Sam 24:22) and were required by Torah for each Israelite in covenant with God (Deut 6:13; 10:20). Often the practice of making vows, dedicating oneself or an object for the service of another, and swearing promissory oaths could overlap.

2. The Limits of Swearing Oaths.

The usefulness of oath formulae tended to decline with common use. As a result, various alternatives were utilized to refresh the convention. For some, the ideal became the prevention of oaths unless unavoidable, substituting reliance upon a reputation of honest speech practice (Philo, *Decal.* 84-85; *Spec.* 2.2-5; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.235; Epictetus, *Ench.* 33.5). There is ample evidence of strictures put on oaths in Hellenistic philosophical paraenesis, including the Pythagorean tradition (Diogenes Laertius, *Vit.* 8.22; Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 47) (Betz, 265, 276).

A crucial conflict arose between the practice of swearing oaths by invoking the name of a deity and the concern for vain or frivolous swearing that could amount to *blasphemy (Sir 23:9-11; Philo, *Decal.* 92). This is precisely the issue arising in Philo's two most quoted discussions on oath swearing (*Decal.* 84-93; *Spec.* 2.2-38). While discussing the third commandment of the Decalogue, "You shall not take the name of the LORD your God in vain" (Ex 20:7; Deut 5:11), Philo states that genuine, candid speech is a better way of life than oath swearing because the latter risks making God complicit in human falsehood (*Decal.* 86; *Spec.* 2.10).

Sensitivity to the menacing risks of swearing oaths led some to severely limit the practice or, as is the case with Jesus in Matthew's Gospel, to reject it all together. The Essenes are represented as avoiding all oaths (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.135; cf. *Ant.* 15:368-371; Philo, *Prob.* 84), except for a solemn oath taken upon covenant initiation into the community (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.139; cf. 1QS V, 7-11). Indeed, even in the state of expulsion they are said to remain faithful to

their oaths at the risk of death (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.143).

There is much evidence to suggest that Israelite sensitivity to (not) pronouncing the divine name (1QS VI, 27–VII, 2) led to casuistic attempts at circumventing its utterance. Debates arose regarding which oath formulae were binding and which were not. In the *Damascus Document* (CD-A XV, 1–5), one is to swear not by the name of God, but only by the curses of the covenant (i.e., Deut 28:15–68) invoking the consequences of violating the oath. The mishnaic tractate dedicated to oaths illustrates that for some rabbis adjuration by “heaven and earth” meant that one was exempt from culpability, but adjuration by a substitute of the divine name meant that one was liable (*m. Šebu.* 4:13).

It is against this background that Jesus’ proscription of oaths must be understood. The most significant comes in the *Sermon on the Mount as the fourth of six antithetical declarations where Jesus contrasts a particular interpretation of the *law (beginning with “you have heard that it was said [to the ancients] . . .”) with his own authoritative command (“but I say to you . . .”). In this case, Jesus juxtaposes the received tradition prohibiting the swearing of false oaths (*ouk epiorkēseis*) and the necessity of fulfilling one’s oath made to the Lord with a complete denunciation of oath swearing (Mt 5:33). He advocates instead simple, honest speech (Mt 5:37). Scholars debate the consequence of (the Matthean) Jesus’ injunction against oath taking. Some suggest that he abrogates and revokes certain commands of the Mosaic law (Meier), while others suggest that he intensifies the spiritual intention of the law (Hagner); still others propose that he is using a common contemporary strategy of “contra-scriptural *halakhot*” (Klawans) or perhaps didactic hyperbole. Whatever (written) tradition Jesus has in mind (see LXX Lev 19:12; cf. Ex 20:16; Num 30:2; Deut 5:20; 23:21–23), none is an exact parallel (see Betz, 263n499).

Jesus commands that his followers “not swear at all [*holōs*],” specifying with four casuistic formulae and explanatory (*hoti*) clauses (Mt 5:34b–36): “not by heaven, because it is the throne of God, nor by earth, because it is God’s footstool” (cf. Philo, *Spec.* 2:5; *m. Šebu.* 4:13), “nor toward [*eis*] Jerusalem, because it is the city of the Great King” (cf. *m. Ned.* 1:3), and “not by your head, because you are unable to make one hair white or black” (cf. *m. Sanh.* 3:2). With the first three specifications Jesus seems to be countering attempts to circumvent direct invocation of God. The fourth example (“not by your head”) is rejected according to the logic that humans do not control the dominion of their lives; they do not have proper authority.

These casuistic formulae are similar to the ones condemned by Jesus in his woes against the scribes and Pharisees in Matthew 23:16–22 (see Blessing and Woe). There, the logic is akin to the later rabbinic disputes regarding which oath forms are binding. Jesus charges the Pharisees with holding liable a person who swears by the sanctuary of the *temple (*naos*) or the altar, but releasing a person who swears by the gold of the sanctuary or the gift of the altar. Jesus condemns the failure to dissociate the sacred objects from their holy source.

Jesus concludes his antithesis with a simple command and warning (Mt 5:37). He states that simple, honest speech should characterize those whose righteousness is to exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees (Mt 5:20): “Let your yes simply be ‘yes,’ and your no simply ‘no’” (cf. Jas 5:12). Jesus concludes by stating that anything more than these utterances “is from the evil one” (cf. Mt 6:13), indicating that any oath is de facto akin to perjury and blasphemy and is opposed to the ethical demands of the *kingdom.

Both Mark and Matthew illustrate the danger of oaths with Herod’s frivolity leading to the execution of John the Baptist (Mt 14:1–12; Mk 6:14–29) and Peter’s temperamental denial of Jesus expressed with his self-imprecation (Mt 26:69–75; Mk 14:66–72) (Brant, 12–20). These failures are contrasted by Jesus’ refusal to swear an oath to the truth of his testimony when adjured by the high priest to confirm his alleged claims to being the Messiah, responding only with, “You have said so” (Mt 26:64a [cf. Mk 14:62]).

See also AUTHORITY AND POWER; BLASPHEMY; BLESSING AND WOE.

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OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS

In Second Temple Judaism significant theological expressions are often grounded in Scripture. Therefore, in describing the climax of God's acts in history, it is not surprising to find early Christian writers situating the life and *death of their Lord Jesus in the matrix of the holy writings of Israel. From the evidence in the four Gospels, it is clear that this understanding of Jesus within the context of God's wider plan of history is not an invention of the early church. An examination of the use of the OT in the Gospels will naturally lead to one's appreciation of the ways Jesus himself uses the OT.

A study of the use of the OT in the Gospels has to consider both explicit quotations and the wider uses that involve allusions, themes, patterns and characters of the sacred past. In doing so, perhaps the functions of such uses can be made clear.

1. The Old Testament in Mark
2. The Old Testament in Matthew
3. The Old Testament in Luke
4. The Old Testament in John
5. Jesus' Use of the Old Testament

1. The Old Testament in Mark.

When compared to the use of the OT in the other Gospels, the Gospel of Mark often is considered to be the one least saturated with OT material. It does not contain the many explicit quotations that one finds in Matthew, nor does it exhibit the same intense use of OT language that frames the narrative of Luke-Acts. The interweaving of OT themes and motifs in the Gospel of John also appears to expose a deeper reflection on the significance of Christ in light of the sacred history of Israel. On the other hand, if the Gospel of Mark is indeed the first written canonical Gospel, it does lay the foundation for the later Gospels that reflect a more explicit evocation of the OT. Moreover, beyond the individual quotations, one does find the OT providing the controlling framework for a number of subsections within this Gospel. After all, in Mark Jesus affirms the significance of the Mosaic Torah (Mk 10:3), and he expects God's people to be familiar with their Scriptures (Mk 12:24). Moreover, he considers his life and death as aiming to “fulfill the Scriptures” (14:49).

1.1. Explicit Quotations. It is misleading to focus solely on explicit quotations in any examination of the use of the OT in the Gospels. Quotations do, however, often provide a framework within which the narrative finds its fuel. Of these individual quotations, perhaps the most significant is the one that begins this narrative, the only quotation that comes directly in the form of an editorial comment (Mk 1:2-3 [Mal 3:1; Ex 23:20; Is 40:3]). With this quotation, Mark draws attention to the fact that “the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ” (Mk 1:1) is the climax of God's promises to Israel. The transformation of the exodus tradition in Isaiah 40 and Malachi 3 allows Mark to use this tradition in describing the arrival of the eschatological new exodus. The iconic significance of Isaiah 40:3 as symbolizing the arrival of the eschatological era is well established (cf. Bar 5.6-9; *T. Mos* 10:1, 1 *En* 1:6-7; 1QS VIII, 13-16; IX, 16-21), and its appearance at the beginning of Mark may provide the key to unlocking the significance of the life and death of Jesus (see Marcus, 12-47). The appearance of Malachi 3:1 in this composite may qualify this pronouncement of good news (see Gospel: Good News), however, since it introduces the theme of *judgment, a theme that plays an important role in Mark in reference to those who reject God's *salvation (see Watts 1997, 53-90).

After the pronouncement of this good news of the arrival of the eschatological era, the next explicit quotation, drawn from Isaiah, is embedded in Jesus' discussion of the purpose of his parables and points to the obduracy of God's people (Mk 4:12 [Is 6:9-10]) (see Hardness of Heart). This message is reaffirmed through another quotation from Isaiah still later in this Gospel: “These people honor me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; they worship me in vain, teaching the teachings as commandments of human beings” (Mk 7:6-7 [Is 29:13]).

The failure of God's people and their leaders to recognize the arrival of this eschatological era is illustrated by their competing interpretations of the *law (Mk 7:10 [Ex 20:12; 21:17; Lev 20:9; Deut 5:16; 10:6-8 [Gen 1:27; 2:24; 5:2]; 10:19 [Ex 20:12-16; Deut 5:16-20]; 12:29-33 [Deut 6:4-5; Lev 19:18]) and their failure to perform proper cultic practices (Mk 11:17 [Is 56:7; Jer 7:11]). More importantly, they refused to acknowledge Jesus as the Lord (Mk 12:36 [Ps 110:1]) and the *shepherd from God (Mk 14:27 [Zech 13:7]). But this rejected “stone” will become the “cornerstone” (cf. Mk 11:9 [Ps 118:25-26]; 12:10-11 [Ps 118:22-23]).

These explicit quotations reflect different textual traditions. In many of the quotations Mark appears to be relying on the LXX. The use of Malachi 3:1 and

Exodus 23:20 in Mark 1:2 seems, however, to point to his awareness of the Hebrew text, although he may be relying on early traditions in the use of this composite quote. In other places, the influence of the proto-targumic traditions is possible (cf. Mk 4:12 with Is 6:9-10). Source-critical solutions may explain some of these texts, but the creative hand of Mark cannot be ruled out.

1.2. Patterns and Themes. Beyond individual quotations, wider patterns can be discerned with Mark's use of the OT. As evoked by the quotation at the beginning of this Gospel (Mk 1:2-3 [Mal 3:1; Ex 23:20; Is 40:3]), a wider new-exodus pattern can be detected behind this Gospel. W. Swartley, for example, points to the significance of Sinai themes in the first half of Mark: the selection of the Twelve (Mk 3:13-19; cf. Ex 24:4), the worship of false Gods (Mk 3:20-30; cf. Ex 32), the definition of the new community (Mk 3:35; cf. Ex 19:3-5) and the formation of a new covenant (Mk 4:1-34; cf. Ex 19:1-31:18) (Swartley, 52-59). Behind the miracle stories one may also identify two cycles of miracle stories that resemble God's mighty works in the first exodus (see Achtemeier 1972) (see Table 1). These two cycles that begin with a sea miracle may evoke the crossing of the Red Sea, and the concluding feeding stories may bring to mind the wilderness feeding. If so, Jesus is reenacting the exodus in bringing deliverance to God's people. Moreover, as the new Moses, his authority surpasses that of his contemporaries (cf. Mk 1:22), since he is the one who holds the key to understanding the will of God (see Watts 1997).

Moving to Mark's *passion account, one finds a concentration of OT language. Without assuming that Mark is intentionally drafting a new haggadah

for the celebration of the passion of Christ (see Bowman), one sees the evangelist clearly pointing to the OT to explain both the fact and the significance of the *death of Christ. Three particular OT books play a notable role in this passion narrative. First, the psalms that depict the righteous sufferer provide the language in the depiction of Christ's suffering (Moo, 285-86). As the psalms point to the vindication of the righteous sufferer, Jesus' suffering likewise affirms the sovereignty of God (see Table 2).

Second, the Isaianic *Servant of the Lord also provides the framework for the portrayal of Jesus' death. Though not explicitly quoted, the language of Isaiah 53 may be detected behind some phrases and clauses: Mark 8:31 ("the Son of Man must suffer many things" [cf. Is 53:10]); Mark 9:12 ("the Son of Man must suffer . . . and be rejected" [cf. Is 53:3]); Mark 10:45 ("the Son of Man did not come to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many" [cf. Is 53:10]); Mark 14:24 ("this is my blood . . . that is poured out for many" [cf. Is 53:11-12]); Mark 14:61 ("he was silent and answered nothing" [cf. Is 53:7]); Mark 15:27 ("they crucified two robbers with him, one on his right and one on his left" [cf. Is 53:12]).

Finally, the rejection of the shepherd in Zechariah 13-14 may also have provided the language for some of Mark's description, especially in light of the explicit quotation of Zechariah 13:7 in Mark 14:27: "I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered." Other allusions in reference to Jesus can possibly be identified behind the reference to the "Mount of Olives" in Mark 11:1 (cf. Zech 14:4) and Jesus warning against the temple merchants in Mark 11:16 (cf. Zech 14:21). More importantly, the wider

Table 1. Two Cycles of Miracle Stories in Mark

Sea miracle (Mk 4:35-41)	Sea miracle (Mk 6:45-52)
Healing miracle (Mk 5:1-20)	Healing miracle (Mk 6:53-56)
Healing miracle (Mk 5:21-24, 35-43)	Healing miracle (Mk 7:24-30)
Healing miracle (Mk 5:25-34)	Healing miracle (Mk 7:31-37)
Feeding miracle (Mk 6:30-44)	Feeding miracle (Mk 8:1-10)

Table 2. Christ's Suffering and the Righteous Sufferer of the Psalms

Mk 14:18 (Ps 41:9)	Betrayal by a close associate/friend
Mk 14:34 (Ps 42:5-11; 43:5)	Deep grief
Mk 15:24 (Ps 22:18)	Throwing dice, dividing clothes
Mk 15:29 (Ps 22:7)	Mocking and taunting
Mk 15:34 (Ps 22:1)	"My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"
Mk 15:35-36 (Ps 69:21)	Offering of vinegar

narrative in Zechariah 13–14 of the rejection of God’s servant by God’s people and the judgment that is to come upon them provides the context for understanding both the suffering of Christ and the focus on eschatological judgment in the final chapters of Mark.

The use of Psalms, Isaiah and Zechariah provides the framework within which the death of Jesus can be understood. The fact that Mark uses these works may point to Jesus’ own use of the OT in understanding his own mission and destiny. Moreover, such uses also pave the way for the allusions to these works in the later Gospels.

2. The Old Testament in Matthew.

The significance of the OT in Matthew needs no demonstration. It contains by far more explicit quotations than do any of the other canonical Gospels, and many of these quotations are framed by one of two set formulae. At every turn of his narrative Matthew evokes OT themes and traditions. Echoing his source with a more emphatic formulation, Matthew notes that the events surrounding the life and death of Jesus took place “so that the Scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled” (Mt 26:56). The significance of Jesus’ relationship to the Scripture is best illustrated by a uniquely Matthean passage: “Do not think that I have come to abolish the law or the prophets; I have not come to abolish but to fulfill them” (Mt 5:17). Jesus makes it clear that this fulfillment is to be understood not in terms of the abrogation of the OT (cf. Mt 5:18) but rather as an affirmation of its significance through his own life and ministry.

2.1. Explicit Quotations. Matthew includes more than fifty explicit quotations in his Gospel, among them quotations used by characters other than Jesus (e.g., Mt 4:6 [Ps 91:11–12]; Mt 19:7 [Deut 24:1]; Mt 21:9 [Ps 118:25–26]; Mt 22:24 [Gen 38:8; Deut 25:5]) and discussions related to the meaning of the law (Mt

5:27 [Ex 20:14; Deut 5:17]; Mt 5:38 [Ex 21:24; Lev 24:20; Deut 19:21]; Mt 5:43 [Lev 19:18]; Mt 19:4–5 [Gen 1:27; 2:24; 5:2]; Mt 19:18–19 [Ex 20:12–16; Deut 5:16–20; Lev 19:18]; Mt 22:32 [Ex 3:6]; Mt 22:37–39 [Deut 6:5; Lev 19:18]). Most notable are the ten editorial quotations that began with a formula that includes the passive form of the verb *plēroō* (“to fulfill”) (see Table 3).

It has been said that these fulfillment quotations “appear to be pedestrian” (Moyise, 39) because they do not focus on the christological status of Jesus or the significance of his death and resurrection. Without having these quotations focused on Jesus’ death, it is possible that Matthew aims at supplementing the Markan Gospel, in which the passion narrative is already firmly grounded in Scripture (see Stanton, 214–15). It is also possible to consider these quotations as originating from an intent to highlight Jesus’ mission to the lost sheep of Israel (Rothfuchs). In any case, it is clear that these quotations do provide a broad matrix for the reading of Matthew’s story, and the point emphasized through these quotations is that every detail of Jesus’ life points to the fulfillment of scriptural promises. These quotations should then be read in light of the programmatic statement in Matthew 5:17, where Jesus claims to “fulfill” the law and the prophets. As such, it is possible that it is not the precise quotation that is important but rather the fact that the entire Scripture points to the person and ministry of Jesus. The use of the fulfillment formula in Matthew 2:23 that introduces the clause “he will be called a Nazarene” without a clearly identifiable quotation from the OT text best illustrates this point (see Nazarene). Once the point is made that the totality of Jesus’ life and ministry “fulfills” the ancient promises of God, other quotations that do not use this “fulfillment formula” should also be understood within this broader category of quotations (e.g., Mt 2:6 [Mic 5:2, 4]; Mt 3:3 [Is 40:3]; Mt 11:10 [Ex 23:20; Mal 3:1]).

Table 3. Quotations with the Passive Form of “To Fulfill”

Mt 1:23 (Is 7:14)	Jesus as Emmanuel
Mt 2:15 (Hos 11:1)	Jesus’ return from Egypt
Mt 2:18 (Jer 31:15)	Rachel’s weeping for her children
Mt 4:15 (Is 9:1–2)	Jesus in Galilee
Mt 8:17 (Is 53:4)	Jesus’ healing of the sick
Mt 12:18–21 (Is 42:1–4)	Jesus as the servant of God
Mt 13:35 (Ps 78:2)	Jesus’ use of parables
Mt 21:5 (Zech 9:9)	Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem as king
Mt 27:9 (Zech 11:12–13; Jer 18:2–6)	Jesus being betrayed

A further discussion of the first of these fulfillment quotations may illuminate their function within Matthew's narrative. At the end of the first chapter, a chapter that uses personal names to illustrate the significance of Jesus in the history of God's work among his people, one finds a quotation from Isaiah 7:14 used in reference to Jesus as "Emmanuel" (Mt 1:23). That this is not meant as a "proof" for Jesus' identity is made clear by the fact that nowhere else in Matthew is Jesus called "Emmanuel." This quotation does, however, serve to "explain" the significance of Jesus as "God with us" (Mt 1:23; cf. Mt 28:20). Moreover, in light of the wider context of Isaiah 7, where the presence of God is to be understood as a sign of judgment for those who refused to provide the proper reception of God's presence (see Is 7:16-25), Matthew is also likely using this verse to introduce the rejection of Jesus by God's own people in his Gospel. As in the time of Isaiah, those who reject the presence of God will not be able to escape his judgment (see Watts 2004). The interpretive significance of this and other fulfillment quotations for the understanding of the Matthean story highlights Matthew's profound use of the ancient Scriptures of Israel.

The textual traditions of the quotations in Matthew are more difficult to determine. Those that he shared with Mark retain their Septuagintal flavor. As for other quotations that betray a heavier Matthean hand, the influence of Hebrew and Aramaic textual traditions seems more apparent. It is possible that Matthew relies on a textual tradition that has not survived, but many scholars now suggest that Matthew himself might be responsible for the quotations as he translates directly from the Hebrew text (in a tradition that precedes the later MT text) with contemporary Aramaic influences.

2.2. Patterns and Themes. Beginning with the *genealogy and the birth account, one can already detect an *Israel typology that points both to Christ as the fulfillment of God's promise to Israel as well as to his followers as the eschatological people of God. This "book of genesis" (*biblos geneseōs* [Mt 1:1]),

which begins with Abraham (Mt 1:1-2), evokes the Abrahamic covenant, and the numerous references to David (Mt 1:1, 6-7) point to Jesus as the legitimate heir to the throne of David. More importantly, the references to the "exile" (Mt 1:11-12, 17) situate the story of Jesus within God's promise to restore his own people through someone who fulfills God's eternal covenant with David (cf. 2 Sam 7:14-16). As God's people went into exile when they sinned against their God, Jesus "will save his people from their sins" (Mt 1:21). That Jesus fulfills the role of Israel is best seen in the quotation of Hosea 11:1 in Matthew 2:15: "Out of Egypt I called my son." As Israel was delivered from Egypt, Jesus' return from Egypt likewise would signify the ultimate deliverance of God's people from their state of exile.

This Israel typology naturally feeds into the use of the exodus paradigm in the depiction of God's eschatological act of salvation, within which Jesus is depicted as the new *Moses. Matthew's Gospel contains five discourses (Mt 5-7; 10; 13; 18; 24-25), which may recall the five books of Moses. D. C. Allison in particular has detected further correspondence between the ministry of Jesus and the life of Moses (Allison 1993, 268) (see Table 4).

Beyond the Pentateuch, several prophets also play significant roles in Matthew's Gospel. Among the prophets, the name of Isaiah appears most frequently. In many ways, Isaiah provides the pattern of God's interaction with his people at the end of times: God's salvific act is manifested among his people (Mt 3:3 [Is 40:3]) through his Suffering Servant (Mt 8:17 [Is 53:4]; 12:17-21 [Is 42:1-4]), but his people rejected him (Mt 13:14-15 [Is 6:9-10]; 15:7-9 [Is 29:13]). Embedded in the mission of this rejected servant is a move to those who are at the margin, including the Gentiles (Mt 4:14-15 [Is 9:1-2]; 12:17-21 [Is 42:1-4]). It is both the proclamation of the good news of God's work among his people and their rejection of this good news that draw many early Christian writers, including Matthew, to the work of this ancient prophet.

Table 4. Correspondences Between Jesus and Moses

Mt 1:1—2:23 (cf. Ex 1:1—2:10)	Infancy narrative
Mt 3:13-17 (cf. Ex 14:10-31)	Crossing of water
Mt 4:1-11 (cf. Ex 16:1—17:7)	Temptation in wilderness
Mt 5:1—7:29 (cf. Ex 19:1—23:33)	Giving of the Torah
Mt 11:25-30 (cf. Ex 33:1-23)	Knowledge of God
Mt 17:1-9 (cf. Ex 34:29-35)	Transfiguration
Mt 28:16-20 (cf. Deut 31:7-9; Josh 1:1-9)	Commissioning of successor

The theme of the rejected prophet is further enhanced through the explicit references to Jeremiah, two of them with quotations from this prophet (Mt 2:17-18 [Jer 31:15]; 16:14; 27:9-10 [Jer 18:2-6; cf. Zech 11:12-13]). Other allusions to this book can be identified especially in Matthew 21; 23 (see Knowles). As in Mark, Zechariah also contributes to this portrayal of the rejected prophet when Jesus is portrayed as the rejected shepherd-king through both explicit quotations (Mt 21:5 [Zech 9:9]; Mt 26:31 [Zech 13:7]; Mt 27:9-10 [Zech 11:12-13]) and allusions occurring between Matthew 21 and Matthew 27 (see Ham; Nolland).

In a more general sense, in Matthew the “prophets” point to the *mercy of God that has to be read together with the holiness of God as reflected in the Torah of Moses (see Borg). This is best illustrated by, but not limited to, the two references to Hosea 6:6 (“I desire mercy and not sacrifice”) in Matthew 9:13; 12:7 (cf. Mt 23:23). References to “the law and the prophets” (see Mt 5:17; 7:12; 11:13; 22:40; 23:29) would therefore not simply refer to the two-part Scripture but rather to the two sides of God that must be considered together.

3. The Old Testament in Luke.

Unlike Mark and Matthew, Luke wrote a two-volume work that connects the life and death of Jesus with the mission of the early church. The Gospel of Luke contains about thirty explicit OT quotations, and a slightly higher number can be identified in Acts. These two works, both by the same author, are connected in numerous ways, not least in their use of OT quotations and themes. Though likely a Gentile (and possibly a God-fearer), Luke relies heavily on the OT in the construction of his narrative. The final product testifies to God’s mighty work at the climax of the history of salvation. After all, in teaching his disciples, the risen Jesus himself is described as situating his own story within the Scripture of Israel: “Beginning with Moses and all the prophets, [Jesus] explained to them the things concerning himself in all the Scriptures” (Lk 24:27).

3.1. Explicit Quotations. Though replete with OT language and images, the Lukan birth narrative contains only one set of explicit quotations in reference to Jesus’ parents fulfilling the legal requirements of the law (Lk 2:23-24 [Ex 13:2, 12, 15; Lev 12:8]).

The first significant quotation appears at the beginning of the ministries of *John the Baptist and Jesus (Lk 3:4-6 [Is 40:3-5]). This lengthy quotation from Isaiah points to the arrival of the eschatological era: “Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight his paths” (Lk 3:4 [Is 40:3]); it also anticipates the narra-

tive in Acts because it includes a reference to the mission to the Gentiles: “All flesh will see the salvation of God” (Lk 3:6 [Is 40:5]). This Isaianic vision is again evoked in the programmatic sermon of Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth as he points to himself as the anointed messenger of the good news (Lk 4:18-19 [Is 58:6; 61:1-2]). This jubilant note is dampened, however, by initial signs of the Jewish rejection of Jesus (Lk 4:24). This note of rejection reappears in Luke 8:10 with yet another quotation (though without a quotation formula) from Isaiah (Is 6:9).

As in Matthew, Jesus in Luke is also presented as one who has the authority to interpret the Torah. In Luke 10:27 Jesus evokes verses that represent the center of Jewish piety (Deut 6:5; Lev 19:18), but in doing so he redefines the definition of one’s neighbor (Lk 10:29-37). In Luke 18:20 Jesus also quotes from the Ten Commandments (Ex 20:12-16; Deut 5:16-20), but by demanding that his questioner abandon everything and follow him (Lk 18:22), Jesus takes on the role of God the Father, who is to be considered the sole object of one’s *worship.

The frequency of explicit quotations increases in Luke’s passion narrative, which begins with Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem (Lk 19:45). These include references to Jesus as the rejected stone but one vindicated by God (Lk 20:17 [Ps 118:22]), Jesus as the Davidic Messiah who will triumph over all his enemies (Lk 20:42-43 [Ps 110:1]), and Jesus as the Suffering Servant who was “reckoned with the transgressors” (Lk 22:37 [Is 53:12]). The death of Jesus is therefore not simply an event to be explained; it reveals the true identity of Jesus.

At the end of his Gospel Luke uses a quotation formula but without an explicit quotation from the OT in describing the significance of Jesus’ death and resurrection: “Thus it is written that Christ will suffer and will rise from the dead on the third day, and repentance for the forgiveness of sins will be proclaimed in his name to all the nations, beginning at Jerusalem” (Lk 24:46-47). This “quotation” points to the fact that sometimes it is not individual quotations that are important, but that the entire OT finds its fulfillment in this eschatological era. Moreover, this note links the life and death of Jesus with the period of the church: both are to be understood in light of God’s ancient promises to Israel.

From the explicit quotations, it appears the LXX is Luke’s Bible. Changes to the LXX reading often can be explained by the attempt to fit the texts into their new context. One should not assume, however, that the use of these quotations is simply the creation of Luke that would work only on the level of the Greek

texts. D. Bock, in particular, has argued for the influence of Hebrew source texts behind the traditions from which Luke draws in his use of specific OT quotations (Bock, 271).

3.2. *Patterns and Themes.* The fact that explicit quotations do not tell the whole story of Luke's use of the OT is best seen in the opening *birth narrative, which contains only one explicit set of quotations (Lk 2:23-24 [Ex 13:2, 12, 15; Lev 12:8]) but is saturated with OT images and themes. Beyond the numerous allusions and echoes embedded in the individual words and phrases, the OT is used in a number of creative ways. First, the distinct Septuagintal character of the Greek of Luke 1-2 has been attributed to the sources behind Luke's narrative, but the distinctly Lukan style can be detected throughout these two chapters. A better explanation is to consider this as a result of Luke's intention to write "biblical history" as he reflects on the climax of God's work among his people. Second, the intense presence of the Spirit (Lk 1:15, 35, 41, 67; 2:25, 26; cf. Is 32:15; Joel 2:28-32), the reappearance of prophetic activities (Lk 1:67, 70, 76) and the use of the name "Gabriel" (Lk 1:19, 26; cf. Dan 8:16; 9:21) point to the dawn of the eschatological era. Third, the use of the "barren woman" motif at the very beginning of this birth narrative (Lk 1:6-7) also evokes the ancient stories of Sarah (Gen 18), Rebekah (Gen 25), Rachel (Gen 30), the mother of Samson (Judg 13) and Hannah (1 Sam 1-2). These stories are mediated through the use of this motif in Isaiah 54:1 in reference to the eschatological reversal that will take place among God's people in the eschatological era (cf. *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 20:2). Luke's use of this motif in the description of Zechariah and Elizabeth (Lk 1:6-7) as well as the parallels between the Magnificat (Lk 1:46-55) and the ancient song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1-10) point to the renewed work of God among his people. These uses of the OT in the birth narrative lay the foundation for Luke's story of Jesus as the one through whom God's eschatological promises are fulfilled.

As noted above, the first lengthy explicit quotation in the narrative comes from Isaiah (Lk 3:4-6 [Is 40:3-5]), and this quotation introduces the wider Isaianic new-exodus program in both Luke and Acts (see Pao, 37-69). First, the eschatological program as contained in Isaiah 40:1-11 points to both the restoration of Israel (Is 40:1-2, 9-11) (see *Exile and Restoration*) and the *mission of the Gentiles (Is 40:5). While the arrival of God's salvation in Jerusalem (Is 40:2) is fulfilled in the Gospel of Luke, the restoration of Israel and the mission to the Gentiles are the focus of Luke's narrative in Acts. Second, the "way"

terminology as introduced in Luke 3:4 (Is 40:3) becomes one of the terms applied to the church in Acts (Acts 9:2; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22). As God's people, the fulfillment of God's promises in Israel can now be found in the church. Finally, as Luke begins his two-volume work with a quotation from Isaiah 40, one that announces the beginning of God's eschatological salvific act, Luke ends his narrative with another quotation from that book, Isaiah 6:9-10, a passage that announces God's judgment on his people who refused to receive God's work on their behalf (Acts 28:26-27). Reading both volumes together, one can detect the tragic tone of the work when the good news turned into a note of judgment as God's own people rejected his act of salvation among them.

Another prominent pattern from the OT can be detected in the central section of Luke's Gospel (Lk 9:51-19:44). Attempting to explain the form of this lengthy central section that depicts Jesus' journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, C. F. Evans was among the first to argue that Luke constructs this section according to the order of events recorded in Deuteronomy 1-26. Instead of arguing for a strict correspondence between the two works, D. Moessner argues that several Deuteronomistic themes dominate this section: (1) the faithless and rebellious nature of the people of God; (2) the commission of a prophet to issue the call to *repentance; (3) the rejection of this prophet by God's people; (4) the judgment of God's people. This central section therefore points to both Jesus as the eschatological *prophet of God and Israel as God's rebellious people. The basic thesis of this proposal has been widely accepted and is further qualified by M. Strauss, who highlights both the significance of the Isaianic new-exodus program and the centrality of the Davidic royal messianic paradigm in this section in Luke.

In Luke's passion narrative one again finds the significant influence of the OT. As in Mark, a number of OT books exert their influence on this section. Particularly noteworthy is the use of psalms in this section. The use of Psalm 118 in various places within and beyond the passion narrative in both Luke (Lk 2:34; 13:35; 19:38) and Acts (Acts 4:11) points to the significance of this psalm in explaining both the human rejection and divine vindication of Jesus the Messiah. The allusions to other royal Davidic psalms within the passion narrative also provide the link to King David, who was portrayed as both the king and the righteous sufferer (Lk 23:34 [Ps 22:18]; Lk 23:35 [Ps 22:8]; Lk 23:36 [Ps 69:21]; Lk 23:46 [Ps 31:5]; Lk 23:47 [Ps 31:18]) (see Jipp, 260-64). One should no longer be surprised that the glorious Mes-

siah is also one who suffers under the hands of those who had “rejected the plan of God” (Lk 7:30).

Through these uses of the wider scriptural patterns Jesus is portrayed as the new Moses, the Isaianic servant, and the royal righteous sufferer. This allows Luke to continue his narrative in Acts by interpreting the persecution of the early Christians in light of the suffering of Jesus himself, and by emphasizing that those who follow this suffering Messiah are to be considered as God’s eschatological people. After all, both Luke and Acts aim at portraying a time that has been foretold by “all the prophets” (Acts 3:24).

4. The Old Testament in John.

The significance of the OT in John can be established on the different levels of this Gospel. Not only are there numerous explicit quotations and allusions to the OT, but also the use of various patterns and images from the OT provides the fundamental structure to John’s argument. Moreover, if the struggle with the *synagogue is to be considered as constituting part of the context for the writing of this Gospel, one should not be surprised to see a significant presence of the OT in the presentation of his arguments.

John shares with the Synoptics in the use of four OT texts: Psalm 118:25–26 (Jn 12:13); Isaiah 6:10 (Jn 12:40); Isaiah 40:3 (Jn 1:23); Zechariah 9:9 (Jn 12:15). He adds another eleven explicit quotations, perhaps to supplement the Synoptic interpretation of the Jesus story (see Köstenberger, 417). At least three of these four quotations (Ps 118:25–26; Is 6:10; 40:3) appear to be widely used in early Christian proclamation, and John’s use of these should not be considered as proof of his dependence on the Synoptic tradition. Taken together, all the explicit quotations appear to be carefully selected to support John’s argument.

4.1. Explicit Quotations. As in the Synoptics, the quotation from Isaiah 40:3 in John 1:23 announces the arrival of the eschatological era in language that evokes the Isaianic new exodus, a time when “they will all be taught by God” (Jn 6:45 [Is 54:13]). As Isaiah had proclaimed, however, God’s message of salvation is rejected by his own people: “Lord, who has believed our message, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed” (Jn 12:38 [Is 53:1]); and this confirms their rebellious and stubborn nature: “He has blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts, in order that they would not see with their eyes and understand with their hearts and turn, and I would heal them” (Jn 12:40 [Is 6:10]). This message of the

rejection of God’s messenger is reinforced by the psalms, some of which focus on the experience of the righteous sufferer (Jn 13:18 [Ps 41:9]; Jn 15:25 [Ps 35:19; 69:4]; Jn 19:24 [Ps 22:18]).

A distinct christological focus of the OT quotations can be identified in John’s Gospel. Jesus is “the seed of David” (Jn 7:42 [Ps 89:4]) and is “from Bethlehem” (Jn 7:42 [Mic 5:2]). He is the king who is to enter Jerusalem (Jn 12:13 [Ps 118:25–26]; Jn 12:15 [Zech 9:9]). Moreover, in the polemic against the claims of the Jews, Jesus also uses an OT text to establish his own sonship (Jn 10:34 [Ps 82:6]). Jesus’ death and suffering can only prove that he is the righteous one and the Messiah, one who is vindicated by God (cf. Jn 19:36 [Ex 12:10, 46; Num 9:12; Ps 34:10]; Jn 19:37 [Zech 12:10]).

Beyond the content of the individual quotations, particularly noteworthy is the difference in the introductory formula for the quotations that appear in the different halves of this Gospel (see Table 5). With few exceptions, the general pattern is the use of either “to say” (*legō*) or “to write” (*grapheō*) in quotation formulae in the first half of the Gospel, and “to fulfill” (*plēroō*) in those in the second half. This roughly corresponds to the two sections of John, commonly known as the Book of Signs (Jn 2–11) and the Book of the Passion (Jn 13–20), with John 12 as a transition chapter. The significance of the section that contains the first two fulfillment quotations

Table 5. Introductory Formula in the Two Halves of John’s Gospel

Jn 1:23	As Isaiah the prophet said
Jn 2:17	It is written
Jn 6:31	As it is written
Jn 6:45	It is written in the prophets
Jn 7:38	As the scripture said
Jn 7:42	Does not the scripture say
Jn 10:34	Is it not written in your law
Jn 12:14	As it is written
Jn 12:38	So that the word of Isaiah the prophet would be fulfilled, who said
Jn 12:39	Because again Isaiah said
Jn 13:18	So that the scripture would be fulfilled
Jn 15:25	So that the word written in their law would be fulfilled
Jn 19:24	So that the scripture would be fulfilled
Jn 19:36	So that the scripture would be fulfilled
Jn 19:37	As another (scripture) says

(Jn 12:38, 39) should be highlighted. In John 12:36 Jesus was still calling the Jews to repent: "While you have the light, believe in it, so that you may become sons of light." In John 12:37, however, the tone clearly shifted as a result of the Jewish rejection of Jesus: "Although Jesus had performed so many signs before them, they still would not believe in him." This is immediately followed by two OT quotations that focus on the pattern of disbelief among God's people (Jn 12:38 [Is 53:1]; 12:40 [Is 6:10]). The rest of these fulfillment quotations are related to this theme of human rejection. This use of the fulfillment quotations "suggests an audience that needs to be provided with a rationale, a biblical rationale, for the substantial rejection of Jesus by his fellow Jews" (Carson, 248).

A further understanding of these fulfillment quotations can be discerned through the use of the verb *teleiōō* ("to bring to its end, to perfect") in a fulfillment formula (Jn 19:28) that is sandwiched by formulae that use the verb *plēroō* ("to fulfill") [Jn 19:24, 36]. Reading both sets of formulae together, we see that John is not simply concerned with the fulfillment of individual predictions contained in the OT; he also aims at drawing attention to the fact that this passion narrative depicts "the 'ultimate fulfillment' of all christological prophecy in the Scriptures" (Hengel, 393). In the death and resurrection of Christ one finds the true fulfillment of the entire OT history as it forms the climax of God's work among his people.

Some would insist that the LXX is the only Bible behind John's Gospel (e.g., Schuchard), even when John appears to be quite capable of translating directly from the Hebrew text (e.g., Jn 12:40; 13:18) (see Menken). It is also possible that John is aware of the targumic tradition (e.g., Jn 12:48), although such deviations from the Greek text may simply indicate that he has been quoting from memory (see Achtemeier 1990). Since the whole of Scripture points to Christ, John's argument does not always rest on the particular details contained in any textual traditions. Moreover, as a disciple of Jesus, he would not have shied away from the derived authority from Jesus as he renders Jesus' teachings in Aramaic for his Greek readers.

4.2. Patterns and Themes. In his Gospel John focuses not simply on the fulfillment of individual verses in the OT, but also on wider movements that point toward Christ as the proper goal of scriptural history. Three OT figures in particular are highlighted as witnesses to this climax of salvation history: Moses, Abraham, Isaiah (see Hengel, 386-89;

Hengel would also include John the Baptist as an "OT" witness).

In the prologue to his gospel John has already provided his readers a fundamental contrast between the age of promise and the age of fulfillment: "For the law was given through Moses, but grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (Jn 1:17). This Gospel is therefore to be understood as that which supersedes the previous era. The continuity between the two is also emphasized, however, when it is noted that this Jesus is "the one Moses wrote about in the law" (Jn 1:45). The witness of Moses is most clearly stated in John 5:46: "If you believed Moses, you would also believe me, because he wrote about me." This Jesus, therefore, does not aim at destroying the law of Moses (Jn 7:19, 22-23; 8:5); Moses' work in guiding the people out of Egypt and through the wilderness is but a witness to Christ's own salvific work (Jn 3:14; 6:32).

The relationship between Jesus and Abraham is the subject of Jesus' discourse in John 8:31-59, in which Jesus explicitly points to Abraham as a witness to him: "Your father Abraham rejoiced greatly in seeing my day, and he saw it and was glad" (Jn 8:56). This discourse is important for both christological and ecclesiological reasons. Christologically, when asked if he is greater than Abraham, Jesus answers by pointing to his own glorification by God (Jn 8:53-54). Most striking is perhaps this statement: "Before Abraham was, I am [*egō eimi*]" (Jn 8:58). This statement, which alludes to both the classic name of God, "I am who I am" (*egō eimi ho ōn* [Ex 3:13-14]), and the Isaianic reference to God as "I am the one" (*egō eimi* [Is 41:4]), points to the unique status of Jesus (see "I Am" Sayings). Ecclesiologically, the claim of the Jews that they are "Abraham's children" (Jn 8:39) prompts Jesus to identify their "father" instead as "the devil" (Jn 8:44) because they have rejected the God of Abraham. Moreover, Jesus also provides a definition of God's people based on their response to him, the one who is "from God" (Jn 8:42). In focusing on this patriarch, therefore, Jesus is able to address both his own identity and the identity of those who believe in him.

As noted above in the discussion of the explicit quotations, Isaiah plays an important role in this Gospel. In John 1:23 John evokes the Isaianic eschatological program with his citation of Isaiah 40:3. It is in John 12:37-41 that we find the repeated use of the name "Isaiah" (Jn 12:38, 39, 41). Contained in this section are two quotations that point to Christ as the Isaianic Suffering Servant (Jn 12:38 [Is 53:1]) and to the Jews as those who reject the work of God as their

ancestors did (Jn 12:40 [Is 6:10]). The concluding remarks most clearly consider Isaiah directly speaking about Christ: "Isaiah said these things because he saw his [Christ's] glory, and spoke about him." With the testimonies of these three witnesses, the significance and the glory of the Messiah are revealed, as well as his fate among God's own people.

Beyond these three witnesses, David as evoked through royal psalms also plays an important role in John's Gospel (*see* Son of David). Compared to the Synoptic Gospels, more explicit references or quotations to the psalms in the passion narrative can be identified (esp. Jn 12:13 [Ps 118:25-26]; 15:25 [Ps 35:19; 69:4]; 19:24 [Ps 22:18]; 19:28 [Ps 69:21]). In this passion narrative these psalms reaffirm John's earlier identification of Jesus (through the mouth of Nathaniel) as "the King of Israel" (Jn 1:49), but this king is also the righteous sufferer who will be rejected by his own people. Through these OT characters Jesus is presented as the one to whom the sacred past pointed.

Another way the OT is used in John's Gospel is images and *feasts with rich OT background: lamb of God (Jn 1:29-34), eschatological banquet (Jn 2:1-11; 6:25-29), temple and cultic places of worship (Jn 2:12-25; 4:1-26; 7:14-52; 11:55-57), the serpent in the wilderness (Jn 3:14), the shepherd and his flock (Jn 10:1-21), the vine and the branches (Jn 15:1-17). Also worth noting are the numerous references to Jewish feasts and festivals in this Gospel: Sabbath (Jn 5:2-15; 7:20-24; 9:13-34; 19:31), Day of Preparation (Jn 19:14, 31, 42), Passover (Jn 2:13, 23-25; 4:45; 6:4; 11:55; 12:1; 13:1; 18:28—19:37), Feast of Tabernacles (Jn 7:1-43), Feast of Dedication (Jn 10:22-30).

Finally, it seems to be significant for John to highlight the close relationship between the ancient Scripture and the word of Jesus. In John 2:22, for example, John states that "they believed the Scripture and the word that Jesus had spoken." The act of remembering is likewise applied both to the Scripture (Jn 2:17, 22; 12:16) and the word of Jesus (Jn 15:20; 16:4), although different Greek verbs are used for these two groups of passages. Although John does not explicitly identify the word of Jesus with that of Scripture, the close relationship between the two is a significant point that should not be missed.

5. Jesus' Use of the Old Testament.

A detailed examination of the use of the OT by the historical Jesus would require an examination of every individual saying against an acceptable set of criteria of authenticity. Even for those who refuse to accept the general reliability of the Gospel traditions, it is difficult to argue against the significant

role that the OT plays in the words and deeds of Jesus. This is consistent with the fact that Jews living in first-century A.D. Palestine were able to use and interact with the OT, and Jewish teachers based their teachings on their Scripture. Even if Jesus is not to be considered a well-educated rabbi according to the model most fully developed in the later rabbinic schools, he was able to evoke the biblical text, language and tradition as any leader of popular prophetic movements would. This is indirectly affirmed by a text that is less flattering and thus likely not to be the creation of the early church, but that indirectly acknowledges the power of Jesus' teachings: "How does this fellow know Scripture when he has not studied" (Jn 7:15 [trans. Meier, 269]).

In all four canonical gospels, as in other early Christian writings such as the Pauline Epistles and the book of Hebrews, one finds "the basic Jewish story focused now on Jesus" (Wright, 417). In this common story one finds the prophetic use of the OT in the proclamation of the arrival of the eschatological era, the christological affirmation of the identity of Jesus in light of ancient Jewish models and paradigms, the legal discussion that derives from both the prophetic and christological claims, and the ecclesiological ramifications of this arrival of the eschatological era. The fact that these four Gospels converge on these points encourages the readers to consider the historical Jesus to be responsible for such use of the OT.

Prophetically, all four Gospels situate Jesus within the exodus and the new-exodus paradigms. The significance of the original exodus patterns most likely points to Jesus' self-understanding as the one who delivers his people from bondage. This can be articulated in terms of saving "the people from their sins" (Mt 1:21) or delivering this people so that "all who believe in him will not perish but have eternal life" (Jn 3:16). The eschatological fulfillment of this exodus paradigm often is mediated through Isaiah when texts such as Isaiah 40:3 (Mt 3:3; Mk 1:3; Lk 1:76; 3:4-6; Jn 1:23) and Isaiah 61:1-2 (Mt 5:3; 11:5; Lk 4:18-19; 6:20; 7:22) are used in more than one Gospel. With the evocation of this paradigm, Jesus proclaims the arrival of "the year of the Lord's favor" (Lk 4:19 [Is 61:2]) (*see* Jubilee).

Christologically, numerous titles are applied to Jesus, and many of them have a rich history in OT texts. Related to the exodus and new-exodus program as noted above, Jesus is portrayed as the new Moses and the Isaianic servant. The classic text that points to a new prophet like Moses in Deuteronomy 18:15-20 is explicitly quoted in Acts 3:22, but it also is

evoked in all four Gospels (Mt 17:5; Mk 9:7; Lk 9:35; Jn 1:21). The Moses typology that appears in both Mark and Q reaches to the earliest layer of the Gospel traditions and deserves to be taken seriously in any reconstruction of the historical Jesus (see Allison 2000, 217). For the Isaianic servant figure, the frequent uses of and allusions to texts such as Isaiah 42; 49; 53 have already been noted above. Both the suffering and the glory of Christ are also understood in light of the royal messianic paradigm as mediated through the psalms. Other titles, such as **“son of man”* (see Dan 7) and *“shepherd”* (see Zech 13), likewise cannot be understood apart from the OT. The use of the christological titles may also point to Jesus’ self-understanding as informed by the OT.

As Jesus considers himself to be the new Moses, he often provides the authoritative interpretation of the Mosaic law. This is best illustrated by the recurring use of the formula “You have heard that it was said . . . but I say to you” in Matthew 5:21-48. The conflict with others in their interpretation of the law is reflected also in the numerous Sabbath controversy stories found in all four Gospels (e.g., Mt 12:1-8, 9-14; Mk 2:23-28; 3:1-6; Lk 6:1-5, 6-11; Jn 5:1-18; 7:14-24). Equally important is Jesus’ reinterpretation of the Ten Commandments as he applies them to himself by calling disciples to abandon all to follow him (Mk 10:17-31; Mt 19:16-30; Lk 18:18-30; cf. Jn 12:20-26).

Finally, the ecclesiological focus of Jesus’ use of the OT should also be noted. This includes the understanding of the Jewish rejection of the gospel through OT prophetic lenses (e.g., the use of Is 6:9-10 in Mt 13:14; Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10; Jn 12:40), the inclusion of the Gentiles (e.g., Mt 4:15 [Is 9:1-2]; Lk 2:32 [Is 42:6]; 3:6 [Is 40:5]) and the use of the symbol “twelve” in all four Gospels (Mt 10:1-4; Mk 3:13-19; Lk 6:12-16; cf. Jn 6:66-71). The eschatological era ushered in through the life and ministry of Jesus created a new eschatological people through whom God’s faithfulness to his ancient promises continues to be manifested.

In light of these uses, the following statement, which appears only in Luke, is consistent with the evidence found in all four Gospels: “Everything that is written about me in the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms must be fulfilled” (Lk 24:44). The four Gospels provide the precise details in which these ancient promises of God are fulfilled.

See also ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB; CHRIST; ELIJAH AND ELISHA; EXILE AND RESTORATION; ISRAEL; JUBILEE; LAW; MOSES; PASSION NARRATIVE; RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS; SABBATH; SERVANT OF YAHWEH; SHEPHERD,

SHEEP; SIGN OF JONAH; SON OF DAVID; SON OF GOD; SON OF MAN; TEMPLE.

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OLIVET DISCOURSE. See APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING.

ORAL TRADITION. See FORM CRITICISM; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION.

ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION

A growing area of contemporary research on the Gospels involves the application of interdisciplinary orality studies to the early Jesus/Gospel tradition, both oral and written. This new area of Gospel studies holds potential implications for important issues such as the historical reliability of the early Gospel

tradition, the proper interpretation of the Gospels themselves, and the infamous *Synoptic Problem. The bulk of this article is divided into three main sections. First, a survey is offered on the history of scholarship related to the transmission of the early oral Jesus tradition. Second, two areas of contemporary debate that have bearing on the oral Jesus tradition are considered. Finally, the "oral" nature of the written Gospels is explored. Here, following a survey of some of the oral-like features of the Gospels themselves, implications for a few of the standard methods of Gospels research are considered. Now, a few words must be given to an important issue that arises in the study of orality.

One of the persistent problems for orality studies relates to the fact that the term *oral* has come to possess a broad semantic range. Two different uses of the term *oral* must be kept clear and distinct. First, *oral* can be used to identify the oral medium/mode—that is, spoken acts of communication. Second, *oral* can be used to identify an oral register/conception—that is, style of communication, one that tends to be highly context-bound in nature and is commonly characterized by things such as informal tone, mnemonic devices and relatively flexible precision standards. Contrastingly, a literate register/conception is relatively context-independent in nature and typically is associated with a more formal tone, stricter precision standards, and so on (Tannen; Eddy and Boyd, 351-54).

Two things are important to note here. First, with regard to both media and register, the oral and the written/literate can influence and interface with each other in a variety of ways and degrees (contrary to the "Great Divide" theory, on which see 1.3.1 below). For example, with regard to linguistic register, an act of communication can be more or less oral or literate in nature. Second, medium and register/conception are independent phenomena. That is, a spoken act of communication (i.e., oral medium) can be either predominantly oral or literate with regard to register. Similarly, a written text can be composed in a more or less oral register. In fact, as we will see, this is precisely the situation that we find with regard to the written Gospels, most clearly Mark. Suffice it to say that although there is justification for continued use of the terms *oral* and *orality*, they are not without complexities and problems and must be used with clarity and nuance (Finnegan, 212-13; Rodriguez).

1. Oral Transmission of the Early Jesus Tradition: History of Scholarship
2. Two Current Debates
3. Orality and the Gospels

1. Oral Transmission of the Early Jesus Tradition: History of Scholarship.

The importance of oral transmission for the early Gospel tradition is rooted in a fact about Jesus himself: rather than written texts, he left his followers spoken teachings that were written down later by others. Jesus is presented in the Gospels consistently as a traveling teacher who proclaims the *kingdom of God by both word and deed. For much of the early Christian movement as reflected both within and beyond the NT, the oral transmission of traditions about Jesus played an important role (see, e.g., 1 Cor 15:3-7; Papias's famous statement in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3-4). In the Gospels remnants of Jesus' oral teaching style are detectable in his aphorisms (e.g., Mk 8:35; 10:31) and *parables (e.g., Mk 4:1-9, 26-32; Mt 13:24-30, 44-46). The multiple versions of similar teachings found in the Gospels (e.g., Mt 12:28; Lk 11:20) are reflective of the realities of an itinerant teacher within an orally dominant environment. Simply put, Jesus would have spoken the same basic teachings in a variety of settings, which would have naturally produced a variety of audience-specific performance variations of the same material.

From the beginning of modern biblical studies, scholars were aware that oral tradition played some role (e.g., Richard Simon [1638-1712]). One of the first to draw serious attention to the importance of the early oral Jesus tradition was J. G. von Herder at the close of the eighteenth century. Despite this general awareness, biblical scholars up to and throughout the nineteenth century continued to focus virtually all of their attention on what they had in hand: written texts.

1.1. Form Criticism and the Bultmannian Model. It was with the rise of *form criticism in the early twentieth century that the question of the oral transmission of the early Gospel tradition was finally given significant attention. Following the lead of H. Gunkel's form-critical work on Genesis, a number of NT scholars (e.g., K. Schmidt, M. Dibelius, R. Bultmann, M. Albertz, V. Taylor) began to identify and investigate the diverse literary forms within the Gospels. In addition, form critics commonly attempted to determine the "life setting" (*Sitz im Leben*) within which each form developed. In time, Bultmann's work became the dominant form-critical approach to the Gospels. He drew his conclusions about the developmental dynamics of the early oral Jesus tradition primarily by drawing analogies from the dynamics of the two-source theory (i.e., the manner in which Matthew and Luke presumably used and developed Mark and *Q) and

from what, at the time, were believed to be common, transcultural tendencies (oral "laws") derived from analysis of (mostly European) folklore traditions. Here it was assumed that the early Jesus movement (1) was virtually without written texts prior to the Gospels and Q; (2) showed no real interest in actual biographical/historical details of Jesus' life, and thus no real interest in preserving eyewitness information; (3) lacked knowledge of a larger, coherent narrative framework for Jesus' life prior to its *de novo* creation by Mark; and (4) was open to fabricating sayings from, and stories about, Jesus, often derived from prophetically inspired utterances of the risen Christ, when community needs called for them. Naturally, these conclusions led to a highly skeptical view of the historical reliability of both the oral Jesus tradition and the Gospels themselves. Unfortunately, both the methods and presuppositions of the Bultmannian approach to oral transmission were deeply indebted to written texts, highly literate assumptions and limited data (e.g., very little actual fieldwork) regarding the nature of oral transmission itself.

1.2. Birger Gerhardsson and the "Scandinavian School." A significantly different model of the oral Jesus tradition was offered with B. Gerhardsson's *Memory and Manuscript* (1961). Preceded by decades of interest in oral tradition among other Scandinavian scholars, Gerhardsson proposed that the process of oral transmission exemplified by the "school" dynamic of later *rabbinic Judaism provided the best comparative model by which to understand the early oral Jesus tradition. Here, strict memorization of tradition within the context of a teacher-disciple relationship allowed for later flexible, situation-specific use of that tradition by the disciple. Gerhardsson challenged a number of the dominant assumptions of the Bultmannian approach. Eyewitness disciples formed a natural link from Jesus up to the time of the written Gospels via memorized oral tradition. With this model, one could easily imagine a stable oral tradition that provided a generally reliable historical basis for the material eventually recorded in the Gospels.

Reactions to Gerhardsson's model were swift and polarized. Many conservative scholars gravitated to his model as a way of demonstrating the stability and reliability of the Jesus tradition. However, those shaped by the Bultmannian approach quickly charged Gerhardsson with "anachronism," claiming that he was illegitimately projecting a later rabbinic phenomenon back onto the pre-70 A.D. world of the early Jesus movement. A second charge was that

Gerhardsson's model simply did not fit the evidence of the Gospels themselves. Specifically, based on the assumption of the two-source theory, critics argued that Matthew and Luke's use of Mark and Q was highly flexible and creative and thus did not reflect a strict memorization model. In later publications Gerhardsson responded to his critics by clarifying and nuancing his model. Others have embraced and developed this "Scandinavian School" model, including R. Riesner, who emphasized the stable transmission of tradition within more popular settings of ancient Judaism such as homes, schools and synagogues (see also Byrskog).

1.3. Contemporary Interdisciplinary Orality Studies. Despite their differences, both Bultmann and Gerhardsson shared one methodological orientation: both depended primarily on data from written texts in order to theorize about oral transmission. With the rise of contemporary interdisciplinary orality studies, however, a wide range of fieldwork-based research on living oral history/tradition has provided a new basis from which to reimagine the early oral Jesus tradition.

1.3.1. The Parry-Lord (Oral Formulaic) Theory. Ironically, during the time Bultmann's model of oral transmission was settling in as a dominant approach among Gospel scholars, Homeric scholar M. Parry, along with his best-known student, A. Lord, was initiating a revolution by doing fieldwork that would usher in the discipline of contemporary orality studies. Together in the mid-1930s, they recorded and analyzed live performances of Serbo-Croatian singers of oral tradition. Due to Parry's untimely death, publication of much of their work was delayed until 1960, when Lord's famous book *The Singer of Tales* appeared. Initially intended to explain phenomena within Homer's epics, the "Oral Formulaic" theory was quickly applied by others to a wide range of oral traditions. At the core of the theory is the conviction that performers of song-based oral tradition do not strictly memorize their compositions prior to performance. Rather, they re-create the composition anew with each successive performance, though always making use of a wide range of stock phrases ("formula") available to them within the communally shared performative tradition itself.

The importance of Parry and Lord's work can hardly be overstated. For the first time in a systematic way, an actual instance of carefully analyzed living oral tradition became the basis of a scholarly theory of oral transmission. Yet some unfortunate effects followed in the wake of its success, three of which would eventually influence assessments of the

oral Jesus tradition. First, Lord's work served to foster what has come to be known as the "Great Divide" theory, in which orality and writing are seen as "contradictory and mutually exclusive" (Lord 1960, 129). This assumption, while an understandable over-reaction to the long-standing dominance of writing-based theories regarding oral tradition, served to create a virtually unbridgeable divide between the "oral" and "written/literate" that has plagued the field of orality studies ever since, thus obscuring the many and varied ways in which these two media/registers can creatively interact. Second, many early adherents of the Parry-Lord theory assumed that its principles could be generalized to all instances of oral tradition across cultures and genres. Further fieldwork has shown the importance of culture and genre specificity with regard to the dynamics of oral transmission. Finally (and a specific instance of the "generalization" problem), the Parry-Lord theory fostered the widespread notion that oral tradition and memorization are inherently incompatible. Based on a wide range of further fieldwork, however, we know that a vast number of orally dominant cultures contain oral genres that involve significant, sometimes stringent, memorization (e.g., Sowayan, 110-22). Taking these sorts of criticisms to heart, a number of scholars inspired by the Parry-Lord approach have modified the model to avoid these problems and to cover a wider range of oral phenomena. Noteworthy among them is J. Foley (Foley 1991; 2002), who has become a valuable conversation partner for Gospel scholars exploring the oral Jesus tradition (e.g., Foley 2006).

1.3.2. The Interdisciplinary "Turn to Orality." In the wake of the Parry-Lord revolution, the study of oral tradition/transmission began to flourish within a number of disciplines. In the 1960s scholars such as E. Havelock, J. Goody, M. McLuhan and W. Ong (representing disciplines ranging from classical studies to anthropology to linguistics) pushed the orality-literacy conversation ahead. Whether intentionally or not, in the course of distinguishing oral and written modes of communication and their various effects, the work of these scholars served to strengthen the aforementioned "Great Divide" mentality. This characterization of the inherent opposition between the oral and written/literate, through use of a series of mutually exclusive binaries, continues to haunt certain sectors of orality studies today (for elaboration, see Foley 2002, 26, 36-40; Finnegan, 187-89, 220-21; Carr, 6-8).

Various disciplines have contributed significant insight into the workings of oral transmission. Rep-

representative voices along these lines from within the field of African historiography include R. Finnegan and J. Vansina, with the latter's important fieldwork-based text *Oral Tradition as History* (1985) serving as a standard guide to the use of oral sources in historical reconstruction. In the areas of anthropology/ethnography and folklore studies, the mid-century "turn to performance" shifted attention from transcribed written texts to the creative oral performance arena itself. The "oral history" movement has also made its mark as it has explored both method and practice regarding the use of oral articulations of autobiographical memory in the reconstruction of the past. Following in the train of F. Bartlett's famous studies of human memory in the early twentieth century, contemporary psychology has continued to investigate the nature and reliability of autobiographical memory. In a groundbreaking work in 1995, D. Rubin took things one step further by applying his deep familiarity with psychologically based memory studies to the question of how memory works in the context of oral tradition. Finally, stemming from M. Halbwachs's earlier work on collective memory, contemporary theorists of social memory are shedding light on the dynamics by which individual memories (on which oral traditions naturally depend) are shaped by the pressures of a community's collective memory.

With the rise of postmodern sensibilities within the Western academy has come an interdisciplinary ideological bias toward flux and fluidity. This has been reflected in the area of orality studies by an overemphasis on the inherent instability and malleability of orality, features that are seen as offering emancipation from the oppressive strictures and inflexibility of the written/literate. However, this overreaction to the modern/literate is beginning to be rebalanced in many quarters as more scholars are exploring orality's full range of capabilities, including its remarkable capacity to conserve tradition even as it creatively reproduces it (Barber, 67-102).

1.4. Werner Kelber's Breakthrough. Important orality-sensitive challenges to the Bultmannian model of the Jesus tradition appeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s. But it was the 1983 publication of Werner Kelber's landmark book *The Oral and the Written Gospel* that provided the first extensive treatment of the Gospels in light of interdisciplinary orality studies. In this study Kelber begins by setting out the two competing models offered by Bultmann and Gerhardsson. He goes on to explicate a third option, one that takes seriously the orally dominant context of the first-century world within which early

Christianity was born. Drawing from scholars such as Parry and Lord, Havelock, Goody and especially Ong, Kelber demonstrates the ways in which prior models of the oral Jesus tradition had remained unwittingly trapped within the modern world of written, print-based texts and highly literate, post-Gutenberg assumptions. With this book Kelber provided an amazing service for Gospel scholarship, both by opening it up to the realm of interdisciplinary orality studies and by calling it to awareness of its own media bias.

However, Kelber's book naturally reflected some of the weaknesses of the then-current state of the discipline. For example, Kelber adopted a fairly stringent "Great Divide" approach that tended strongly to pit the "oral" against the "written." Following Ong, Kelber decisively identified the "oral" with freedom, reality, creative potential and, ultimately, "life" itself. Conversely, the "written" word was identified with absence, illusion, suppression and, inevitably, "death" (Kelber, 158, 185). Thus, in Kelber's view the written Gospels essentially represent the attempt to domesticate, control and suppress the creative fluidity of the oral Jesus tradition. Viewed in hindsight, this ideological construal of the "oral" versus "written" represents both an empirically false generalization and an unhelpful romanticizing of "orality" (Byrskog, 128-29; Floyd). Nonetheless, despite its shortcomings, Kelber's book began a long overdue conversation between Gospel scholarship and orality studies.

2. Two Current Debates.

Since Kelber's provocative invitation, a relatively small but growing number of Gospel scholars have entered into dialogue with orality studies. Several issues and debates have emerged as the conversation continues to unfold, two of which will be considered here.

2.1. The Nature and Extent of Ancient Literacy.

One point of discussion involves the nature and extent of literacy in and around first-century Palestine and thus within the early Jesus movement. One common assumption of classical form criticism is that there was virtually no writing in the early years of the Jesus movement. This assumption has been given support in recent years by several studies arguing for a relatively low literacy rate within the ancient Mediterranean world in general and/or Greco-Roman Palestine in particular (Harris; Hezser). Thus, for many contemporary scholars of the early oral Jesus tradition, it has become a virtual truism that there was little-to-no literacy and/or writing

present within the first few decades of the Jesus movement (e.g., Horsley and Draper, 125-27; see also Keith). Others, however, have questioned this line of argument on methodological and/or evidential grounds (e.g., Macdonald; Millard; Riesner). Important considerations here include the complex spectrum of “literacies” at work in the ancient world, the impressive amount of writings found at Qumran, the influence of a “Great Divide” mentality on certain antiliteracy arguments, and the danger of allowing *a priori*, deductive arguments about literacy to override actual literary/epigraphic evidence from the ancient world. Regardless of the actual literacy levels, however, the oral/aural orientation both of books and reading in the ancient world (on which, see 3.1 below) granted broad access to written materials all along the literacy continuum.

2.2. *The Debate on Historical Reliability.* A perennial issue surrounding study of the early oral Jesus tradition centers on implications for the historical reliability of the Jesus tradition found in the Gospels. For Bultmann and his followers, the period of oral transmission is viewed as inherently unstable, so thoroughly steeped in the fabrication of legend and myth that it serves virtually as an impenetrable curtain that separates the Jesus of the Gospels from the Jesus of history. This truncated distortion of the dynamics of oral transmission is still unquestioningly maintained by many NT scholars, such that the dynamics at work within the early oral Jesus tradition have been compared to modern phenomena such as the “telephone game” or legends of UFOs at Roswell. On the other side of the spectrum, Gerhardsson’s model suggests a relatively stable picture of oral tradition and thus points toward a significant degree of historical continuity between Jesus and the Gospels. Yet it hangs predominantly on a single point of comparison—the rabbinic tradition—whose dynamics are known to us only through the medium of written texts from later times. Kelber’s model provides an important third alternative. However, while noting now and then the retentive abilities of oral transmission, for the most part Kelber (not unlike Bultmann) emphasizes the highly fluid, malleable nature of the oral Jesus tradition.

In the 1990s K. Bailey offered a different approach to things. Based on his experiences of oral transmission within contemporary Middle Eastern culture, Bailey proposes that between the extremes of Bultmann’s “informal uncontrolled” and Gerhardsson’s “formal controlled” models stands yet another model: “informal controlled” oral transmis-

sion. Here, a key to the informal control of oral tradition is the regular gathering of the community for the purpose of performing and preserving the shared tradition. Having regularly witnessed such gatherings himself, Bailey notes that the community itself functions as an informal custodian over the tradition by verbally correcting a speaker in the midst of performance whenever the shared communal norms of faithfulness to the tradition are violated. Bailey’s argument is that the balance of stability and flexibility found in the Synoptic Gospels reflects this same type of “informal controlled” model and thus provides evidence of significant historical continuity back to Jesus. Predictably, reactions to Bailey’s model have been mixed. Some scholars, such as J. D. G. Dunn and N. T. Wright, have, for the most part, embraced Bailey’s approach. Others, however, have raised critical questions about the model (e.g., Weeden).

More recently, R. Bauckham has proposed another model of the early oral Jesus tradition, one that suggests a significant degree of historical continuity between Jesus and the Gospels. Building on S. Byrskog’s prior work on eyewitness testimony (or “autopsy”) in the context of ancient oral history, Bauckham proposes that the Gospels are rooted in eyewitness testimony that was authoritatively preserved by those who had actually walked with Jesus. Similar to Gerhardsson, Bauckham’s proposal suggests a model of formal controlled oral tradition, and yet one that purports to allow for more flexibility. Bauckham’s model serves to highlight an important observation regarding the dynamics of oral tradition: one must consider not only the “formal-informal” and “controlled-uncontrolled” continuums, but also the “stability-flexibility” continuum, which is a third, independent variable (Bauckham, 257-60).

Gerhardsson, Bailey and Bauckham have each proposed a model of oral transmission of the Jesus tradition that challenges the historical skepticism reflected in large sectors of Gospel scholarship still laboring under the shadow of Bultmann. A number of other findings within contemporary orality studies can also serve as correctives in this regard (for a more detailed discussion of the following, see Eddy and Boyd, chaps. 6-7). Here we will consider four examples.

First, classical form criticism assumed that oral narratives were, by nature, relatively short, independent units of tradition. Thus, as the first to write a Gospel, Mark was also seen as the first to imagine and create a lengthy Gospel narrative framework.

Based on a wide range of fieldwork data, however, we now know that extended oral narratives, many of them much longer than our Gospels, are found in a variety of orally dominant cultures (see, e.g., Honko). There is good reason to suppose that Mark's lengthy narrative, and even the Q material (see Hultgren), are rooted in a prior narrative matrix of Jesus' life, which would have operated in accordance with commonly occurring dynamics of oral transmission (on which, see 3.1 below).

Second, recent breakthroughs in our understanding of the dynamics of oral transmission within orally dominant, communally oriented cultures point toward the likelihood of a generally stable early oral Jesus tradition. The phenomenon of "traditional referentiality" within orally dominant cultures is a case in point (Foley 1991, 6-13; cf. Foley 2002, 59-65, 130-33). Briefly, in orally dominant contexts instances of oral transmission/performance emerge from and, via a metonymically rich oral register honed for an economical use of language, constantly refer back to the wider, shared pool of tradition within which members of the community are always already steeped. Thus, the performance of communal shared oral traditions is not primarily about transmitting new information (except for the young and/or uninitiated); rather, it is about "activating"—that is, co-remembering and reexperiencing together through new, creative retellings—the already shared communal knowledge (Bakker; see also the concept of "mental text" in Honko, 92-99). As it turns out, elements of both Bailey's and Bauckham's models are commonly found across cultures. Bauckham's proposal that individual tradents are key to the preservation of communal tradition is reflected in the widespread recognition within orally dominant cultures of what J. Niles has termed "strong tradition bearers"—trusted individuals who are recognized as faithful retainers and transmitters of the community's tradition (Niles, 173-93). As Bailey proposes, and as a vast range of field studies has demonstrated, the communal audience itself regularly functions as a custodian of the tradition, actively participating in, as well as monitoring and correcting, any particular performance (Foley 2002, 83-84; Honko, 197; Sowayan, 111, 125). Within such a context, while some flexibility accompanies each new performance, the general stability of the tradition is maintained. The balance of stability and flexibility monitored by the community varies depending on genre, which leads to the next consideration.

Third, the historical skepticism toward the oral Jesus tradition fostered by Bultmann was largely

based on models of oral transmission of folktales, including oral entertainment genres, applied to the Gospels. This is a classic case of the sort of genre insensitivity known to influence certain approaches to orality. An array of fieldwork studies has demonstrated that different genres in different cultures reflect different points along the stability-flexibility continuum. Sacred traditions containing identity-forming values and/or religious tradition are typically among the most carefully handled and monitored forms of transmission within an orally dominant community (e.g., Sowayan, 123-24). Narrative entertainment genres, on the other hand, tend to be more flexibly transmitted. This suggests that the early oral Jesus tradition would have been handled more carefully, and stably, than the Bultmannian form-critical model has imagined.

Fourth, most Gospel scholars skeptical of the historical value of the oral Jesus tradition have not taken seriously the relatively short time frame between Jesus and the writing of the Gospels. Numerous fieldwork studies have indicated that oral transmission of historical events over the period of a single generation or so are vastly more stable and thus more reliable than those transmitted over longer periods. In fact, technically speaking, the span of only several decades between Jesus and the Gospels renders the early oral Jesus tradition connecting them as a phenomenon of "oral history" rather than "oral tradition" (Vansina, 12-13).

3. Orality and the Gospels.

3.1. The Nature of Orally Oriented Written Texts. As a wide range of scholarship has shown, orally oriented written texts generally function in ways quite distinct from their highly literate, print-based counterparts. The pre-Gutenberg Mediterranean world was orally dominant in a way that the modern, print-literate person finds hard to imagine. Written texts and public inscriptions were present, but factors such as literacy rates, cost and availability of books, and the very practices of ancient reading and writing served to foster an oral-aural cultural orientation that profoundly shaped the nature of written texts. To begin, most books (whether actually penned by the author or a scribe) were composed through dictation; that is, they literally began their life as spoken word. In addition, the reading of books, whether individually or, more commonly, in a group setting, typically was done aloud, a phenomenon virtually necessitated by the fact that ancient texts were written in a *scripta continua* fashion (i.e., a flowing script—reminiscent of oral speech itself—

lacking word breaks, punctuation and upper-lower case differentiation). In an orally dominant environment, typically the goal of reading was the imprinting of the content on the reader's mind for the purposes of internalization and versatile future recall independent of the written text itself (Carr, 177-81; Macdonald, 68-71). Thus, memorization of propositional, or illocutionary, gist, and not necessarily verbatim wording, was the common educational and/or performative goal of reading in the ancient world (Carr; Small). Public readings were common. Since a spontaneous vocalized reading of the *scripta continua* style would have been very difficult, ordinarily a literate reader would first commit the essence of the text to memory in preparation for the public performance (Carr, 4-5). The reader would then read/perform the written text to a gathering of people. In this way, all the people of a community, literate or not, could gain access to the contents of written texts. And so, both in composition and reception, ancient written texts were also both oral (spoken) and aural (heard) phenomena. It is not surprising, then, to find that ancient texts characteristically were composed in an oral register and thus shared a range of traits commonly associated with oral transmission (e.g., traditional referentiality, mnemonic and structuring devices, etc.). In essence, ancient orally oriented written texts served as inscribed references for future reoralizations of the tradition from which they emerged.

3.2. The "Oral-like" Nature of the Gospels. For years now, Gospel studies have been dominated by the mistaken assumption that since the Gospels are written texts, they generally function similarly to print-based texts in modern times. This has been the case both for the traditional historical-critical paradigm as well as the more postmodern, literary-critical approaches. With the rise of orality-sensitive Gospel studies, some (e.g., Kelber's early work) have overreacted to this assumption by adopting the opposite, but equally erroneous, "Great Divide" view, which says that since the Gospels are written texts, they stand in contrast to orality and thus to the oral Jesus tradition. But once we move beyond these extreme views, the way is open to understanding the Gospels as ancient, orally oriented written texts that both flow from and, by original design, return to a wider orally dominant context from which they derive their meaning (Eddy and Boyd, 350-60).

In terms of composition, the four Gospels each appear to fall somewhere along the continuum between a straightforward transcription of an actual oral performance, on the one hand, and a "literary"

work with roots in the oral Jesus tradition, on the other. Where, precisely, each of them is to be located along this continuum is a matter of debate. Following the general pattern of ancient texts, it is quite likely the Gospels were composed through dictation. It is also evident that they were written to be heard. The NT itself affirms that both sacred texts and letters were regularly read aloud in congregational settings (e.g., Lk 4:16; Acts 13:27; 15:21, 30-31; 2 Cor 1:13; 3:14-15; Col 4:16; 1 Thess 5:27; 1 Tim 4:13; Rev 1:3), as do other early Christian writings (e.g., 2 Clem. 19:1; Justin Martyr, 1 Apol. 67:3). In several NT texts (e.g., Mt 24:15; Mk 13:14; Rev 1:3) the public reader, or lector, is referred to (on which, see Shiell).

To date, most studies of the orally oriented nature of the Gospels have focused on Mark and the Q material (e.g., Wire; Horsely and Draper). With regard to Mark, the oral register/style reveals itself in a number of phenomena that would have served to assist the listening audience in grasping and retaining the essential content of what they were hearing. Such phenomena include relatively simple word choice, direct speech, frequent use of the connecting "and" (Gk. *kai*), parataxis, alliteration (e.g., Mk 14:38), idea/word repetition (e.g., Mk 13:12), topical clustering (e.g., parables in Mk 4:1-34; miracles in Mk 4:35-5:43) and "acoustic echo" techniques, both large-scale (e.g., concentric/chiastic patterns throughout Mark's Gospel) and smaller-scale, such as the famous "Markan sandwich" (e.g., Mk 3:20-35; 11:12-21; 14:1-11, 53-72).

3.3. Some Implications for Study of the Gospels. Insights from interdisciplinary orality studies have significant implications for several well-known methodological approaches to the Gospels, four of which will be considered here. First, orality-sensitive study of the Gospels has birthed a new method: performance criticism of the Gospels (Rhoads; Shiner). Drawing on a wide range of communication-oriented interdisciplinary methods (from narrative and rhetorical criticism to orality and theater studies), performance criticism strives to imaginatively investigate the orally oriented performance arena within which the Gospels would originally have been experienced, both through historical reconstruction and live experiences of oral performance of the Gospels as whole texts. Consideration is given to performance phenomena such as voice, emotion, memorization, subtext, narrative speed, gesture and movement, audience participation and response. Performance criticism aids in the exegetical task by asking new questions of proposed interpretations—for example: Could this biblical passage be orally

read/performed in such a way that an ancient listening audience plausibly would take from the event the meaning alleged in this particular contemporary interpretation?

Second, orality studies have implications both for literary and redaction criticism of the Gospels. Some have pointed out that many of the guiding assumptions and practices of contemporary literary criticism are indebted to the modern, highly literate world of print-based texts (Amodio, 11; Byrskog, 265-66). In turn, these methods foster analysis of the Gospels apart from an awareness of things such as an oral poetics (e.g., traditional referentiality) or the inherent dynamics and constraints of texts composed in an oral register (most likely by dictation) and intended for aural reception. As a consequence, there is a tendency among contemporary scholars to "overread" the Gospels, supposedly finding within them complex polemics, aesthetics and novelty that simply do not reflect the natural dynamics of orally oriented texts (Eddy and Boyd, 400-406). What is needed instead is the development of a literary-critical approach guided by an oral/aural poetics, one that is sensitive both to the media dynamics and the inherent constraints of first-century compositional practices (see below) and reading-by-hearing. Apart from such considerations, NT scholarship will unwittingly find itself involved in what T. Boomer-shine has perceptively identified as "media eisegesis" (Boomer-shine, 65).

Third, orality studies pose new challenges and possibilities for source criticism, particularly the notorious Synoptic Problem. For many years now, the vast majority of Gospel scholars have assumed that the remarkable similarities among the Synoptic Gospels are to be explained by an appeal to direct literary relations, with the two-source theory being the dominant model. However, it should, at the very least, cause Gospel scholars some hesitation when experts in comparative oral traditions such as Lord and Foley conclude that the phenomena reflected in the Synoptic Gospels are sufficiently explained as largely independent written variants emerging from a shared pool of oral traditional material (Lord 1978, 90; Foley 2006). From this perspective, Q, if it ever existed, most likely was a "voiced text"—that is, an "orally-derived text meant for oral performance" (Foley 2006, 138). Following this trajectory of analysis, some Gospel scholars have turned to a predominantly oral solution to the Synoptic Problem (e.g., Baum). Others, while still holding to some form of the two-source theory, argue that our conception of Synoptic literary relations must be significantly

complexified if we are to take seriously what is now known of ancient compositional practices, including the absence of desks, the physical constraints of cumbersome scrolls and thus the frequent use of memory to access and quote from written texts (Small; Derrenbacker; Boomer-shine, 61-62), as well as the transmission dynamics of traditional materials within orally dominant environments (e.g., Dunn, 210-54; Derrenbacker).

Finally, we consider some implications of orality studies for *textual criticism of the Gospels. In recent years, a number of text critics, including B. Ehrman, E. Epp and D. Parker, have highlighted in new ways the nature and number of "variants" and thus, especially for Ehrman, the scribal "corruptions" to be found within the Gospel manuscript tradition. An orality-sensitive approach to textual criticism of the Gospels would offer at least two responses. First, in broad agreement, such an approach would anticipate a significantly flexible dynamic at work within ancient manuscript culture. Especially prior to canonization, it would have been sufficient in most quarters of the orally dominant milieu of the early church that any particular written copy of a Gospel fell within the verbal parameters reflected in the countless orally performed, communally controlled variants of that Gospel—that is, within the verbal parameters of what was read aloud and heard of this Gospel on a regular basis. Within an orally oriented context that retains access to the oral tradition from which a written text emerged, it is more accurate to think of scribes as "performers" of that tradition (with the inherent flexibility that involves) rather than as merely rote "copyists" in the modern sense of the term (Doane; Person).

A second response to this recent trend in NT textual criticism provides a corrective. Although Ehrman, Epp and Parker have rightly taken seriously the variants within the manuscript tradition, they have, unfortunately, interpreted this data from the standpoint of a highly literate, print-oriented mentality and its associated precision standards (see Kirk, 229-34). In an ancient, orally dominant context, where faithfulness to the wider oral/aural performative tradition of a text commonly was the goal and where "copying" of a text could be done, in large part, from memory, textual variation-within-limits was an ever-present reality (Kirk; Person; Small). And yet, in such a media context most textual variations more likely would represent adaptations of the text (sometimes consciously, sometimes not) to remembrances of other performative possibilities already available within the wider traditional store-

house from which the text itself emerged rather than intentional, ideologically motivated departures from the exemplar text (Person; Eddy and Boyd, 384-89). To view these variants as instances of an individual author's ideologically motivated "corruption" of "the (singular) text" is to imagine ancient scribal practices through the categories and precision standards familiar to tradition-independent, post-Gutenberg, print-oriented scholarship. But such a context is quite removed from the orally oriented, tradition-generated/enabled/dependent world in which early Christian texts were scribally reproduced (Foley 2002, 91-92, 130-33).

See also CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY; FORM CRITICISM; GOSPEL: GENRE; HISTORICISMS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY; REDACTION CRITICISM; SYNOPSIS PROBLEM; TEACHER.

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OSSUARIES. See BURIAL OF JESUS.

P

PARABLES

There is perhaps no more characteristic feature of the proclamation attributed to Jesus than that he spoke in parables, and no aspect of his teaching is more memorable and influential than these unassuming similes and vivid stories. Not surprisingly, the parables of Jesus have been the subject of much rigorous analysis, hermeneutical experimentation and not a little controversy. At the same time, the parables are regarded by most scholars of the critical era as that strand of tradition which perhaps more than any other sheds light on the Jesus of history, his aims, his *ethic and even his self-understanding.

1. The Parable Genre
2. Parables Attributed to Jesus and Their Placement and Use in the Gospels
3. Parables, Authenticity and the Historical Jesus
4. The History of Parable Interpretation
5. Interpreting the Parables

1. The Parable Genre.

It may be no exaggeration to say that the history of parable interpretation, for all its twists and turns, has been essentially a dispute over the genre. The contention attaches to the natural, if unfortunate, insistence that the parables of Jesus should be regarded in toto as one kind of speech, that what applies to one parable should apply with minimal variation to all others. But the diversity of parabolic speech forms resists an all-encompassing definition; it is not even obvious what teachings and sayings are to be included in the set. An inductive approach is to be preferred, noting the diversity of form and features within the broad corpus of Jesus' parables.

1.1. Terminology. While the Greek etymology of "parable," *parabolē*, is initially illustrative, the term itself is applied rather broadly. From *para* ("beside") and *bolē* (from *ballō*, "to cast"), the etymological image is of something cast beside something else, thus

a juxtaposition functioning as an illustrative comparison. This is the sense that the term bears already in its Attic usage in Plato and Aristotle (e.g., Aristotle, *Pol.* 1254b; *Rhet.* 2:20, where *parabolē* is classed with but distinguished from "fable"). In LXX usage, however, the specificity of the original image is largely obscured as the term comes into broader application. Especially significant is its use in the LXX to translate the Hebrew *māšāl*, accounting for thirty of its thirty-four occurrences. As such, the term encompasses a broad range of reference, describing a variety of aphoristic utterances: oracles (Num 23:7, 18; 24:3), sayings (1 Sam 10:12), proverbs (1 Sam 24:14; Prov 1:6; Eccl 12:9; Ezek 17:2; Sir 20:20) and taunts or derisive bywords (Deut 28:37; Jer 24:9; Ezek 16:44; Joel 2:17; Mic 2:4; Hab 2:6; Wis 5:4). Although in certain contexts *parabolē* refers to obscure or mysterious speech (Dan 12:8; Sir 39:2-3; 47:17), never is either *māšāl* or *parabolē* used of illustrative narratives of the sort that we have come to think of as parables. Even in the NT, the range of application is broad, including not only narrative parables (e.g., Mt 13:18; 21:33; Mk 4:2; 12:1; Lk 15:3; 19:11), but also a variety of sayings (e.g., Mt 24:32; Lk 4:23) or similes (e.g., Mt 13:31, 33).

1.2. Classifications. An interest arising especially from form-critical analyses of the parables is their categorization into types or forms. Classifications of the parables have employed a variety of criteria, from formal features, to subject matter, to narrative structural patterns, to supposed authenticity. In some respects, the parables themselves prove uncooperative for a neat categorization, as some of them straddle subgenres, but most interpreters find a taxonomy of three, or perhaps four, formal categories more or less adequate, ranging from the briefest sayings to the most extended narratives.

1.2.1. Aphorisms. The simplest utterances of Jesus termed "parables" are mere aphorisms (Mt 24:32 // Mk 13:28; Mk 7:15-17; Lk 4:23; 6:39; 21:29-30). Such

instances are continuous with the OT use of the term as a translation of *māšāl*.

1.2.2. *Similes*. Distinct from these few aphorisms are the more numerous similes (or similitudes), in which Jesus typically makes use of a concrete figure to illustrate a more abstract notion. A feature of Matthew's Gospel especially is the description of the kingdom as likened to figures and scenarios: "The kingdom of heaven is like [or, 'may be compared to'] . . ." (Mt 13:24, 31, 33, 44, 45, 47, 52; 18:23; 20:1; 22:2; 25:1; cf. Mk 4:26, 30; 13:34; Lk 6:48; 13:18, 20). Not all similitudes are introduced in the form of simile; in certain instances a comparative scenario is implicitly understood to be illustrative in function (e.g., Mk 2:19–20, 21–22). It should also be noted that to the extent that these extended similes offer a narration of action, however simple, with characters and outcomes, a sharp distinction from the narrative parables becomes less obvious.

1.2.3. *Narrative Parables*. Finally, there are narrative parables, stories of varying length and complexity that are most readily identified with the genre. It is here, however, that a second element frequently comes into play: the degree to which the story intends a signification outside of itself by means of characters and figures within the story. Among the narrative parables there are those that are thought to imply a rather high degree of external correspondence and those that are resistant altogether to that sort of interpretation. The former sometimes have been categorized imprecisely as "allegories," while the latter, all of them peculiar to Luke's Gospel, have, since A. Jülicher, been termed "example stories" (*Beispielergählungen*) (Lk 10:25–37; 12:13–21 [16:1–8]; 16:19–31; 18:9–14 [on which, see Tucker]). Furthermore, it has been customary to label the stories between these poles as "parables" proper. But the actual phenomena of the parables frustrate this neat taxonomy, for the narrative parables represent something more of a fluid continuum rather than categories per se. Moreover, the so-called example stories do not so much offer models of behavior, negatively or positively, as represent startling or quixotic scenarios for sake of provocation, a feature shared with parables that imply a more patent metaphorical level. By the same token, an absolute distinction between parables proper and allegories is untenable. The difference is of degree rather than of kind. As presented in the Gospels, leaving aside the question of authenticity, the parable of the sower (Mt 13:3–9 // Mk 4:3–10 // Lk 8:5–8) and of the wheat and the weeds (Mt 13:24–30)—the only two parables in the Gospels for which an explicit interpretation is offered (Mk 4:13–

20 par.; Mt 13:36–43)—clearly are treated as stories with networks of metaphorical correspondences. Yet, even these are not necessarily thoroughgoing allegories, as numerous elements of the stories are left uninterpreted. Meanwhile, with perhaps the exception of the example stories, the remaining narrative parables at least allow, if not even invite, certain metaphorical associations, especially when read in their narrative and intertextual contexts. Arguably, for example, parables such as the wicked tenants (Mt 21:33–46 // Mk 12:1–12 // Lk 20:9–19; cf. Is 5:1–7), the vineyard workers (Mt 20:1–16) and the lost son (Lk 15:11–32) are stories that resist relationship to the larger story of the Gospel or even of the Bible only by means of disregard for the storytelling milieu.

1.3. *Definition*. Only in light of this wide range of sayings, similes and diverse stories can a definition of parable be forged. Useful for its simplicity and general applicability is D. Stern's formulation "an allusive narrative which is told for an ulterior purpose" (Stern, 42). Rightly, this definition understands the referential character of parable without foreclosing unnecessarily on the nature of the allusion, and that parables are told for "ulterior purpose" nicely captures their rhetorical and performative character. Of course, however, not all of the parables of Jesus are narratives.

One can scarcely improve on the classic description by C. H. Dodd, which has served several generations of interpreters well despite their wide array of competing interpretive interests: "At its simplest a parable is a metaphor or simile drawn from nature or common life, arresting the hearer by its vividness or strangeness, and leaving the mind in sufficient doubt about its precise application to tease it into active thought" (Dodd, 5). Several features of this definition are worthy of notice, and in fact one notes in this 1936 description an almost prescient anticipation of future avenues of research. Formally, Dodd leaves open the possibility that both simile and metaphor might count as the raw material of the parable genre. Whereas Jülicher had rejected "metaphor" as an appropriate descriptive category for the parables of Jesus, Dodd's more expansive definition has proved felicitous, as numerous late-twentieth-century interpreters of the parables have explored the metaphorical character of the parables, albeit with a broader, more dynamic and literary definition. Likewise, Dodd captures well a characteristic feature of many parables: they are at once located in the familiar ("drawn from nature or common life") while also having a feature or features which strike the hearer-reader as atypical, unlikely or even absurd ("arresting the hearer by its vividness or strangeness"). Fi-

nally, the capacity of the parable by means of its “strangeness” and ambiguity to “tease” and provoke its audience existentially has been the particular feature of parables that has fueled parable scholarship of the second half of the twentieth century.

1.4. *Precedents and Analogues.* Though the parable form is a feature characteristic of the proclamation of Jesus, the genre is not unique to him. Indeed, one of the repeated missteps of parable scholarship has been too quickly to attribute novelty or uniqueness to Jesus, leaving aside relevant collections of materials that might make more transparent both the traditions that informed Jesus and those features of his parabolic teaching that are peculiar to him. Even if one wishes to regard Jesus as the master of the craft, it does not follow that parable telling is unique to him.

Already in the OT we find examples of “parable,” both narrative parables (Judg 9:7-15; 2 Sam 14:1-20; 2 Kings 14:9-10; Is 5:1-7) and the varieties of *měšālīm* noted above. The most famous and most analogous to the story parables of Jesus is the story of the ewe lamb. Through this parable the intrepid prophet Nathan confronts a guilty King David (2 Sam 12:1-4), an instructive example, evincing features that would also be characteristic of the parables of Jesus. In the first place, the story accomplishes its work by cloaking its ultimate referents in the figures of a rich man, a poor man and a ewe lamb. The story functions to draw David into an empathic identification by which he commits himself to a judgment—as it turns out, a harsh judgment against himself, the story’s “rich man.” This demonstrates a second feature: the story requires its hearer-readers to make certain simple identifications of figures internal to the story with persons outside, identifications on which the story depends for its effect. At the same time, to call the story an “allegory” would be to overstate the degree of figurative correspondence. There is, for example, nothing in David’s tryst with Bathsheba that corresponds to a traveler in need of hospitality (2 Sam 12:4). By the same token, the tender treatment of the ewe lamb in 2 Samuel 12:3 presumably intends no direct correspondence to Uriah’s relationship to Bathsheba other than to evoke a picture of deep affection. Beyond this, the preparation of the ewe lamb as food is markedly a mischaracterization of David’s treatment of Bathsheba, but is a metaphor revealing David’s sin in lurid terms. In short, the story functions to invite the hearer’s commitments by means of a figural narrative that has correspondences, but only in broad terms, with events external to the story. All of these features repeat themselves in many of Jesus’ narrative para-

bles, and the recognition of these same features might save interpreters from preemptive definitions insufficiently flexible to account for the actual phenomena of the parables.

Parables or parable-like stories are not unattested in the noncanonical or deuterocanonical literature of the Second Temple era. Few, if any, however, provide close analogies for the parables of Jesus. For example, the *Similitudes of 1 Enoch* (1 En. 37–71, sometimes called the “Book of Parables”) are stories that are apocalyptic in form and eschatological in substance, and that are both much longer and more elaborate than any parables of Jesus. Likewise, the Greco-Roman corpus is full of figurative tales and parabolic sayings that could be said to form a general background to Jesus’ parable; however, one finds here little that counts as a strong genre analogy to the parables of Jesus (Snodgrass).

The situation is different in the rabbinic corpus. While it would be too much to say that the rabbinic parables form the only or an exact genre analogy with the parables of Jesus, clearly they are the closest both in time and in form (Fiebig; McArthur and Johnston; Flusser; Stern). But, as is the case more generally, the rabbinic materials prove exceedingly hard to date with certainty, and thus their influence on the parables of Jesus is hard to demonstrate. Yet the following modest conclusions can be asserted with reasonable certainty. (1) Although most rabbinic parables post-date the parables of Jesus, at least some are likely to have preceded. (2) Although there are no clear lines of dependence, the rabbinic materials do suggest a milieu of figural and illustrative storytelling in which Jesus’ parables are properly located. (3) This being so, certain well-worn modern theses are shown to be dubious, especially that (a) any trace of allegory is owed to the early church rather than to Jesus, and (b) any concluding, postnarrative application (*nimšal*) of a parable is always secondary to the original parable. (4) Nonetheless, the parables of Jesus demonstrate unique features, being generally less adjudicatory and more provocative, more self-referential, and more eschatological than the rabbinic counterparts.

2. Parables Attributed to Jesus and Their Placement and Use in the Gospels.

2.1. *An Inventory of Jesus’ Parables.* A full accounting of the extant parables of Jesus depends somewhat on definition—that is, to what extent one counts a variety of figurative sayings or tropes as parables. In Table 1 a rather maximal definition is employed for sake of inclusion, acknowledging that the borders of the genre are disputed.

Table 1. Inventory of Parables in Synoptic and Noncanonical Gospels

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	Extracanonical
Parables in Mark and/or of the Triple Tradition				
Bridegroom's Guests	9:15	2:19-20	5:33-39	
Unshrunk Cloth	9:16	2:21	5:36	
New Wine	9:17	2:22	5:37-39	
Strong Man Bound	12:29-30	3:22-27	11:21-23	
Sower	13:1-9, 18-23	4:1-9, 13-20	8:4-8, 11-15	<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 9
Lamp and Measure		4:21-25	8:16-18	
Seed Growing Secretly		4:26-29		<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 21:4
Mustard Seed	13:31-32	4:30-32	13:18-19	<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 20:2
Wicked Tenants	21:33-46	12:1-12	20:9-19	<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 65-66
Budding Fig Tree	24:32-36	13:28-32	21:29-33	
Watchman		13:34-36	12:35-38	
Parables Common to Matthew and Luke (Q?)				
Wise and Foolish Builders	7:24-27		6:47-49	
Father and Children's Requests	7:9-11		11:11-13	
Two Ways/Doors	7:13-14		13:23-27	
Leaven	13:31-32		13:20-21	<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 96:1
Lost Sheep	18:12-14		15:1-7	<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 107
Feast	22:1-14		14:15-24	<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 64:1-2
Thief in the Night	24:42-44		12:39-40	
Stewards	24:45-51		12:42-46	
Talents and Pounds	25:14-30		19:11-27	
Parables Unique to Matthew				
Good and Bad Trees	7:16-20			
Dragnet	13:47-50			<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 8:1
Wheat and Weeds	13:24-30, 36-43			<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 57
Treasure	13:44			<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 109
Pearl	13:45-46			<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 76:1
Unmerciful Servant	18:23-35			

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	Extracanonial
Laborers in the Vineyard	20:1-16			
Two Sons	21:28-32			
Wise and Foolish Maidens	25:1-13			
Sheep and Goats	25:31-46			
Parables Unique to Luke				
Two Debtors			7:41-50	
Good Samaritan			10:25-37	
Friend at Midnight			11:5-8	
Entreating the Father			11:9-13	
Rich Fool			12:13-21	<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 63:1
Barren Fig Tree			13:6-9	
Tower Builder			14:28-30	
Warring King			14:31-33	
Lost Sheep			15:1-7	
Lost Coin			15:8-10	
Lost Son			15:11-32	
Dishonest Steward			16:1-8	
Rich Man and Lazarus			16:19-31	
Humble Servant			17:7-10	
Unjust Judge			18:1-8	
Pharisee and Tax Collector			18:9-14	
Parables Attested Only Outside the Canonical Gospels				
Children in the Field				<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 21:1-2
Empty Jar				<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 97
Assassin				<i>Gos. Thom.</i> 98
Palm Shoot				<i>Ap. Jas.</i> 6:8
Grain of Wheat				<i>Ap. Jas.</i> 6:11
Ear of Grain				<i>Ap. Jas.</i> 8:2

2.2. The Placement and Use of Parables in the Gospels. The inventory yields four observations.

First, parables are a phenomenon especially of the Synoptic tradition. John's Gospel is excluded from the inventory, not because it lacks extended metaphors altogether (e.g., Jn 10:1-18; 15:1-8), but because these are arguably of a different type than the parables of the Synoptic Gospels. For the Synoptic Gospels have both brief similes and extended narratives but not extended, nonnarrative similes of the sort found in John. Notably, the term *parabolē* is not found in John's Gospel (although cf. *paroimia* in Jn 10:6; 16:25, 29).

Second, among the Synoptic Gospels, Mark has the fewest parables, not surprisingly, given its briefer compass, of which only two are full-scale narrative parables: the parables of the sower and of the wicked tenants. Almost all of Mark's parables are paralleled in either Matthew or Luke, and most of them in both (parables of the so-called triple tradition), a datum consistent with the theory of Markan priority.

Third, the situation is quite different in Matthew and Luke, where parables abound, especially in Luke. On the assumption of Markan priority, both have retained almost all of the parabolic material in Mark and added to it significantly. Nine parables are paralleled in Matthew and Luke, exclusive of Mark, and for that reason are typically attributed to the Q source.

Fourth, both Matthew and Luke have a number of parables unique to each, Luke even more than Matthew. In Matthew one notes especially the drawing together of six additional parables of the kingdom in Matthew 13 around the parable of the sower: wheat and weeds; mustard seed; leaven; treasure in a field; valuable pearl; net. In Luke one notes a collection of at least fifteen unique parables, especially concentrated in the so-called travel narrative (Lk 9:51–19:44).

3. Parables, Authenticity and the Historical Jesus.

Within the precincts of modern biblical criticism, the parables represent a corpus of special interest, particularly to the extent that they serve as windows into the question of the historical Jesus (see *Quest of the Historical Jesus*). For a variety of reasons, the parables of Jesus are seen to constitute a historically plausible core to the Jesus tradition. The skeptical and controversial Jesus Seminar determined that five parables were beyond serious doubt as to authenticity and placed another sixteen parables in the category of "Jesus probably said something like this."

Thus, working with methods and assumptions notorious for yielding minimalist results, the Jesus Seminar found twenty-one of thirty-three parables attested in canonical and noncanonical sources to be undoubtedly authentic or most probably so, and twenty-one of twenty-seven of the canonically attested parables to be so, though not always the canonical form (Funk et al.). When it is remembered that only eighteen percent of the teaching material attributed to Jesus in the canonical Gospels was deemed by the Jesus Seminar as belonging to one of these two categories, the disparity with regard to the parables is notable. Meanwhile, mainstream NT scholarship as a whole is even less skeptical, while allowing for considerable reshaping of the material in the tradition process.

The reasons for the favorable evaluation of the parables' authenticity are several. (1) That parables are ubiquitous in the Synoptic tradition while comparatively uncharacteristic in the Second Temple literature and especially in early Christian sources satisfies the criterion of discontinuity (or dissimilarity). (2) The parable tradition also frequently satisfies the criterion of embarrassment. One notes the implacable difficulty of certain of the parables, with their apparent tolerance of injustices (Mt 13:44; 20:1-15; Lk 16:1-8), peevish protagonists (Lk 11:5-8; 18:2-5; 19:11-27), implausible scenarios (Mt 18:23-35; Lk 15:2-32) and figures unlikely for the kingdom of God (Mt 13; Mk 4; Lk 8). It is thus highly improbable that such parables are actually owed to the inventiveness of the early church. (3) With the parables' repeated witness to the *kingdom of God, sometimes by means of curious figures connoting an inaugurated *eschatology, the parable tradition satisfies the criteria both of coherence, by marking a characteristic theme in Jesus' ministry, and of discontinuity, by describing the reign of God in innovative terms. But the criterion of coherence is satisfied on grounds beyond the eschatologically themed message, including attestation to customs of Palestinian life, to opposition from the religious establishment, and to Jesus' embrace of the outcast. (4) More controversially, with the discovery of the *Coptic Gospel of Thomas* among the Nag Hammadi documents, certain parables previously attested only within the Synoptic tradition now enjoy a second attestation apart from the Synoptic Gospels (see 2.1 above), thus satisfying the criterion of multiple attestation. While it is true that the independence of the *Gospel of Thomas* from the Synoptic tradition is doubted by many, a number of scholars have maintained that the *Gospel of Thomas* wit-

nesses to arguably earlier (i.e., less allegorical) forms of the parables, forming an independent witness. Indeed, the discovery of the *Gospel of Thomas* further substantiates the authenticity of the parable tradition, which most had regarded as essentially secure in any case.

In short, the authenticity of the corpus of Jesus' parables is scarcely to be doubted. Even if it is conceded that the parables have undergone substantial reworking in their transmission from the preaching of Jesus to their later forms in the Gospels—and some scholars demur on this point (e.g., Blomberg)—the authenticity of the core of those traditions enjoys widespread assent. Not surprisingly, then, the analysis of parables has featured prominently in certain celebrated accounts of the historical Jesus. So intertwined, in fact, is the historical Jesus question with the exegesis of the parables that it might not be unfair to characterize much critical parable scholarship as tributary to the historical Jesus project.

4. The History of Parable Interpretation.

4.1. Precritical Interpretation. Although it is common, and in some degree justifiable, to describe the whole of premodern parable interpretation as “allegorical,” the label lacks sufficient specificity to be of much descriptive utility. If, as most now assume, exegesis consists in representing the intentions of Jesus or of the evangelists, it is self-evident that the allegorizing methods fail. If, however, exegesis concerns the creative exposition of Christian truth by means of biblical vehicles that have the capacity to bear more than their literal sense, then it is not hard to see the appeal of allegorical interpretation, even if its working presuppositions are now largely foreign to us. It was, after all, only to be expected that early and medieval interpreters, already accustomed to allegorical modes of interpretation of Scripture more generally, should do the same with the parables, which arguably by their form invite the exploration of a secondary level of meaning. The precedent in this case is the NT itself (Mt 13:24–30, 36–43; Mk 4:1–9, 13–20 par.). Moreover, the parable of the sower and its interpretation are presented as a sort of hermeneutical key to the interpretation of all parables, a clue that would lead many to assume that parables are coded and esoteric speech. That this is a dubious reading of Mark 4:10–12 (// Mt 13:10–17; Lk 8:9–10) does not change the fact that it is a plausible and influential reading that sets in motion a trajectory of parable interpretation only overturned at the end of the nineteenth century.

Yet the continuity between the relatively modest allegorical interpretations of the NT parables and the sort of theological allegorization of later Christian interpreters should not be overestimated (contra Hedrick; Crossan 2012). The textbook example of allegorization in full flower is Augustine's at once notorious and ingenious interpretation of the good Samaritan (*Quaest. ev.* 2.19). Here, seemingly every detail of the parable finds an anachronistic theological or ecclesial corollary. The journeying man is Adam; Jerusalem is the heavenly city of peace; Jericho (meaning “moon” that is born, waxes, wanes and dies) signifies human mortality. The thieves are the devil and his angels, “stripping” man of immortality and in “beating him” persuading him to sin. The priest and Levite are the priesthood and ministration of the old covenant, impotent for salvation. The Samaritan (which means “guardian”) is the Lord himself. The binding of wounds is the restraint of sin, oil the comfort of good hope, and wine the exhortation to work with a fervent spirit. The beast is flesh, and being “set upon it” is belief in the incarnation. The inn of convalescence is the church; the “morrow” is the time beyond the resurrection; the innkeeper is the apostle Paul. The two pence paid are either the two love commands or the promise of this life and of life eternal. Finally, the “supererogatory” payment “whatever more you spend” represents Paul's counsel of celibacy or his voluntary working with his own hands though he was entitled to compensation for his ministry.

While this example is often rehearsed and implicitly ridiculed, rarely noticed (although see Crossan 2012) is that elsewhere Augustine appeals to the literal sense of the same parable, applying it straightforwardly to the Christian moral obligation to love of neighbor (*Doctr. chr.* 1.31, 33). These contrasting interpretations confirm that, contrary to modern practice, Augustine's aim in biblical interpretation was not first historical and reproductive, but rather fully occasional and rhetorical, and that the literal sense, if basic, did not exhaust the text's potential to speak. Moreover, as S. Wailes has ably demonstrated, the allegorizations of the medieval era were not all of one sort, however much different in kind they would be from the interpretations of the critical era. In any case, even the more literally minded Reformers would only restrain, not escape, the allegorizing impulse (Kissinger).

4.2. Interpretation in the Critical Era.

4.2.1. The Jülicher Revolution and Response. Although his approach to the parables was anticipated by other interpreters, no NT scholar had approached

the parables of Jesus with the critical rigor of A. Jülicher, whose massive two-volume contribution is universally recognized as marking a transition into the critical era of parable interpretation. The center of Jülicher's claim was that the parables of Jesus had been obscured and mistaken for allegories, when in fact they are no such thing. The seminal error is to mistake parables for metaphor or complex extended metaphors. But, in Jülicher's view, this was to cast Jesus as a clever sophist, speaking in puzzles and opaque figures, when, quite the opposite, he was a rather simpler teacher, speaking straightforwardly and without pretense. Thus, Jülicher rejected not only the church's subsequent allegorizing interpretation of the parables but also, as inauthentic, the allegorical impulses evident in Gospel forms of the parables. To the contrary, a parable should be thought to make but one simple point by means of a *tertium comparationis* (i.e., a point of similarity), usually yielding for Jülicher a moralistic maxim. Complex correspondences between the parable and the world external to it are not the intent of Jesus, but rather are the legacy of the evangelists carried forward with unbridled zeal by generations of Christian parable interpreters. On this foundation—the rejection of allegory and the one-point premise—nearly a century of critical parable interpretation would be built, sometimes with a surprisingly facile acquiescence to Jülicher's conclusions.

To be sure, however, Jülicher's thesis did not go unchallenged (Kissinger; Blomberg). Most prominently, P. Fiebig explored a surprising lacuna in Jülicher's research: the parables of the rabbinic literature—first the *mēšālīm* of the Mekilta (1904) and then of the Talmud (1912) (see Rabbinic Traditions and Writings). While Fiebig notes the qualitative distinctions between the parables originating in the Tannaim and those of Jesus, he maintains that it is impossible to understand the parables of Jesus without giving an account of those of his near contemporaries. Jülicher's analysis is vulnerable on other fronts as well, not least for a wooden understanding of metaphor and for the implausibility of a singular point of comparison when applied rigidly to actual parables. But perhaps the chief failure is the lack of distinction between interpretations that allegorize and the form of the parable itself, sometimes bearing modest allegorical features. It is not an overstatement to say that little of Jülicher's program has withstood close scrutiny, save for the repudiation of Christian allegorical exegesis. Nonetheless, the notion that parables make but one point and the view that the intent of the historical Jesus is the proper

object of interpretation remain axiomatic even among interpreters whose critical sensibilities are at variance from Jülicher's.

4.2.2. *The Eschatological Turn.* Jülicher's dismantling of the allegorical approach to the parables was not only thoroughgoing but also influential. For better or worse, it secured a hermeneutical commitment to read parables as reconstructed utterances of the historical Jesus. The authenticity of the parables being generally granted, the parables would provide a privileged window into the proclamation of the Jesus of history. But it is here that Jülicher's conclusions, over against his methods, were found least satisfying, with parables yielding bland maxims of application notorious for their historical nonparticularity. Rightly, then, the history of parable interpretation in the critical era focuses its attention on two giants who, though heirs of the Jülicher tradition, sought a more robust theological harvest: C. H. Dodd and J. Jeremias.

Notably, Dodd found in the parables a stark alternative to the thoroughgoing eschatology of A. Schweitzer. Building explicitly on Jülicher's principles, Dodd argued that in their originating contexts—those being distinct from their reapplications in the canonical Gospels—the parables bear witness to the inaugurated presence of the kingdom in the mission and ministry of Jesus, that is, to Jesus' so-called realized eschatology. Dodd sought to demonstrate that the kingdom of God stands at the center of Jesus' proclamation, and that the kingdom there revealed is not Schweitzer's notion of a mistakenly imminent and strictly apocalyptic kingdom but rather a mysteriously present reign in which God summons humankind within the context of history.

With a similar theological result, but more methodological rigor, Jeremias accounted for the parables as depicting "an eschatology in the process of realization" (Jeremias, 230). As with Dodd, the question of eschatology saturated Jeremias's account of the parables, sometimes intrusively. But in certain respects, his more enduring contribution was a tradition-critical paradigm for the transmission of the parables, a paradigm that would achieve a nearly canonical status in parable study of the second half of the twentieth century. Jeremias argued that ten "principles of transformation" were observable in the transmission of the parables from their original setting in the life of Jesus to their recording in the Synoptic Gospels decades later: (1) the translation of parables from Aramaic to Greek; (2) representational changes that accord with the new Hellenistic environment; (3) embellishments of scale and detail; (4) the influ-

ence of OT and folk story on the shaping of material; (5) changes of audience, especially from opponents of Jesus to the church; (6) the church's application of originally eschatologically themed parables to hortatory uses; (7) the influence of the church's later exigencies of mission and the delay of parousia; (8) allegorization toward hortatory use; (9) the influence of collections of parables, including the fusion of some parables with each other; (10) new settings for parables including the attaching of generalizing conclusions and universal meanings.

Worked out in detail with numerous examples and, in later editions, with the aid of the newly discovered Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* as comparative material, Jeremias's position won a substantial consensus within critical scholarship. His study proved to be a classic. In ten German editions and three in English translation, popularized in an abridged version, it arguably became the most influential work on the parables of the twentieth century. But several of Jeremias's confident assertions did not endure further examination without challenge or qualification. His strict opposition of Palestinian Judaism to Hellenism did not stand the test of time. His insistence that virtually every parable is originally eschatological in character often looks like an imposition. And numerous later scholars came to see that the wholesale rejection of allegorical features in the parables was unsustainable in the face of the evidence. Nonetheless, though flawed in certain important respects, Jeremias's study remains indispensable for the serious study of the parables.

4.2.3. *The Hermeneutical and Linguistic Turn.* The middle of the twentieth century marks a transition in the study of parables. If, in broad terms, the first half of the century witnessed the rigorous historical interests pioneered by Jülicher and epitomized in Jeremias's landmark contribution, the second half turned to interests more overtly hermeneutical, aesthetic and literary in character (on which, see Perrin; Blomberg; Gowler; Wright). In truth, historical-critical methods continue apace and in certain regards even fund more aesthetic interests. Nonetheless, beginning especially in the 1960s, the parables became a natural site for various hermeneutical experimentations. Characteristic and pioneering are the treatment of the parables in the context of the "new hermeneutic" by scholars such as E. Jüngel, E. Fuchs and R. Funk. Stressing the dynamic event character of the speech in general, the new hermeneutic found in the "language event" of the parable a performative speech event that is irreducible to a propositional re-presentation. Thus, in some sense equally mistaken are both the

older allegorizing approaches and the more recent critical habit of reducing the parables to illustrations of a single point. The parables are not illustrations, as if their existential force was incidental to and separable from their form.

Closely related to the new hermeneutic was the recovery of metaphor as a literary category that could yield insight to the dynamics of the parable genre. Under the influence of literary theorists A. Wilder and P. Ricoeur and the biblical scholar R. Funk, among others, the creative, generative open-endedness of the parables was explored as metaphorical in character. As such, the parable, like metaphor, bears on the hearer-reader to participate in its resolution. Parables, thus, less convey meaning than they create the possibilities for it. From this vantage point, the reduction of parables to a network of symbolic code, as in the allegorizing method, or as a generalizing maxim in the one-point approach, is a fundamental betrayal of their form and their genius. In this regard, it became increasingly important to insist that the parables were not merely tools of conflict in the ministry of Jesus, but rather a means by which Jesus' hearers, then and now, find themselves confronted with reversal of expectations yielding new possibilities of existence. Writing later, J. Crossan memorably contrasted the parable with its counterparts: "Myth establishes world. Apologue defends world. Action investigates world. Satire attacks world. Parable subverts world" (Crossan 1975, 42).

Similar in outcome are those approaches to parables located in more aesthetic and more specified literary concerns. Notably, D. Via protested the "severely historical" approach characteristic of the Jülicher-Jeremias paradigm along with its reduction of the parable to single point. To the contrary, Via proposes that parables be viewed as autonomous aesthetic objects, and he exploits the tools of literary criticism toward their interpretation. In this vein there followed a succession of engagements with the parables that were more or less experimental in character. M. Tolbert explored the parables by means of semiotics in an argument for their intrinsic polyvalence. Literary structuralism enjoyed a brief experimental phase in the 1970s, and, as might be expected, it largely yielded its ground to poststructuralism or other deconstructive approaches, not least under the auspices of Crossan, whose wide-ranging forty-year career of parable research can almost be read in succession as the state of the question.

4.2.4. *Recent Trends.* If preceding eras of critical interpretation can be broadly characterized histori-

cist and hermeneutical, respectively, the last several decades are not so readily thematized. To a significant extent, many of the most important contributions, rather than venturing into new territory, offer some sort of critique or new synthesis, moderating and consolidating the gains of previous research. A notable trend in this respect is the cautious and circumscribed rehabilitation of the allegorical approach to the parables. Although anticipated by others (e.g., Boucher), C. Blomberg's introduction to the parables (first published in 1990) is perhaps the most vigorous recent rebuttal of Jülicher's rejection of allegory and his enshrinement of the singular point of comparison. To the contrary, Blomberg argues that the parables are inherently allegorical, though in a rather limited and constrained sense. Each key figure of the parable makes extratextual reference to corresponding figures or notions outside the text, with the result that, for example, a parable with three main characters (or sets of characters) will yield three theological "points." Although the model has been criticized as wooden, a return to an overly propositional account of the parables, Blomberg's survey of the field, his refutation of the one-point approach, and the argument on behalf of modest account of parable as allegory serve as useful correctives, especially in an evangelical context that has been curiously beholden to the one-point maxim (e.g., Stein).

Several important recent studies (e.g., Hultgren; Snodgrass) are distinguished by their comprehensive synthesis of prior research and the studied rejection of the idiosyncratic pendulum swings of earlier programs. These voices of moderation have now general disavowed the hegemony of Jülicher's single-point approach. Moreover, less and less is the reconstruction of the most original form or structure of the parable seen to be the object of parable interpretation, and increasingly the Gospels' supply of literary context is explored rather than circumvented. Nonetheless, the reintegration of the parables into their literary contexts in the Gospels remains a work in progress (*see* Narrative Criticism). If the first impulse of the critical era of parable interpretation was to recover the starkest alternative to ecclesial allegorizing, the setting in life of the historical Jesus, the reintegration of the parables into their canonical literary contexts would eventually follow larger trends in NT scholarship. Marking the transition from form to redaction criticism, a number of studies explored the characteristic tendencies of the evangelists in their use of parables within the literary objectives of the Gospels (Kingsbury; Drury; Donahue). This is followed by an even

more overt synchronic interest in studies that, following the interests of narrative criticism, seek to explore the dynamic interplay of the parables when they are constituents of the larger Gospel narratives (Carter and Heil; Olmstead; Forbes).

Other recent studies betray a more ethical concern by attending to the socioeconomic dynamics of the parables. For example, W. Herzog's account of the parables casts Jesus after P. Freire's "pedagogue of the oppressed," who by means of parable draws attention to structural injustice, empowering a status reversal. Not unexpectedly, Herzog must circumvent the literary settings of the Gospels, and even then few have been convinced of these readings, distinct from their political utility, as interpretations of Jesus. Nonetheless, that socioeconomic exigencies form a context for the parables of Jesus is patent, and not a few recent studies have explored this dimension (e.g., Schottroff).

5. Interpreting the Parables.

Desirable though it may be, a comprehensive guide to the interpretation of the parables will remain elusive, depending as it does on the prior commitments of the interpreter. While few if any contemporary exegetes will defend patristic and medieval allegorizing as an exegetical strategy, many are now rightly aware that Jülicher was guilty of a severe overcorrection. Nonetheless, the question remains as to whether the parable to be interpreted is a reconstructed verbal artifact of the historical setting of Jesus' ministry, the parable offered in the canonical Gospels replete with its contextual setting, or a parable essentially autonomous from history or text that meets the hearer-reader new in its every performance. Each claim has its own plausibility, each interpretive task its own integrity. Historical, if not theological, interest might call one to the horizon of the Jesus of history, but the privileging of that horizon to the derogation of that of the Gospels implies a theological commitment that many cannot follow. Moreover, the Gospels offer not only the most stable, but also, for the Christian church, the normative form and setting for the parable, by means of which the parables are to be understood, on the one hand, and brought into a robust relationship with the canonical narratives, on the other hand. This is not to claim that the parable has an inconsequential prehistory before we encounter its fixed canonical form, but rather to claim that it cannot be assumed that the reconstruction of that tradition history usurps the canonical form, of which both the parable and its literary context are constituents. While no one

ought to deny the parables' existential force, it remains necessary that their interpretation be rooted in networks of context, both historical and literary.

In the absence of a methodological consensus, the following modest parameters are offered with respect to durable questions confronting the interpreter of the parables.

5.1. Allegory. As it concerns the vexed question of allegory, the rigid absolutism of Jülicher can no longer be maintained; nor is the only other option the theological allegorizing of previous eras. Rather, the primary figures of the parable will frequently, though not as a rule, stand in a referential relation to entities of the external world. The justification of this relationship rests not only in the tendencies of the genre, but also in the literary-cultural milieu of Judaism, in which certain characters and figures serve as stock symbols. Thus, while each parable ought to be judged on its own merits, readers can expect authority figures (kings, fathers, judges, etc.) to depict *God (if even sometimes problematically) and subordinates (servants, laborers, stewards, children, widows, etc.) to stand for persons or groups and types of persons, not infrequently bifurcated as the good or wise over against the evil or foolish. This is not to allegorize the parable, but rather merely to follow its own conventions with sensitivity to genre and milieu.

5.2. The Single Point. If an understandable corrective, the single-point approach is now rightly understood to be artificially limiting. It makes no sense, for example, to ask with regard to the lost son whether it is the returned son's restoration, the father's mercy, or the older son's bitter obduracy that is "the point" of the parable (Lk 15:11-32). While it is an improvement to expand interpretation so as to assign a "point" to each character (Blomberg), such an approach, for all its schematic discipline, is still too much indebted to a static view of the parables that requires them to yield "points," whether one or several. It will be more fruitful to recognize that most parables, arguably all of the narrative parables, traffic in both the commonplace and the unexpected. Capturing then the parable's thrust is aided in no small measure by discerning what features of the parable are the "world as we know it" and which describe actions atypical or even bizarre from the vantage point of parable's cultural setting. It is antecedently probable that a special force of emphasis attends the latter as it is set in relief against the backdrop of the former. Thus, a *Samaritan exercising costly care to the object of natural contempt, a father running to embrace a son who shamed him, a mas-

ter commending an embezzling manager, workers who labored twelve hours being paid no more than those who labored but one hour—these intend to arrest the reader and to spark reflection that reckons with their significance.

5.3. Eschatology. While Jesus' eschatology—his vision of the inaugurated reign of God—is central to his teaching, and the *kingdom of God is the explicit subject of numerous parables, interpreters are under no obligation to insist that every parable expounds the kingdom of God per se (although even less plausible is C. Hedrick's claim that none of them do). Rather, we might rightly note that the parables naturally reference a conceptual framework and values coherent with the kingdom that Jesus preaches and enacts, but this is different than the oft-repeated claim, going back to Dodd and Jeremias, that the kingdom of God is the express subject matter of every parable. To the contrary, parables that intend to depict that kingdom and give it pictorial and narrative expression are entirely explicit in this regard.

5.4. Structure. While attention to literary structure is relevant for the exegesis of any biblical text, careful study of the parables in this regard may prove especially fruitful (Scott; Bailey 1976; 1980). Akin to folk story, the parable will have features of patterned narration that establish the focus by means of repetition and contrast. Under Semitic influence, the parables may display composition in concentric, ring or chiasmic patterns. This sort of analysis can be overdone or some interpreters over-committed to its significance, but it will nevertheless repay the interpreter to pay close attention to the phenomenon of literary structure.

5.5. Literary Context. If the horizon of interpretation is the parable as it is narrated within the Gospels, the reader typically will find multiple coordinates that come to the aid of specifying a parable's particular use in its literary context. To be sure, separating the wheat of the parables from the chaff of their (allegedly later and secondary) settings was the preoccupation of much critical parable scholarship. But these same settings can just as well be exploited as excised, especially if the object of parable interpretation is construed as a subspecies of Gospel exegesis rather than tradition criticism or research on the historical Jesus. Audiences and introductions to the parables (e.g., Lk 15:1-2; 16:1; 18:1, 9) will frequently orient the reading of the parable in a particular direction. For example, that both a group of sinners and tax collectors and a group of Pharisees and scribes are listening to the parables of Luke 15 prepares the reader to identify the prodigal son and

his older brother with characters in the audience. By the same token, that Luke 18:1 introduces the persistent widow as an incentive “to pray and not lose heart” gives reading direction to a parable susceptible to other readings. Even more explicit are the frequent concluding sayings that follow the parable proper (akin to the *nimšal* of the rabbinic parables). In these sayings Jesus offers explicit application that, while not exhausting the parable’s interpretation, gives direction to it. Some literary context is less direct yet significant for interpretation, especially the collocation of parables with each other or with other teaching, or a parable’s embeddedness in a larger narrative in a mutually interpretive relationship.

5.6. Polyvalence. It is a feature of the parables that they involve the active participation of the listener in the reckoning of their meaning and to a degree beyond what is typical for more straightforward forms of speech. If for no other reason than this variable of listener participation, it can be argued that the parables are intrinsically polyvalent, bearing multiple senses and resisting a singular determinate meaning. That the “same” (or genetically related) parables are put to multiple uses in the Synoptic Gospels is thought by many to be a verification of this claim (Tolbert). But the nature of the parables’ polyvalence can be qualified by means of two clarifications. First, the alleged polyvalence of the parables (they are susceptible to multiple, equally valid interpretations) should not be confused for their complexity (that their meaning is not simplex, reducible to competing, finite propositions). To note that the meaning of the parables is complex, textured and subject to multiple interests is not to say that their meaning is indeterminate. Second, that different performances of a parable (e.g., historical Jesus, early church orality, Gospel redaction, liturgical and homiletical) draw attention to diverse meanings or even to mutually exclusive meanings is rather more a function of the variation of performance than it is a claim that any given performance is radically indefinite or polyvalent. Thus, it can be argued that the polyvalence of the parables is best accounted for as a function of their self-involving character, on the one hand, and as the aggregate of their multiple performances, on the other hand. Thus, the claim that the parables are polyvalent is then less a claim with respect to any particular performance (which frequently evidences a specificity of intent) than it is a claim regarding their open-ended character and capacity for multiple uses.

See also CHREIA/APHORISM; ESCHATOLOGY; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN.

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PARACLETE. See HOLY SPIRIT.

PASSION NARRATIVE

The passion narrative is the dramatic story portraying and interpreting the events of Jesus' suffering and *death. In the Synoptic Gospels the account of the Jewish plot against Jesus' life during the Feast of Unleavened Bread is usually regarded as the beginning point of the passion narrative; its finale is marked by Jesus' *burial. Thus, the passion narrative in the Synoptic Gospels is found in Matthew 26—27; Mark 14—15; Luke 22—23. The parameters of the Johannine account are less easily determined, for material otherwise found in the Synoptic passion narrative is scattered throughout John 10—19. The extant remains of the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter* (ca.

A.D. 125) constitute a narrative of Jesus' passion and resurrection, beginning with the story of Jesus before Pilate (see Pontius Pilate). According to longstanding and widely held views, the story of Jesus' suffering and death was the first among the developing Gospel traditions to achieve written form.

1. The Formation of the Passion Narrative
2. The Role of the Old Testament in the Passion Narrative
3. The Genre of the Passion Narrative

1. The Formation of the Passion Narrative.

The origins of the passion narrative have been widely debated (see Brown, 1:46-93; 2:1492-1524; Carroll and Green, 17-19; Green, 9-14). Early in the twentieth century form critics observed the passion narrative's relative self-sufficiency and coherence, its chronological and topographical cohesion and the fundamental correspondence of narrative sequence among the four Gospel accounts—all easily observed in a Gospel synopsis (see Form Criticism). They found that, unlike other Gospel segments, this one did not dissolve easily into component parts. On this basis they insisted on the existence of a connected story of Jesus' passion long before the composition of the Gospels. From this consensus arose widely divergent opinions regarding the narrative's sources, content and purpose. One particularly widespread thesis postulated an evolutionary, multi-stage process of growth, from a primitive outline (such as Mk 10:33-34; Acts 13:27-29; or 1 Cor 15:3-5) to a short account beginning with Jesus' arrest. Additional materials were thought to have been appended to this brief story to achieve the expanded narratives of our four Gospels. A number of multi-source theories have also been championed.

Beginning with the 1960s, however, the whole notion of a primitive narrative of Jesus' passion was called into question. A few independent passion traditions might have existed from earliest times, it was alleged, but Mark composed the first passion account from beginning to end. W. Kelber developed this view further, arguing that Mark constructed the first passion narrative largely from OT texts and reflection on the OT against the backdrop of Jesus' execution (see Old Testament in the Gospels; Typology). This basic thesis claims a number of adherents, especially in North America.

This is not to say, however, that study of the early formation of the passion narrative has ceased. Since the 1980s, especially in German-language study, a number of proposals have taken up those earlier, form-critical observations and developed them with

greater sophistication. Drawing on source- and redaction-critical inquiry, research on the literary forms of antiquity and observations regarding the enigma of Jesus' death in its milieu, these scholars have supported with renewed vigor the probability of an early, written, self-contained passion narrative underlying the passion narratives of Mark and John (e.g., Mohr; Myllykoski; Reinbold). (Many scholars have abandoned the earlier view that Lk 22–23 appropriated an extended passion source other than Mk 14–15 [see the survey in Harrington].) These studies have tended more and more to move away from earlier attempts to juxtapose theological and historical interests, recognizing instead the inevitable grounding of theological discourse in historical memories and accounts of Jesus' passion (see Sommer) (see *Historicisms and Historiography*). Several studies have focused on the formation of the passion story within the context of early Christian *worship—for example, the commemoration of the death of Jesus by Christians during the Jewish Passover celebration (Trocme), the regular celebration of the Lord's Supper (Green) or more generally the cultic practices of early Christian communities (Aitken) (see *Last Supper*).

J. D. Crossan also supports the idea of a primitive, self-contained narrative of Jesus' passion. His point of departure, however, is the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter*, which he regards as best embodying this primitive passion account (see *Gospels: Apocryphal*). For him, the first passion story was practically devoid of historical reminiscence, but was created under the influence of passion prophecy. Scholars have countered by questioning Crossan's understanding of passion prophecy (see 2.1 below) and by demonstrating the dependence of the *Gospel of Peter* on one or more NT Gospels, rather than the other way around (e.g., Brown, 2:1317–49).

With the influx of newer literary-based methods into Gospels research (see *Narrative Criticism*), questions concerning the origins and development of the passion narrative have been eclipsed in many circles. This has led to a healthy emphasis on understanding the theology of the passion narratives within their larger Gospel contexts (already Senior 1984; 1985; 1989; 1991; also Karris; Van Oyen and Shepherd).

2. The Role of the Old Testament in the Passion Narrative.

2.1. The Old Testament: Creative Agent? Kelber and Crossan are only two among many voices arguing that the passion story was either largely or entirely created out of OT texts, as a kind of *midrash

on OT texts understood as prophecies of Jesus' passion. According to this thesis, early Christians knew almost nothing of the events of Jesus' suffering and death, so they turned to the OT for information and inspiration.

An initial query that might be raised against this theory: in the context of hermeneutics in late Judaism, was it a matter of course that narratives were worked up from OT texts? In other words, was the procedure posited by Kelber and Crossan commonplace in the interpretive milieu of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity? In fact, research on this question points to a negative verdict (e.g., Moo; cf. Goodacre). Indeed, studies of the use of the OT at Qumran (see *Dead Sea Scrolls*), among apocalypticists (see *Apocalypticism and Apocalyptic Teaching*) and in postbiblical historiography indicate that the direction of influence was primarily from event to Scripture rather than vice versa. Biblical texts were adapted to fit events more readily than were events created to fit biblical texts.

Those who regard the passion narrative as a midrash on selected OT texts must overcome the additional obstacle presented by the narrative itself. Biblical references abound in the passion narrative, but they follow no discernible pattern as might have been expected if they were determined by an OT passage or passages. Although some OT texts reappear in the passion story (e.g., Ps 22; Is 53), "the biblical allusions in the passion narrative have almost no continuity and seldom concern the same book twice in succession, while the themes vary from one allusion to the next" (Trocme, 58).

Still further, we should note that not every aspect of the passion story can be accounted for by an appeal to the creative role of the OT. A list of such elements in Mark might include the *anointing at Bethany (Mk 14:3–9), the singing of a hymn after the Last Supper (Mk 14:26), the sword incident at the arrest (Mk 14:47), the reference to the fire at the courtyard (Mk 14:54), the mention of Simon of Cyrene and his two sons (Mk 15:21), the hour scheme at the cross (Mk 15:25, 33) and the tearing of the temple veil (Mk 15:38). Clearly, factors beyond the influence of the OT were at work in the formation of the passion narrative.

Finally, evidence from the Gospel passion narratives themselves supports the conclusion that passion events were primarily interpreted by, not created from, the OT. For example, just as Psalm 41:9 explains the problem raised by Judas Iscariot (cf. Mk 14:18; Jn 13:18), so Zechariah 13:7 justifies the flight of the disciples (Mt 26:31, 56; Mk 14:27, 50). For this

reason, some have judged that the citation of Zechariah was placed on Jesus' lips by the early church. Even if this were true, however, it remains evident that the reason for doing so would have been to downplay the scandalous character of the disciples' flight at Jesus' arrest. If Jesus' suffering and death were God's will, why did the disciples flee? According to Zechariah 13:7, this too was foretold as part of the divine plan. That is, a historical event, the flight of the disciples, gave rise to a riddle that was solved with recourse to the OT. The OT interpreted, but did not create, this problematic event.

To give an example of a different sort, a number of canonical and extracanonical texts demonstrate that it was understood that Jesus was secured to the cross with nails (Jn 20:25; Acts 2:23; Col 2:14; *Gos. Pet.* 6:21; Justin, *Dial.* 97; and perhaps Lk 24:39) (see Death of Jesus). Aside from the fact that this detail has a good claim to being historically accurate, it is remarkable that, in not mentioning this detail in the crucifixion story itself, early Christians bypassed an opportunity to show one more substantial intersection between the fate of the suffering righteous in Psalm 22 and Jesus. In Psalm 22:16 (LXX 21:17) we read, "they pierced my hands and feet." It is true that the reading of the (possibly corrupt) Masoretic Text would not have suggested this correspondence ("as a lion my hands and feet"), but elsewhere in the passion story references to Psalm 22 employ the Greek version. If the passion narrative depended heavily on the creative role of the OT, we might have expected "passion prophecy" to have rendered this connection explicit.

If the best way to describe the relationship of the OT to the passion narrative is not with reference to its creative role, what is a more appropriate explanation?

2.2. The Old Testament: Interpretive Agent. One way of grappling with the crucial role of the OT in the passion narrative is to begin by recognizing the enigma of Jesus' death. Jesus' public humiliation and execution on a cross ran counter to practically every strand of first-century A.D. messianic expectation. The cross of Christ constituted a scandal of no mean proportions. How could it be explained? The answer could be cast only in terms of God's will, his redemptive plan, and it was to the OT that early Christians went in search of ways of making sense of the death of their Messiah.

In the process of working out the significance of Jesus' death in a narrative context, early Christians employed the OT at a number of levels. In some cases they incorporated direct citations of OT materials into the passion story (e.g., Lk 22:37, citing Is

53:12; Mk 15:34, citing Ps 22:1). In other instances allusions to OT texts were woven into the narrative material. Thus, for example, language from Isaiah 50:6 has been borrowed in the account of Jesus' mockery in Matthew 27:30; Mark 15:19; John 19:1, 3. In this way, Jesus is identified typologically as the Isaianic *Servant of Yahweh.

The framers of the passion tradition were not interested in specific OT texts only. These Christians were convinced that, whatever God's plans for redemption were, they were all fulfilled in Jesus. Hence, in the passion narrative we read that "the Son of Man will go just as it is written about him" (Mk 14:21) or "the Son of Man will go as it has been decreed" (Lk 22:22) (see Son of Man). Probably, these are not allusions to specific OT texts, but rather intentionally general references to the divine will as this is manifest in the OT.

Moreover, throughout the passion narratives we find evidences of the interpretation of Jesus' suffering and death along larger, typological lines (see Typology). For example, in many ways the passion accounts portray Jesus against the interpretive framework of the Suffering Servant of the Lord. "Like the Servant, Jesus (1) is God's chosen one who will complete his mission through suffering; (2) willingly submits to his divine mission; (3) is innocent; (4) maintains his silence; (5) dies 'for many'; (6) is 'handed over'; (7) is abused; (8) is 'numbered with transgressors'; (9) anticipates his vindication; and (10) is vindicated after maltreatment" (Green, 317-18). Similarly, especially in the Markan and Matthean passion accounts, Jesus is the suffering righteous one.

By these means we are instructed that, far from being a contradiction of the divine will, far from being an inexplicable puzzle in redemptive history, Jesus' suffering and death happened according to God's will. Whether by slightest allusion or explicit citation, the use of the OT in the passion story underscores the necessity of Jesus' death in God's salvific plan.

3. The Genre of the Passion Narrative.

The centrality of the passion of Jesus to redemptive history is suggested not only by the use of the OT in its interpretation, but also by the genre within which it is related. In fact, the genre, or literary form, of this story is a significant indicator of the passion narrative's meaning and antiquity.

Recent studies in genre have isolated a traditional literary schema known to some as the genre of "court conflict," to others as the "story of the vindication of the innocent sufferer" (see Crossan, 297-334;

Nickelsburg, esp. 249-79). Set against a legal or royal setting, the protagonists in these stories are recognized for their outstanding qualities; their lives are endangered, usually through evil schemes; though innocent, they are persecuted; and finally, they are vindicated. In earlier examples of this genre (e.g., the story of Joseph [Gen 37—42]) the protagonist is rescued from death; however, with time, the genre was transformed so that vindication comes after death (e.g., 2 Macc 7; Wis 2; 4—5). Significantly, within the development of this genre, Isaiah 52:13—53:12, which combines the twin motifs of vindicated innocence and vicarious death, comes to play a pivotal role.

The parallels between this genre and the passion narratives of our Gospels are remarkable. They demonstrate further the possibility of an early, self-contained passion narrative constructed along the lines of this readily available literary convention. Moreover, they underscore the intimate relation of Jesus' passion with God's redemptive activity, and especially with the interpretation of innocent death found in Isaiah 52:13—53:12.

See also BURIAL OF JESUS; DEATH OF JESUS; GETHSEMANE; LAST SUPPER; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; SERVANT OF YAHWEH; TRIAL OF JESUS.

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PASSOVER, PASSOVER LAMB. See FEASTS; LAMB OF GOD; LAST SUPPER.

PATRISTIC INTERPRETATION. See GOSPELS; HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION.

PATTERNS AND THEMES, OLD TESTAMENT. See OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS.

PEACE

As the horrific slaughter in Matthew's *birth narrative (Mt 2:16-18) reminds us, the threat of violence loomed large in first-century Judea. Hence, when the Gospels speak of the peace brought by Jesus, this is not a reference to inner tranquility. On the contrary, their message must be understood primarily

in the context of concrete social and political strife. Only in the Gospel of John do we find a concept that resembles the modern notion of inner peace.

1. Peace (*eirēnē*)
2. Synoptic Tradition
3. Gospel of John

1. Peace (*eirēnē*).

In the NT the word “peace” (*eirēnē*) indicates more than the absence of war. Like the Hebrew word *šālôm*, for which it serves as a translation throughout the LXX, *eirēnē* is used to connote harmony, wholeness and well-being (Ridgway, 94-142; Dinkler). In the OT, *šālôm* included “everything necessary to healthful living: good health, a sense of well-being, good fortune, the cohesiveness of the community, relationship to relatives and their state of being, and anything else deemed necessary for everything to be in order” (Westermann, 24 [cf. Brueggemann, 13-23]). Echoes of this broad conception of peace are heard throughout the Gospels.

2. Synoptic Tradition.

2.1. Peace and Healing in the Gospel of Mark.

The word *eirēnē* occurs only once in the Gospel of Mark. After a woman who had long suffered hemorrhages covertly touched Jesus’ garment and was healed, Jesus sought her out and blessed her: “Daughter, your faith has saved you. Go in peace and be healed of your disease” (Mk 5:34 [// Lk 8:48; cf. Lk 7:50]). The phrase “go in peace” reflects traditional biblical idiom (see 1 Sam 20:13; 2 Sam 3:21-23; 19:25) and was a common *blessing (Judg 18:6; 1 Sam 1:17; 29:7; 2 Sam 15:9; 2 Kings 5:19; cf. Ex 4:18). But in this context it is no mere cliché. As if in a concerted effort to evoke the full scope of the biblical concept of *šālôm*, Jesus’ blessing places *eirēnē* in close proximity with the related words *sōzō* (“to save” [cf. *sōtēria* in LXX Gen 26:31]) and *hygiēs* (“whole, healthy” [cf. *hygiainō* in LXX Gen 37:14]). Further, the story emphasizes the social restoration that Jesus’ *healing enables by highlighting this woman’s movement from secrecy and shame to openness and honor (cf. Lk 7:50). Jesus’ healing ministry brings physical restoration and, what is more, the renewal of God’s *šālôm*. For Mark, then, peace is not a matter of the individual heart; instead, it is to be expressed in the community of those who follow Jesus (Mk 9:50).

2.2. Bringing Peace and Responding Peaceably in the Gospel of Matthew.

2.2.1. *Peace and Mission.* The correlation of peace and healing visible in Mark 5:34 and parallels is further attested in the Synoptic accounts of Jesus send-

ing forth the disciples for *kingdom proclamation (Mt 10:1-16; Mk 6:8-11; Lk 9:1-6; 10:1-12). In the Matthean version Jesus sends out his disciples to proclaim the same good news that he himself had earlier announced: “The kingdom of heaven has drawn near” (Mt 10:7 [cf. Mt 4:17]). And, as was the case throughout Jesus’ initial Galilean ministry, the disciples’ kingdom proclamation, entailing healing and exorcism (Mt 10:8; cf. Mt 4:23; 9:35-38), involves concrete manifestations that the power of the enemy has been broken (cf. Mt 12:22-28). They are commanded to bestow *eirēnē* (Mt 10:12-13; cf. Lk 10:5-6) upon “the house” that receives the disciples and their good news—a blessing that is emblematic of the wholeness and restoration that accompany God’s reign of peace (Ridgway).

2.2.2. *Responding Peaceably to Persecution.* But God’s reign of healing and peace will not come without resistance. As Matthew emphasizes throughout his narrative, those sent forth on behalf of the kingdom of heaven can expect to encounter rejection, persecution and violence (Mt 10:13b-39; cf. Mt 21:33-46; 23:29-39) (Weaver). The disciples go out like sheep among wolves (Mt 10:16). Not all will accept them, and thus not all will receive the peace that they offer (Mt 10:13-15). Indeed, Matthew, like Luke and Q (Lk 2:34-35; 12:49-53), emphasizes that the message of the kingdom will bring division and strife—“not peace but a sword” (Mt 10:34). Note that Jesus’ metaphorical reference to a sword here (cf. “division” in Lk 12:51) is by no means advocacy of physical violence (cf. Mt 26:52); on the contrary, the point is that differing responses to Jesus’ message will divide society to its core, making enemies (*echthroi*) even of members of the same family (Mt 10:35-36).

If Matthew expects division to accompany the proclamation of the gospel, in the Sermon on the Mount he provides a model for how disciples are to respond to such conflict: “Love your enemies,” says Jesus, “and pray for those who persecute you” (Mt 5:44 [// Lk 6:27-28]). By refusing to respond to abuse in kind, believers demonstrate that they are children of their Father in heaven (Mt 5:45 // Lk 6:35). This same connection between peaceable responses to conflict and status as God’s true children provides the logic of the seventh beatitude: “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God” (Mt 5:9).

Further, in contrast to the *lex talionis*, which demanded eye for eye and tooth for tooth (Ex 21:24; Lev 24:20; Deut 19:21), Jesus’ instruction is that his disciples should not “resist” someone who does them evil (Mt 5:38-39a). Our proverbial English us-

age of the exemplary cases that follow (Mt 5:39b-42 // Lk 6:29-30)—turn the other cheek, go the extra mile—would suggest that “nonresistance” here indicates willingness to suffer mutely any abuse that one encounters. In fact, however, each of Matthew’s examples depicts nonviolent resistance, an attempt to preserve one’s dignity and to unmask the injustice of one’s opponent (Wink). A backhanded slap on the right cheek constitutes an insult, the intention of which is not to injure but to humiliate. By refusing to be cowed and turning the left cheek, which can be struck only with a real, equal-to-equal blow, one robs the aggressor of the power to humiliate. Likewise, taking a poor person’s cloak (*himation*) is expressly forbidden by Torah (LXX Ex 22:24-26 [MT Ex 22:25-27]; Deut 24:10-13; cf. Amos 2:8). By giving a creditor not only one’s tunic (*chitōn*) but also one’s *himation*, and thus appearing before him naked (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 21), one shames one’s creditor and exposes his rapacious greed.

So far, Jesus’ examples seem to depict creative responses to the ordinary conflicts that characterize village life (Horsley 1992). But in the final example reported by Matthew there is a new player on the scene: the Roman army. The requisitioning of local labor was a common practice among occupying armies (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.52; cf. Mk 15:21 // Mt 27:32) and was both feared and resented (Wink, 108-10). By voluntarily continuing the second mile, the oppressed person reclaims his or her agency and thus puts the soldier in a discomfiting position (Wink, 111). This sort of teaching is not a call to revolution, not even a nonviolent one, but it does suggest that the love of enemy that Matthew advocates is applicable not only to interpersonal relationships but also to the social and political realms.

Many readers today find Matthew’s advocacy of nonviolence appealing. More difficult for many to swallow, however, is the conception of divine *judgment on which this nonviolence is predicated. Matthew’s Jesus sends out his disciples with these instructions: “When they persecute you in one town, flee into another” (Mt 10:23). There is no retaliation here, only the prophetic gesture of shaking the dust of the offending town off one’s feet (Mt 10:14 // Mk 6:11; Lk 9:5; 10:11). But what this gesture anticipates is complete annihilation on the day of judgment (Mt 10:15 // Lk 10:12)—an expression of divine wrath that stands in some tension with Matthew’s earlier portrait of a God whose perfection consists in making rain to fall indiscriminately on the righteous and the unrighteous (Mt 5:45-48). Indeed, as elsewhere in the NT and Jewish literature (Rom 12:19; 2 Thess 1:6-10;

Rev 6:9-11; 1QS X, 16-18; *T. Gad* 6:7), the wronged are assured that they can forgo violent retaliation precisely because vengeance will be wrought by God.

2.3. The Way of Peace in Luke’s Gospel. Of the twenty-seven occurrences of *eirēnē* and cognates in the Gospels, fourteen occur in the Gospel of Luke. Luke’s emphasis on peace is evident already in his birth narrative. Zechariah’s song (Lk 1:67-79) is resonant with scriptural language and allusions, and the prophesied restoration of the Davidic monarchy provides the controlling image (Lk 1:69). From the house of David a “horn of salvation” will be raised up to redeem Israel from its enemies, bringing light to those in darkness and “directing our feet in the way of peace” (Lk 1:79). Isaianic prophecy resonates in the background here (Is 9:6-7; 40:3; 49:6), and there are particularly clear verbal echoes of LXX Isaiah 52:7, which speaks of the feet (*podes*) of those who proclaim the good news (*euangelizō*) of peace (*eirēnē*) and salvation (*sōtēria*), and who announce that God will reign (*basileuō*). The same complex of imagery recurs in the angels’ announcement to the shepherds in Luke 2:10-14: light, good news, Davidic kingship, salvation, peace. For Luke, then, God’s kingdom is a kingdom of peace, and “God bestows salvation on the people in the form of peace” (Yamasaki, 155). Thus, it is no surprise when Luke has Peter characterize God’s word to Israel as “good news of peace through Jesus Christ” (Acts 10:36).

Luke’s language evidently evokes Israel’s expectation of a renewed Davidic monarchy under God’s reign, but it is reminiscent also of the imperial ideology of Rome. The emperor Augustus was widely celebrated as the divine lord and savior who had brought stability and peace—the *Pax Romana*—to the entire world (Wengst, 7-54). An inscription from Priene is exemplary (OGIS 458; cf. *GIBM* 894; Virgil, *Ecl.* 1.6-8): The birth of the god (*theos*) Augustus is good news (*euangelia*) for the world, for he is the savior (*sōtēr*) sent to end war and set all things in peaceable order (*kosmeō*). It is difficult to determine whether Luke’s depiction of Jesus in similar terms is an intentional counterclaim that seeks to challenge Roman pretension to power (Grassi, 3-13; Klassen, 82), or whether Luke simply thinks that Jesus is king and thus uses the imperial language available to him. What is clear, however, is that the good news of peace that Luke attributes to Jesus cannot be relegated to the spiritual realm. Indeed, for Luke, Jerusalem’s failure to recognize “the things that make for peace” results in concrete violence: a brutal and destructive siege (Lk 19:41-44). So, although the proclamation of God’s kingdom includes no summons to

revolution, the enactment of the kingdom has profound social and political implications that do indeed challenge the existing political order.

3. Gospel of John.

As we have seen, the notion of inner spiritual peace is foreign to the Synoptic Gospels; the Gospel of John, however, does speak of peace as an inner reality that is present in the hearts of believers despite the tumult of the world.

We first hear of *eirēnē* in John's Gospel during Jesus' *farewell discourse (Jn 14–17). In the face of Jesus' imminent departure, the disciples are not to let their hearts be troubled (Jn 14:1, 27). They will not be left orphaned, for they will receive the gift of the *Holy Spirit (Jn 14:18, 26). Indeed, although Jesus is departing, he promises to leave with them his peace (Jn 14:27). Again, in John 16, Jesus consoles the disciples by explaining that he will depart from them only for a little while (Jn 16:16). Since they know what is to come, they may take courage and have peace despite the tribulation they will face in the world (Jn 16:33). Peace, then, derives from the assurance of Jesus' abiding presence. And, in both texts, such peace is explicitly contrasted with what is on offer from "the world" (*ho kosmos*).

When the resurrected Jesus appears to the gathered disciples, he repeatedly greets them with the phrase "Peace be with you" (Jn 20:19, 20, 26 [cf. Lk 24:36]). In another context this could be interpreted as nothing more than a routine greeting (cf. Judg 6:23; 19:20; Tob 12:17). Here, however, the repetition is emphatic and signals that this is the fulfillment of what Jesus had promised his disciples a few chapters earlier (Jn 14–16): despite tribulation and tumult, he will remain present with them, and thus they may have peace.

See also BLESSING AND WOE; ESCHATOLOGY; ETHICS OF JESUS; HEALING; SALVATION; SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.

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PEOPLE, CROWD

The "people" or "crowd(s)" refers to the nameless population of *Israel, the common people who are the audience that hears Jesus' teaching, witnesses his healings and exorcism, and responds positively or negatively to his ministry.

1. Terminology and Nature of Study
2. Common Narrative Functions
3. Individual Gospel Presentations

1. Terminology and Nature of Study.

Various Greek terms are used to refer to groups of people or crowds in the Gospels. The most common are *ochlos* ("crowd"), *laos* ("people") and *plēthos* ("multitude"). These are sometimes used synonymously and sometimes with distinct shades of meaning. *Ochlos* occurs both as a collective singular (100x) and in the plural (49x). The two are generally synonymous (indicating a large crowd of people), though the latter sometimes refers to groups gathered together in one location (Mt 4:25). *Laos* occurs fifty-five times, all but one (Lk 2:31) as a collective singular. The majority of these are in the Gospel of Luke (36x), which always uses the singular with reference to the people of Israel. *Plēthos* occurs nine times in the Gospels with reference to human crowds. In John's Gospel the crowds are frequently identified as *hoi Ioudaioi* ("the Jews" [see 3.4 below]). Of course, lexical studies alone are insufficient to deal with this topic, since the unnamed masses or crowds may be identified with third-person plural verbs (Mk 1:22, 27) or substantival participles (Mk 6:44; 11:9; 15:29; Lk 2:47).

A historical analysis of the crowds that followed Jesus suggests that they were made up primarily of the common "people of the land" (Heb. *ʿam hāʾāre*), mostly poor peasant farmers, craftsmen and fishermen. Men, women and children are identified as present. The crowds are often portrayed as needy, following Jesus because of his *miracles, his engaging teaching, and his ability to feed the masses. The majority were no doubt Jews, although Jesus also drew crowds in predominantly *Gentile regions.

More fruitful than a historical study is a narrative and theological one, examining how crowds function in the plot of each Gospel and contribute to the evangelists' theological themes. The crowd functions as a narrative character when groups are represented as sharing similar traits and acting in unison. We will first examine common narrative functions and then the four distinct Gospel portraits.

2. Common Narrative Functions.

2.1. Indication of Popularity or Renown. One of the most common narrative functions of the crowd is to indicate Jesus' immense popularity. Large crowds come to Jesus not only from *Galilee, but also from all the surrounding regions (Mt 4:25). The crowds are so great that he must sit in a boat off shore to teach them (Mt 13:2; Mk 4:1). Even when Jesus tries to withdraw with his *disciples, he is inundated by people (Mk 3:7, 20; 5:21). The reason is the excitement generated by Jesus' teaching (Mt 8:1; Mk 2:13; 10:1; Lk 5:1; Jn 8:2) and miracles (Mt 19:2; Lk

5:15; 9:11; Jn 6:2; 12:9, 18). From a narrative perspective, the size of the crowd demonstrates the significance of the person.

2.2. Representative Response of the Population.

A second common narrative function of the crowd is to identify how the general population was responding to Jesus' message and ministry. Amazement is the most common response. The crowds marvel at Jesus' teaching (Mt 7:28; 22:33; Mk 1:22; 11:18), his miracles (Mt 9:33; 12:23; Mk 1:27; Lk 7:16; 11:14) and his presence (Mk 9:15). They are delighted at his repartee with the religious leaders (Mk 12:37; Lk 13:17). Jesus himself identifies the crowd as a gauge of popular response when he asks his disciples, "Who do the crowds say I am?" (Lk 9:18). The response from the crowd is not always positive; it can be skeptical (Jn 7:20), mournful (Lk 23:48), divided (Jn 7:12) or violently opposed (Mt 27:25).

2.3. Embodiment of Great Need. Sometimes the presence of the crowd functions as a social setting of physical and spiritual need. Jesus sees the crowds and has compassion on them because they are like sheep without a *shepherd (Mt 9:36; Mk 6:34). Crowds in need of *healing and exorcism relentlessly pursue Jesus (Mt 12:15; 15:30; Lk 4:42). Before the feeding of the five thousand, Jesus expresses sympathy for the hungry crowds (Mt 15:32; Mk 8:2; Lk 9:13; Jn 6:5).

2.4. An Obstacle to Be Overcome. Crowds in narratives often function as obstacles. In the Gospels they can be an obstacle for those trying to reach Jesus or an obstacle to Jesus trying to pursue his ministry goals. "Because of the crowd" four men are unable to get to Jesus with their paralyzed friend (Mk 2:4), and Jesus' family cannot reach him for the same reason (Lk 8:19). Zacchaeus wants to see Jesus, but his height and the crowd make it impossible (Lk 19:2). At one point Jesus and his disciples are unable to eat because of the intensity of the crowds (Mk 3:20). Jesus must escape the crowds in order to have reflective time with God (Lk 4:42) and to heal a man in private (Mk 7:33). Sometimes the crowds can be an obstacle in Jesus' favor, as when the religious leaders are unable to find him when he slips away "into the crowd" (Jn 5:13).

2.5. A Threatening Force. Related to the function of obstacle is the crowd's role as a threatening force, either against Jesus or against his foes. The threat is positive when Herod wants to eliminate John but is afraid of the people, who consider him a *prophet (Mt 14:5). Similarly, the religious leaders are afraid to arrest Jesus because of the crowd (Mt 21:26, 46; Mk 12:12; 14:2; Lk 20:6; 22:2, 6). A crowd also becomes a

threat to Jesus at his arrest in the garden of *Gethsemane (Mt 26:47) and when the chief priests and elders incite the crowd to call for his execution (Mt 17:20).

2.6. *Jesus' Audience Distinct from the Disciples.*

Sometimes the crowd is simply Jesus' amorphous audience distinct from the disciples. Whereas Jesus speaks to the crowds in *parables, he explains everything in private to the disciples (Mt 13:34, 36). Jesus sends his disciples ahead of him and ministers separately to the crowd (Mt 14:22). Sometimes crowds are mentioned simply to show that Jesus' teaching was directed at a wider audience than the disciples (Mk 8:34; Lk 7:11).

3. Individual Gospel Presentations.

3.1. Mark. Mark prefers *ochlos* to other terms, using *laos* and *plēthos* only twice each. *Ochlos* occurs thirty-eight times in Mark, all but once in the singular. At its most basic, the crowd in Mark represents the second tier of Jesus' audience, outside the sphere of the twelve disciples, but still recipients of Jesus' message and ministry. Like the Twelve, the crowd accompanies Jesus on the way (Mk 10:46), is the audience for his teaching (Mk 2:13; 4:1-2; 7:14; 10:1), and stands amazed at his teaching (Mk 1:22, 27; 6:2; 11:18) and miracles (Mk 1:27; 2:12; 5:20; 7:37). Jesus speaks both to the Twelve and to the crowd when he says that all would-be disciples must deny themselves, take up their crosses, and follow him (Mk 8:34—9:1).

Yet while viewed as potential disciples (Mk 8:34), the crowd stands outside the Twelve and their special relationship with Jesus. Jesus escapes the crowds to be with his disciples (Mk 4:35; 6:31, 45) and often instructs the Twelve privately after teaching the people (Mk 4:10; 7:17; 9:28; 10:10). The Twelve actively participate in Jesus' teaching, preaching and exorcism ministry, but the crowds do not (Mk 3:14-15; 6:7-14).

The crowds also symbolize the great spiritual needs in Israel and so are the object of Jesus' compassion. Jesus has compassion on them "because they were like sheep without a shepherd" (Mk 6:34). At the second feeding miracle Jesus, before providing the loaves and fishes, says to his disciples, "I have compassion for these people" (8:2).

As the crowds represent Israel in its spiritual need, so they also represent the nation in its rejection of the Messiah (see Christ). It is well known that the disciples in Mark's Gospel are primarily a negative model, failing to comprehend the nature of Jesus' ministry (Mk 4:13; 7:18; 8:32; 9:32) and acting with pride and self-interest (Mk 9:38; 10:13, 37, 41). Yet while Jesus'

disciples abandon him at his arrest (Mk 14:50; cf. Mk 14:66-72), the crowds, prompted by the religious leaders, actively seek his execution (Mk 15:8-15). The disciples, the reader knows, will be restored and will carry on the ministry of Jesus (Mk 10:39; 13:9-13; 14:28; 16:7); the crowds, however, have rejected the Messiah and will suffer the consequences.

3.2. Matthew. As in Mark, Matthew's most common word for the general population is *ochlos* (50x). Matthew, however, prefers the plural (31x) to the singular (19x). *Laos* ("people") appears fourteen times, but *plēthos* not at all. As in Luke (see 3.3 below), Matthew uses *laos* in the LXX sense of the nation Israel (Heb. *hā'ām*).

Matthew's presentation of the crowds in general echoes Mark's. Large crowds follow Jesus throughout his Galilean ministry. The crowds, though outside the sphere of the disciples, are recipients of Jesus' teaching and ministry. They relentlessly pursue him (Mt 8:18; 13:2), are amazed at his teaching (Mt 7:28; 22:33), and seek him out for healing (Mt 4:23-24; 14:14; 15:30; 19:2). Jesus has compassion on them because they are harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd (Mk 9:36). There appears to be an even stronger sense of allegiance to Jesus in Matthew, and seven times Matthew refers to crowds "following" Jesus (Mt 4:25; 8:1; 12:15; 14:13; 19:2; 20:29; 21:9).

It is well known that Matthew's portrayal of the religious leaders is significantly more negative than Mark's. In this regard, the crowds function as a positive foil for the *scribes and *Pharisees. The religious leaders accuse Jesus of *blasphemy when he offers *forgiveness of sins to a paralyzed man (Mt 9:3), but the crowd is filled with awe and glorifies God when Jesus heals the man (Mt 9:8). The Pharisees say that Jesus casts out *demons by Satan's power (Mt 12:24), while the crowd wonders if this might be the *"Son of David" (Mt 12:23). At Jesus' approach to Jerusalem the crowds appear convinced, proclaiming "Hosanna to the Son of David!" (Mt 21:8-9). During Jesus' last week in Jerusalem the religious leaders repeatedly seek to trap him (Mt 21:23—22:46), but the crowds marvel at his teaching (Mt 22:33).

Yet in the end, the crowds remain faithless and outside the realm of discipleship. They appear to waver on whether Jesus is the Son of David (Messiah) or merely a prophet (Mt 16:13-14; 21:9, 11). The group that comes to arrest Jesus is identified as a "crowd" (Mt 26:47, 55), and at Jesus' trial "all the people" (*pas ho laos*) cry out against him, "His blood is on us and on our children!" The fickle crowd has now turned against Jesus, losing out on the promise of discipleship and becoming the object of God's wrath.

J. Cousland seeks to harmonize Matthew's apparently schizophrenic perspective of the crowds by claiming that the author is projecting extratextual referents from his own social world into the story. The unbelieving Jews of his day are poised midway between the church, which is the new people of God, and the church's enemy, which is emergent Pharisaism, represented in Matthew's story by the religious leaders. While the religious leaders are irretrievably lost, the unbelieving Jews of his day still have opportunity to respond. In short, although Matthew has divorced himself from formulative *Judaism, he is involved in a "custody battle" for the Jewish people themselves (Cousland, 287).

3.3. Luke. Like Matthew and Mark, Luke frequently uses *ochlos* for the nameless crowd that follows Jesus (41x [25 sg., 16 pl.]). Luke's most distinctive contribution, however, is his preference for *laos* in the singular, referring to the people of Israel (35x). The plural appears only in Luke 2:31, where it refers to the Gentile nations. *Laos* can be synonymous with *ochlos*, referring generally to the crowds that follow Jesus. Both terms are used of those who hear Jesus' teaching (Lk 5:3, 15; 6:17-18), who are amazed and praise God for Jesus' healings (Lk 11:14; 13:17; 18:43), and who provide an obstacle to the religious leaders trying to arrest Jesus in *Jerusalem (Lk 19:48; 20:19; 22:2, 6).

More commonly, *laos* has the more specialized LXX sense of the people or nation of *Israel (Heb. *hā'ām*). This fits Luke's theological emphasis on the remnant of faithful Israel, who stand in continuity with the new covenant people of God. Common Lukan phrases include "all the people" (*pas ho ochlos* [Lk 2:10; 3:21; 7:29; 8:47; 9:13; 18:43; 19:48; 20:6, 45; 21:38; 24:19]) and the "multitude of the people" (to *plēthos tou laou* [Lk 1:10; 6:17; 23:27]).

In general, Luke's presentation of the people is more positive than Mark's and Matthew's. Luke does not have Jesus' denunciations of "this people" who give God lip service but whose hearts are far from him (Mt 15:8; Mk 7:6-6, citing Is 6:9-10; cf. Is 6:9-10 in Mt 13:14-15). It is not the crowds, but only the chief priests and rulers who cry out for Jesus' crucifixion (Lk 23:13, 18; contrast Mt 27:15, 25; Mk 15:11). While Matthew and Mark describe the people who pass by the crucifixion as mocking Jesus, Luke states only that they "stood by watching" (Lk 23:35). Only Luke records that this assembled crowd went away in deep sorrow, "beating their breasts" (Lk 23:48). This more favorable presentation of the people prepares the reader for the early chapters of Acts, where the preaching of the *resurrection receives a positive re-

ception among the people of Jerusalem.

3.4. John. John uses *ochlos* twenty times (*laos* 3x; *plēthos* 2x), with some of the same functions as in the Synoptics. Great crowds follow Jesus because of his reputation as a *teacher and healer (Jn 6:2, 22; 12:9, 12). Unique to John, the crowd is described as being divided over Jesus' identity (Jn 7:12, 20, 31, 40-43).

More commonly, John's Gospel refers to the people as *hoi Ioudaioi* ("the Jews" [67x]). This reflects the Johannine *Sitz im Leben*, where John's late first-century Christian community is increasingly alienated from the synagogue. Although Jesus and his disciples were, of course, Jews, what was once an internecine debate of Jews versus Jews is now becoming Jews versus Christians, a reality being projected back onto the ministry of Jesus. In some contexts *Ioudaioi* clearly refers to the religious leaders (e.g., Jn 5:10, 15, 16; 9:22; 19:38), and in others to the Jewish population in general. This represents a challenge for Bible translators, who must decide in each case whether to translate *Ioudaioi* as "Jewish leaders," "Jews" or simply "the people" (see NLT, TEV, CEV, NCV, NET, TNIV, notes in HCSB). The Jews/people (*Ioudaioi*) can be favorable (Jn 7:35; 8:31; 11:36, 45) or divided (Jn 10:19) over Jesus, but most commonly they are skeptical or openly hostile. They challenge his claims (Jn 8:57), question his miracles (Jn 2:18; 9:18), accuse him of being demon possessed (Jn 8:48, 52), plot to kill him (Jn 7:1), and attempt to stone him (Jn 10:31; 11:8). In the end, they press Pilate to crucify him (Jn 19:7, 12, 15). With some notable exceptions, John portrays the background crowd as representative of unbelieving Jews, both those hostile to Jesus during his public ministry and those in opposition to the church of John's day. In a larger sense, they are parallel in John's Gospel to "the world," the forces of evil that stand in opposition to God's purpose in the *world.

See also APOSTLE; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; ELDERS; FAMILY; GENTILES; ISRAEL; PHARISEES; SCRIBES.

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PHARISEES

Evidence from the ancient sources suggests that in general the Pharisees were quite strict or at least very dedicated in their obedience to the Jewish law, especially regulations concerning food, including tithing and hand washing. Beyond this, scholars today do not agree on the level of political participation of the Pharisees during Jesus’ lifetime. The Pharisees can be traced back as far as the Hasmonean dynasty (the Maccabees), in the early second century B.C. From 1 Maccabees 2:42 we learn of a group known as the Hasidim (Gk. *Asidaioi*), or “pious ones.” How long they had been on the scene before the Maccabean Revolt is difficult to say, but the group’s main feature is its reaction to *Hellenism. The Hasidim grew and split into subgroups, including Pharisees, *Sadducees and *Essenes, and also spawned movements centered on ascetic, charismatic figures. *Josephus describes the Pharisees’ political engagement during the Hasmonean and *Herodian periods, as well as during the First Jewish Revolt. The NT depiction of Pharisees emphasizes interpretation of the *law and critique of Jesus’ teachings and practices. The number of Pharisees is difficult to estimate, but during the time of Herod the Great, Josephus mentions that six thousand refused to vow allegiance to King Herod and to Caesar in *Rome (*Ant.* 17.42). The Pharisees as a group cease to be noted as an active community in historical sources shortly after the turn of the first century A.D.

1. Evidence in the Gospels
2. The Pharisees in Sources Outside the New Testament
3. Modern Theories Concerning the Historical Pharisees

1. Evidence in the Gospels.

The Gospels discuss the Pharisees as this group interacts with Jesus. In the effort to distinguish Jesus’

teaching and actions, the Gospels critique the Pharisees’ interpretations of the law. Scholars today are divided on the relative influence held by the Pharisees during Jesus’ lifetime, both in terms of direct political involvement and within the religious debates before and directly after the First Jewish Revolt, at the time when the Gospels were written (Eisenbaum, 117-30). A compelling argument is made that the Gospel writers include historical encounters between Jesus and Pharisees in large part because in the writers’ day the Pharisees were also (or even more so) the key interlocutors of the followers of Jesus (Keener).

In general the Pharisees are presented in the Gospels as being concerned with purity issues such as proper hand washing before meals, food laws and tithing (Mk 7:5; Lk 18:11-12) (*see* Clean and Unclean). Similar emphases are prominent in early rabbinic sources, and Josephus’s depiction of the Pharisees as being focused on strict discipline and ancestral customs is consistent with this portrait. Additionally, the Gospels hint at some sort of official political clout or at least local authority held by the Pharisees. John presents the Pharisees as being active with the chief priests in making political decisions on behalf of the Jews vis-à-vis Roman imperial presence.

Although the Pharisees generally are viewed negatively in the Gospels, there are also several neutral or even positive comments, especially in Luke’s Gospel. For example, in Luke 13:31 the Pharisees warn Jesus about political trouble. Possibly these Pharisees believed that Jesus held common cause with them in their critique of the political establishment, in this case Herod Antipas. These details suggest that at times some Pharisees expressed benign curiosity or concern toward Jesus. When we compare Matthew and Luke, we find in a few places that Matthew explicitly names Pharisees as Jesus’ antagonists (Mt 3:7-12; 9:32-34; 12:22-24), while Luke identifies them more generally as “the multitudes” (Lk 3:7-9), “some of the people” (Lk 11:14-15) or “others” (Lk 11:16) (*see* People, Crowd).

1.1. Gospel of Matthew. Matthew speaks of the Pharisees in Matthew 9:11, 14, 34; 12:2, 14, 24; 15:12; 19:3; 21:45; 22:15, 34, 41. He pairs them with the Sadducees in Matthew 3:7; 16:1, 6, 11-12; in Matthew 3 *John the Baptist identifies both groups as a “brood of vipers,” and in Matthew 16 Jesus warns again both groups’ teachings. Matthew speaks of Pharisees and scribes in Matthew 5:20; 12:38; 15:1; 23:2, 13-29. Matthew notes that the chief *priests and the Pharisees went to Pilate after Jesus’ death and asked that guards be posted at the tomb (Mt 27:62-63), suggest-

ing that the Pharisees had some political voice or influence in representing Jewish views before the Roman government. The fact that the Pharisees often are presented as working with another group (scribes, Sadducees, chief priests) cautions the reader against casting the Pharisees as Jesus' arch-enemy. Instead, the picture sketches an interconnecting web of influence by these groups, all of whom fail to appreciate Jesus' message.

In Matthew's Gospel several dramatic encounters with the Pharisees drive home Matthew's point that the Pharisees' teaching and praxis are antithetical to Jesus' message and call. Matthew sets the stage for this with John the Baptist's angry retort to the Pharisees (and Sadducees) who came out to hear him; they were nothing more than a "brood of vipers" (Mt 3:7). A similar charge is laid against the Pharisees (and scribes) by Jesus in Matthew 23:33, in a chapter highly charged with hyperbole and rhetorical sting. This phrase serves as a rhetorical marker, and the pages between the two occurrences of "brood of vipers" tell of a slowly building conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees over God's requirements for righteousness (Mt 5:20) (*see* Justice, Righteousness). The practices and attitudes so virulently condemned by Jesus in Matthew 23 have attracted his attention throughout his ministry. For example, Matthew 9:11-14 points to different habits of fasting, as well as purity codes for eating, which distinguish Jesus from the Pharisees. A similar situation arises in Matthew 15:1-2, in which the Pharisees point to the "traditions of the elders" to defend their praxis of hand washing before meals. Matthew 12:2 addresses the Pharisees' insistence on a definition of "rest" on the *Sabbath, which precludes Jesus' *healing activities. To these accusations Jesus counters that the Pharisees are blind guides (Mt 15:14), a charge that he will reinforce in Matthew 23. An irreparable rupture occurs in Matthew 21:46 after Jesus offers his parable of the vineyard (Mt 21:33-44) condemning the leadership of the Pharisees and the chief priests. At this point, they determine to arrest him.

Matthew 23 presents Jesus' strongest critique of the Pharisees, although the rhetoric can blind the reader to important points of affirmation. First, Jesus introduces the Pharisees as reading the law of Moses (they "sit on Moses' seat" [Mt 23:2]) in public venues, probably *synagogue services. Jesus commends them, encouraging his disciples to listen carefully to the words that they read aloud. Second, Jesus acknowledges that the Pharisees have rightly paid attention to certain aspects of the law. For example, they consistently tithe every part of their

food, including spices (Mt 23:23). Third, Jesus admits that they are concerned to pass along their traditions and practices to others (Mt 23:15). But these positive notes are drowned by the thunderous charges of hypocrisy and blindness. The term *"hypocrite" (Gk. *hypokritēs*) had a wider range of meanings in Jesus' day than in our own. While it did refer to someone who dissembles or pretends one thing while doing another, it also could carry the sense of someone doing an interpretation or of an actor playing a role on stage. In LXX Job 34:30; 36:13 the term "hypocrite" describes one who turns aside from following God, oppresses the poor and ensnares the people. Such persons resist God as he seeks to teach them. Additionally, *Psalms of Solomon* 4:1-8 speaks of "those who live in hypocrisy [*hypokrisis*]," people who make a great public show of almsgiving and zealotry, but when out of the public eye they seek out adulterous affairs and lie when taking *oaths. Jesus seems to use "hypocrites" with this force in Matthew 6:2 when he critiques those who draw attention to themselves when giving alms. Jesus may have been drawing on this sense of the term also in Matthew 23, denouncing the Pharisees for promoting themselves, failing to hear his teachings from God, and blindly pursuing the traditions of the *elders.

1.2. Gospel of Mark. Mark mentions the Pharisees in Mark 2:18, 24; 3:6; 8:11, 15; 10:2, always in conflict with Jesus and the disciples. In Mark 2:16; 7:1-5 the Pharisees act with the scribes, and in Mark 3:6; 12:13 with the *Herodians. In general we find the Pharisees arguing with Jesus about *fasting, *divorce, taxes, food laws and Sabbath practices, disagreements highlighted throughout the Gospels. Two points of interest rise to the surface in Mark's account. First, in Mark 2:18 people hold up to Jesus the disciples of John the Baptist and the Pharisees as models of fasting. Their approval of such fasting suggests widespread support for the practice and sympathy for the Pharisaic approach. Moreover, it implies similarities to the fasting done by John the Baptist's disciples (*see* also Lk 5:33). Second, in Mark 8:11-15 Jesus warns against the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod (Antipas, Herod the Great's son), connecting the Pharisees and Herod Antipas as enemies of Jesus. Mentioning the Pharisees and Herod together could suggest to the reader that Mark views the Pharisees as having political power, so it is interesting that Mark does not include the Pharisees explicitly in his passion narrative.

Mark's ambiguous evidence to our question of the Pharisees' political influence in Jesus' day is symptomatic of the evidence preserved in all our sources.

Theories of Pharisees' political influence or engagement include a range of viewpoints: (1) open, armed revolt; (2) sporadic, spontaneous, armed revolt; (3) giving verbal encouragement to those who took up arms; (4) striving for direct political power within the Hasmonean and Herodian courts or with the Roman government; (5) striving to influence political leaders such as Herod the Great; (6) holding official positions within the Jewish council/*Sanhedrin; (7) influencing the dialogue about Roman rule over Judea and Galilee. Scholars generally agree that at least during the Hasmonean period and the First Jewish Revolt, the Pharisees were politically influential (cf. items 4, 5 in the foregoing list). The fact that Josephus speaks extensively about minor uprisings occurring throughout the first century A.D. in numerous towns suggests that political resistance was common and promoted. If the Pharisees' views were popular among the people, as Mark's Gospel suggests, then a logical conclusion is that these views in some way were at least consistent with the political action or attitude of resistance that apparently permeated Judea and Galilee (cf. items 1, 2, 3, 7 in the foregoing list). Although Mark does not present the Pharisees as being present during Jesus' passion, he develops a close relationship between the Pharisees and Herodians, the latter being key players in the final week of Jesus' life (Mk 12:13).

1.3. *Gospel of Luke (and Acts of the Apostles).*

Pharisees are mentioned in Luke 6:2; 11:42-43; 12:1; 16:14; 17:20; 18:10-11; 19:39; with scribes in Luke 5:30; 6:7-11; 11:53; 15:2; with teachers of the law in Luke 5:17-26; 7:30, 33; 14:1-3. Luke does not present the Sadducees together with the Pharisees, but Acts 5:33-34 notes that Gamaliel, a Pharisee, was a member of the ruling council (see also Acts 22:3). This body included the high priest and the Sadducees, and both Pharisees and Sadducees are present at Paul's hearing before the council (Acts 23:6-9). It is logical to assume that Luke knew that Pharisees were present on the council, thus he chose for rhetorical reasons not to mention them at Jesus' trial. These might include his concern to present both Gamaliel, Paul's teacher, and the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead in a positive light. Moreover, because some believers belonged to the sect of the Pharisees (Acts 15:5), Luke may have decided to play down the role of the Pharisees in Jesus' death so as not to antagonize this group of Christians.

Paul's defense in Acts 23:6-9; 26:5 highlights the Pharisees' belief in the "resurrection and in *angels. Luke draws attention to the belief in the resurrection in his description of Jesus' encounter with Pharisees

at a meal on the Sabbath (Lk 14:1-14). On the way to the meal, Jesus heals a man, which flouts their definition of Sabbath rest. Once at the house, Jesus notices guests jockeying for the seats of highest honor, which he roundly criticizes. Then he turns to his host and challenges him to offer a place at his banquet to those unable to repay the favor; in so doing, he will be repaid at the resurrection of the righteous. Luke's Gospel generally criticizes wealth and underscores generosity; reinforcing this theme is Luke's statement that the Pharisees were lovers of money (Lk 16:14) (see Rich and Poor). This charge follows Luke's parable of the shrewd manager (Lk 16:1-9) and a call to his disciples to resist the lure of wealth (Lk 16:10-13). The picture that Luke paints here is of the Pharisees deceitfully presenting themselves as virtuous in public while hiding hearts that put human honor above faithfulness to God. This critique against ostentatious display of wealth or status was common in the ancient world, as was the desire to gain honor at all costs.

1.4. *Gospel of John.* Pharisees are mentioned in John 1:24; 4:1; 7:32, 45-52; 8:3-20; 11:45-57; 12:19, 42; 18:3, and for the most part they function in opposition to Jesus, both in their assessment of his teachings and in the political power that they wield to silence him. They operate in Galilee and Jerusalem, often allied with the chief priests. They convene a council with the chief priests to discuss how to mitigate the influence of Jesus' signs on the people, fearing that if left unchecked, Jesus' ministry would result in Rome taking over the temple and the nation (Jn 11:48). John does not mention scribes or Sadducees explicitly; however, it is possible that some of the priests (Jn 1:19) or chief priests were of the Sadducees. John notes that the Pharisees send an embassy to question John the Baptist about his baptizing practices (Jn 1:24), and they order guards to arrest Jesus (Jn 7:32-47). Some argue the Pharisees had power in the synagogue, citing the healing of the blind man in John 9:13-41. John states that "the Jews" expel anyone from the synagogue who confesses Jesus as the Messiah (Jn 9:22). Johannine scholars debate two points: (1) how to interpret the phrase "the Jews"; (2) whether to equate "the Jews" with the Pharisees. First, the Greek allows that "the Jews" (*hoi Ioudaioi*) can be rendered as "the Judeans"—that is, those who come from Judea, or perhaps more specifically, from the Jerusalem area. Thus, John would be making a political statement about the influence of Judeans on the Galilee. Others stress the religious connotations of the term, arguing that John presents "the Jews" as the dominant religious interpreters

who challenge Jesus' authority and message. Second, in John 1:19-24 we find "the Jews" and "the Pharisees" presented as synonyms, suggesting to some that John 1 and John 9 posit the Pharisees as ruling the Jewish people (in political and/or religious matters). The weight of evidence leans toward understanding "the Jews" as those leaders centered in Jerusalem who speak authoritatively on Jewish legal matters. These leaders would have included Pharisees in their numbers, but we should not assume that every Jewish leader held to Pharisaic teachings.

Within the broader storyline of hostility between Jesus and the Pharisees in John is a secondary narrative of a Pharisee agreeing with Jesus' message. Perhaps the most famous Pharisee in the NT aside from Paul is Nicodemus (Jn 3:1-2; 7:50; 19:39). He visits Jesus at night, asking to know more about his teachings. He becomes a follower, aiding Joseph of Arimathea in Jesus' *burial. Both stories are located in Jerusalem. Another well-known Pharisee from the first century A.D. is Josephus, who makes this statement: "So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself [*politeuesthai*] according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them" (*Life* 12). Most see this passage as stating that Josephus joined the Pharisees. A minority suggests that the verb *politeuesthai* should be rendered as "to engage in public life," so that the passage would read, "Following my protracted wilderness retreat, I returned to the city and began to engage in public affairs" following the school of the Pharisees (Mason). In this assessment, Josephus is following the practice of Roman aristocrats who upon adulthood explore the philosophical schools briefly before settling into their careers as elite members of society. Josephus determined to rule in accordance with Pharisaic ways, even as do the Sadducees, by seeking popular support as did the Pharisees. This reading's political emphasis fits well with John's accent on the Pharisees' political influence during Jesus' lifetime.

2. The Pharisees in Sources Outside the New Testament.

2.1. Josephus. Josephus discusses the Pharisees from three vantage points, those of (1) the Jewish people, (2) the Greco-Roman philosophical schools, (3) the political class, including Hasmonean, Herodian and Roman leaders. Both Josephus and the NT use the term "Pharisees." Yet Josephus also uses other terms to describe groups or people who bear

a striking resemblance to the Pharisees. For example, in *Jewish Antiquities* 20.200-201 Josephus describes the death of James, brother of Jesus, at the hands of Ananus the high priest. The group appalled by this crime is identified as those who follow the law with precision (*akribeis*). Elsewhere in *Jewish Antiquities* Josephus has defined the Pharisees in exactly these terms, but it is impossible to know whether he assumed that his audience would make the connection, or whether, by not labeling the group as Pharisees, he was making clear that this group should not be considered Pharisees. Another possible synonym for "Pharisees" is *sophistai* (*Ant.* 17.149-166; *J.W.* 1.648).

2.1.1. Pharisees and the Jewish People. Josephus suggests that the Pharisees had the ear of the people; he notes this both in his historical narrative and in his discussion of the Jewish philosophies (*Ant.* 13.288, 298; 18.15-17). He claims that one specific reason for their popularity is their teaching on the resurrection of the dead (*Ant.* 18.14). Josephus's emphasis on the Pharisees' position on fate and free will fits well with their belief in rewards and punishments after death. Questions arise, however, concerning whether Josephus describes the Pharisees as holding to reincarnation or bodily resurrection. The confusion is due to his claims that a new, holy body awaits the righteous at the end of the ages. Because he presents a linear timeline rather than a cyclical view of history, and because he views the body as good not evil, we should lean toward seeing Josephus expressing a type of resurrection rather than a form of reincarnation. Josephus also notes that the Pharisees were more lenient in their application of the law than were the Sadducees (*Ant.* 13.294; 20.199). Josephus speaks of Pharisees practicing ancestral customs and teachings of the fathers (*Ant.* 13.296-298; see also *Ant.* 13.408; 17.41).

2.1.2. Pharisees and Philosophical Schools. The discussion of Pharisaic thought as a Jewish philosophical school occurs in *Jewish War* 2.119-166; *Jewish Antiquities* 13.171-173; 18.11-22; *The Life* 10-12. Josephus describes the Essenes, Pharisees and Sadducees, as well as the followers of the rebel Judas (Fourth Philosophy), as *haireseis*, which has been variously translated as "sects," "factions," "schools of thought" with discernable membership and definable philosophical beliefs, including their positions on fate/free will (Mason). Josephus contrasts the Pharisees with the Sadducees, a picture supported by the NT (Acts 23:6-10) and rabbinic texts (e.g., *m. Yad.* 4:6-7) that mention *šəḏūkīm* (Sadducees) in contrast to *pərūšīm* (Pharisees). Often the picture

drawn of the Sadducees is that of a wealthy, priestly class who had charge over the temple and served as collaborators with the Roman government in ruling Judea and Galilee. M. Goodman challenges this reconstruction, noting that Josephus does not state that Sadducees were wealthy, but only that their arguments persuaded the wealthy. Again, Josephus does not say that the Sadducees ran the temple, but that it was the Pharisees' ideas that must be followed by the priests because the masses were persuaded by the Pharisees (*Ant.* 18.15). Additionally, the Sadducees were not extinguished in the First Jewish Revolt, but remained a force through at least the last decade of the first century A.D., since Josephus mentioned them in the present tense in his *Life*, written after A.D. 93. Their existence, then, does not depend upon that of the temple. The evidence suggests that the Sadducees leaned away from ancestral traditions and the general trends embracing resurrection of the dead (see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.164-166; *Ant.* 18.16-17; see also Acts 23:7-8). From this explanation of the evidence, then, we should not assume that Pharisees were poor relatives to the Sadducees or that Pharisees did not participate in governing the temple. Indeed, the Gospels confirm that Pharisees were involved in decisions concerning the temple and could be wealthy.

S. Mason argues that in order to fully appreciate what Josephus is doing in his descriptions of the three philosophies (and secondarily with the Fourth Philosophy), we must realize that many ancient authors offered descriptions of the Greco-Roman philosophical schools. A major question addressed by Roman authors was the relationship between free will and fate. According to Josephus, the Pharisees believed in both fate and free will (*J.W.* 2.162-165; see also *Ant.* 13.171-173). Perhaps Cicero speaks of a similar idea in describing the view of Chrysippus, who postulated a principal (fate) and a proximate (free will) cause. When someone pushes a drum down a hill, the principal cause of its rolling is its shape, but the proximate cause is the human who pushed it (Cicero, *Fat.* 41-42). A similar note is taken in *m. 'Abot* 3:16, where Rabbi Akiba says, "All is foreseen, but freedom of choice is given." Some see Josephus using the language of fate and free will to translate the Pharisees' view about how much they should work for political change and how much they should wait for God to act and bring about change (Wright). By using the language of fate and free will, Josephus could be trying to obfuscate revolutionary tendencies (see *Revolutionary Movements*).

2.1.3. *Pharisees and Politics.* Josephus's story of

the golden eagle often is cited as evidence of the Pharisees' political engagement. Josephus describes two leaders, Judas and Matthias, who urge their disciples to cut down an eagle (likely a carved stone relief plated with gold) displayed above a temple gate. They did so in broad daylight, believing that Herod the Great had just died. Sadly for them, they were mistaken; Herod's troops arrested about forty men, as well as the ringleaders, and had them killed. In *Jewish War* 1.648-655 Josephus speaks about those involved as ones who seem to have precision in ancestral customs; importantly, he does not identify the group specifically as Pharisees but rather as *sophistai*, or Sages (see also *Ant.* 17.149-166). In *Jewish War* 2.117-118 Josephus speaks of Judas the Galilean, a *sophistēs* who established his own sect that promoted violent resistance against the census undertaken by Quirinius after Archelaus was deposed in A.D. 6. The same story is retold in *Jewish Antiquities* 18.4, but here Josephus mentions that Saddok the Pharisee joined Judas. Scholars differ on whether Josephus intends for his readers to assume that *sophistai* are the same group as the Pharisees. It is possible that Josephus understands the terms synonymously at least in reflecting their political assessment of Herod and his son's rule.

2.2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The *Dead Sea Scrolls do not identify the Pharisees explicitly, but they do mention the "Expounders of Smooth Things" as a group at odds with their own. In 4Q169 is a story similar to that told by Josephus (*J.W.* 1.92-98) about unnamed opponents of Alexander Jannaeus who attempt to oust him by seeking out the Seleucid ruler Demetrius III Eukeres. The coup fails, and Jannaeus kills eight hundred foes. When his wife takes the crown, the Pharisees gain power, and they avenge those eight hundred deaths (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.113; *Ant.* 13.410). The assumption is that Alexander Jannaeus's opponents were Pharisees and thus the same as the Expounders of Smooth Things. If this identification is correct, we find corroborating evidence for Josephus as to the political involvement by the Pharisees during the Hasmonean period. The *Damascus Document* notes that the Expounders looked for loopholes in the law and easy interpretations (CD-A I, 18-19). It is possible that CD-A I, 18-21 draws from Isaiah 30:10, in which case the *Damascus Document* accuses the Pharisees of promoting self-serving falsehoods. It is also possible that the accusation of seeking easy interpretations could be similar to Josephus's statement that the Pharisees were lenient in meting out punishments under the law (*Ant.* 13.297-298). A final DSS text, 4QMMT, is discussed below,

but its evidence supports the NT's claims that the Pharisees were interested in purity issues. Thus, both Josephus's picture of political involvement during the Hasmonean period and the NT's portrait of the Pharisees' interests in purity issues are corroborated by the DSS.

2.3. Rabbinic Sources. The Gospels, Josephus and Paul speak of *pharisaïos* ("Pharisee"). The Hebrew for "Pharisee" is *parûš*, and it has been argued that this designation stems from the group's separatist nature (*pāraš* means "to separate"). The compilers of the Mishnah never refer to themselves as *pērûšîm*; however, they do distinguish the latter group from the Sadducees (*m. Yad.* 4:6). The rabbinic term used most to describe what scholars today identify as Pharisees is *ḥākāmîm* ("Sages"). The Mishnah traces its own views on key purity issues such as tithing, food laws and Sabbath to these Sages. Another term often used to defend the separatist nature of the Pharisees is *ḥābērîm* ("associates"), describing those who gather in exclusive communities known as *ḥābūrôt*. In the Mishnah this group shows great concern over hand washing and tithing (*m. Demai* 2:2-3) over against a group identified as *ʿam-hāʾāreš* (lit., "people of the land"), undisciplined Jews who do not follow the rabbinic codes for food and tithing purity. But it is unclear whether the *ḥābērîm* are synonymous with the Sages, or whether two different but related groups are identified. In a few rabbinic sources (*m. Hag.* 2:2; *m. ʾAbot* 1:1-18) are lists of authorities, including Gamaliel and Simeon ben Gamaliel. The former is identified as a Pharisee in Acts 5:34, and the latter as such in Josephus, *Vita* 190-192. This may be evidence that the Sages were Pharisees, or that these men belonged to both groups, as apparently in Josephus's view. Pharisees also might count themselves as part of the Fourth Philosophy (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4, 23).

Rabbinic sources present several difficulties for reconstructing first-century A.D. Pharisaic thought and practice. First, the rabbinic evidence for Pharisees is preserved in material written much later than the persons and events described (see Rabbinic Traditions and Writings). Additionally, even if rabbinic sources preserve genuine historical situations from pre-A.D. 70, the later rabbinic content and context involving the Pharisees might be quite different from that of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. (Wright; Goodman). Finally, although many today view the house of Hillel and the house of Shammai as representing two viewpoints among Pharisees pre-A.D. 70, never in the rabbinic corpus are they identified as *pērûšîm*. The indirect evidence comes from *m. ʾAbot* 1:1-18, the list noted above that includes Gamaliel.

No negative comments are made about the house of Hillel, while strong criticisms are leveled against the house of Shammai. This bias makes it difficult to assess the preserved opinions.

Even with the above cautions duly noted, some ties between the rabbinic material and the Pharisees' conversations seem likely. Both Josephus and the NT confirm that Pharisees relied on the "traditions of the elders" in practicing the teachings of Moses, and the Mishnah reveals a similar focus on these customs. The comparable views held by earlier Sages described on the Mishnah's pages and the purity issues attributed to the Pharisees in the NT suggest to most scholars that the rabbinic material reflects Pharisaic teachings to one degree or another. Further corroboration comes from the Qumran text 4Q394 (4QMMT^a frag 8 col IV) and 4Q396 (4QMMT^c col II), which highlights legal disputes concerning purity that occupied various groups of Jews in the Second Temple period, including the Pharisees. Although the oral law as it is worked out in the rabbinic texts cannot be historically verified in the first century A.D. (Neusner; Jaffee; Mason), we find the use of extrabiblical traditions and customs to explain, interpret and synthesize the Pentateuch present among the Pharisees and other Jews of this period. The Sages do not draw direct historical or social connections between themselves and Pharisees, but perhaps this is not surprising, since the rabbis understand their enterprise to reach back to the teachings of Moses and to represent the ideal for all Jews, not a particular group from a single era.

3. Modern Theories Concerning the Historical Pharisees.

Today two basic reconstructions are presented on the political engagement of the historical Pharisees during Jesus' lifetime. Either the Pharisees are withdrawn from the wider political arena and focused on details of *table fellowship, or they are politically engaged in addressing *Roman rule and establishing standards for Jewish piety. The evidence points to continued political involvement at the local and national level from the Hasmonean period through to the First Jewish Revolt.

A second key component of any modern theory on the Pharisees relates to the characteristics of their teachings. Some argue that the Pharisees were inventive and focused on dietary laws and table fellowship (Neusner). Others see them as innovative, but in a lenient direction, which appealed to the average Jew (Eisenbaum). Some suggest that they were traditionalists, supporting the ancestral customs and

reacting against the innovations of the Hasmoneans and Herodians (Goodman; Wright). The Pharisees are viewed as being on the people's side in maintaining Jewish practices against the encroachment of the Greek and Roman political and social agendas. The majority of the evidence indicates that in general the Pharisees were seen as preserving the highest goals of purity surrounding food laws broadly understood (including, e.g., tithing). A few, such as the covenanters of the DSS, might harass the Pharisees as lenient, but the vast majority of people looked up to them as pious protectors of the traditional practices of Judaism.

See also CLEAN AND UNCLEAN; ELDER; ESSENES; JOSEPHUS; JUDAISM, COMMON; LAW; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS; SADDUCEES; SCRIBES; TEMPLE.

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L. Cohick

PHILIP THE TETRARCH. See HERODIAN DYNASTY.

PILATE. See PONTIUS PILATE.

PONTIUS PILATE

Pontius Pilate was the Roman prefect of Judea (A.D. 26-early 37) who authorized Jesus' crucifixion.

1. Sources
2. Pilate's Governorship
3. The Execution of Jesus
4. Pilate's Departure

1. Sources.

Aside from Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.44.4), all our information regarding Pilate comes from Jewish or Christian sources: *Josephus (*J.W.* 2.169-177; *Ant.* 18.35, 55-62, 85-89), Philo (*Legat.* 299-305), the Gospels (Mt 27:1-2, 11-26, 57-66; Mk 15:1-15, 43-45; Luke 3:1; 13:1; 20:20; 23:1-25, 50-53; Jn 18:28-19:22, 38) and Acts (3:13; 4:27-28; 13:28). We also have two archeological links: a damaged inscription found in Caesarea Maritima in 1961, and a series of inoffensive bronze coins (dated A.D. 29/30, 30/31, 31/32).

2. Pilate's Governorship.

Nothing is known of Pilate before he arrived in Judea in A.D. 26, though he probably was an Italian equestrian (a Roman knight) who rose to prominence through military service. The Caesarea inscription gives his title as *praefectus* ("prefect"), a military term reflecting the fact that the small but turbulent province had only recently come under direct Roman rule, and the governor's chief task was to maintain law and order (see Rome). Pilate lived in the Roman headquarters at Caesarea Maritima with a small entourage and a body of auxiliary troops, visiting *Jerusalem to keep order during Jewish *festivals.

Early on, Pilate sent a body of troops to spend the winter in the Antonia fortress in Jerusalem. The troops' standards, however, displayed images of the emperor that were forbidden by Jewish law. Large numbers of Jews complained to Pilate in Caesarea, surrounding his house for five days. On the sixth day Pilate ordered his men to draw their swords; the Jews, however, bared their necks and declared themselves willing to die rather than transgress their ancestral laws. Pilate, amazed at their resolve, had the troops removed (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.169-174; *Ant.* 18.55-59). This incident usually is dated to Pilate's first winter, in A.D. 26; it is first in Josephus's chronicle and has the air of a new governor testing public opinion. Despite his initial insensitivity, Pilate was willing to compromise rather than begin his governorship with bloodshed.

Some time later Pilate ordered the construction of an aqueduct in Jerusalem. The project was financed by surplus temple funds (see *m. Šeqal.* 4:2),

but once again trouble erupted. The precise cause is unclear. Did Pilate use up too much money? Or was there a problem with the route of the aqueduct (e.g., passing by a burial place)? Whatever the cause, when Pilate was in Jerusalem (presumably for a feast), angry protesters surrounded his tribunal. At his signal, plainclothes soldiers beat rioters with clubs, killing many (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.172-174; *Ant.* 18.60-62; possibly Luke 13:1).

Philo adds a story in which Pilate set up gilded shields in honor of the emperor in his Jerusalem headquarters, Herod I's palace (the *praetorium*). The shields bore no image, but they did contain Tiberius's full name, including his designation as "son of the deified Augustus." Disquiet grew at this reference to a pagan god in Jerusalem until four of Herod's sons (presumably including Antipas and Philip) appealed to Pilate to remove the offensive shields. When he refused, they took their grievance to Tiberius, who angrily ordered Pilate to relocate the shields to the temple of Augustus in Caesarea. Philo's account is full of slurs on Pilate's character: he is "a man of inflexible, stubborn and cruel disposition," and his administration displayed "his venality, his violence, his thefts, his assaults, his abusive behavior, his frequent executions of untried prisoners, and his endless savage ferocity." This description, however, needs to be regarded with great caution: Philo's highly apologetic account has heaped a range of stereotypical character slurs on Pilate so that he acts as a foil to the regal, beneficent Tiberius. The incident may date to the troubled period after the fall of Tiberius's closest adviser, Sejanus (October 18, A.D. 31), when provincial governors were keen to display their loyalty. The Caesarea inscription originally belonged to a "Tiberieum," presumably a building set up in honor of the emperor, and may well come from the same period.

3. The Execution of Jesus.

All four Gospels describe Jesus' trial in front of Pilate, though the details of the accounts vary. Where they all agree is that Jesus was arrested on the orders of the high priest and his advisers, passed to Pilate early the following morning, and, after some kind of a hearing, sent to the cross. There is no reason to doubt the historical reliability of this outline. The high priest Caiaphas owed his position to Rome and clearly had a good working relationship with Pilate; both he and Pilate wanted to keep the peace, particularly in a crowded city at Passover. There was no set legal procedure in the case of a provincial such as Jesus; how Pilate handled the case and what sen-

tence he imposed lay entirely with him as governor. Clearly, Pilate regarded Jesus as a troublemaker, a man with dangerous aspirations, and crucified him under the ironically mocking title "King of the Jews" (see Death of Jesus).

4. Pilate's Departure.

Late in A.D. 36 a Samaritan "messiah" gathered a large crowd of armed followers at the foot of Mount Gerizim, promising to lead them up the mountain and reveal sacred vessels hidden by Moses. Before they could begin their ascent, Pilate sent a detachment of cavalry and heavily armed infantry to block their path; a battle ensued, resulting in many casualties. The Samaritan leaders complained to the Syrian legate Vitellius, who ordered Pilate to account for himself before the emperor. Pilate hurried to Rome but arrived after Tiberius's death (March 14, A.D. 37) to find Gaius Caligula on the throne (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.85-89).

What became of Pilate is unknown. After more than ten years in Judea, Gaius may well have decided to move Pilate elsewhere. Christian tradition, however, enjoyed speculating about his ending. A body of noncanonical literature testifies to an ongoing fascination with the Roman prefect in the early church. And while Western traditions often judged him harshly, he and his wife were canonized in the Ethiopic Church.

See also ROME; TRIAL OF JESUS.

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H. K. Bond

POOR. See RICH AND POOR.

POSTCOLONIAL CRITICISM

Postcolonialism is an umbrella term for investigating the ramifications of colonization, interrogating the systems of knowledge and power that impact the rhetoric of such discourses, and fostering the viewpoints of marginalized peoples while critiquing structures perpetuating cultural domination. In a histori-

cal sense, the term *postcolonial* refers to a recent period of analysis and critique of the history of colonization in the Western world, a period extending from the sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries.

Postcolonial criticism, then, is not a method with specific guidelines for the interpreter handling biblical texts, but rather a sensitivity and perspective attentive to the relationship between the interpretation of texts and the power structures in which those texts are situated, both in the ancient world and in the contemporary world. Deriving from this broader interdisciplinary and sophisticated theoretical approach, proponents interpret literary documents—for example, ancient documents and the later interpretations surrounding those texts—in light of the complex interplay of numerous concerns related to agendas, purposes and representations. One of the primary concerns is whether a given “text” (written or otherwise) supports, critiques or ridicules the colonizer (or the colonized), its discourse and agenda. Do the social structures that are in power force “texts” to construct a view sympathetic with their cause? With this question in mind, postcolonial interpreters examine biblical texts, which often lie between those in power and those disempowered. In addition, postcolonial criticism is concerned with questioning the history of biblical interpretation. Claims of objective interpretation are assumed to hide broader, underlying agendas.

1. Early Theorists and Their Contributions
2. R. S. Sugirtharajah’s Influence
3. Postcolonial Reading of Biblical Texts

1. Early Theorists and Their Contributions.

Numerous contemporary theorists continue to give shape and substance to the approach. Instrumental in its growing popularity were the early theoretical contributions of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak.

1.1. Edward Said. Said’s project *Orientalism* (1978) is viewed by many as the formal starting point for the academic interest in this approach. Said’s broad-ranging cultural project was a study of the social history of how the West observed, described and manufactured conceptions of the East as “oriental”—that is, the “other”—often failing to consider the subjectivity of the persons of their study. The assumed objectivity of the West presented a particular kind of “truth” that represented the other in a manner that was less appealing, more sensual (especially Eastern females) and less rational (by Western standards). Among other things, Said’s study contributed ideas advantageous to a larger theoretical

framework, such as contrapuntal reading, which is the desire to read at least two documents from different perspectives simultaneously, one from the inside and one from the outside.

To read contrapuntally is to juxtapose the texts of the mainstream with those of the subaltern, or the texts of the colonizer with those of the colonized. This approach allows interpreters to place these documents in “conversation” with one another. This is not an attempt to establish a hierarchy of meaning, as if one text were more valuable than the other; rather, it is to look for gaps as well as links between the two. This strategy may include the reading of “primary” texts as well as “secondary” interpretations of primary texts. Accordingly, one reads “marginal” or “indigenous” scholarship alongside “mainstream” (usually European/North American, Western, white, male) scholarship.

1.2. Homi Bhabha. Bhabha, and the later Said, recognized the complex structures in place for investigations of the other. Sometimes the indigenous take on or assume the rhetoric of the colonizers, living simultaneously in two complex worlds. Bhabha contributes the concept of ambivalence or hybridity, the coming together of two spaces in which neither space is completely abolished, thereby creating an “ambivalent” or a “hybrid” space. Bhabha refers to this as a “third space.” In an interview with W. J. T. Mitchell, Bhabha describes an example of what he calls a “vegetarian Bible.” Hindus were willing to become Christian Hindus if the Christian priests relinquished eating meat. Christian Hindus, and the “Bible” they translated into the Indian language, became a hybridized and newly developed space partly separated from the English-speaking Western world.

1.3. Gayatri Spivak. Spivak, more than Said or Bhabha, investigated the literary-linguistic side of postcolonial studies. In an oft-quoted essay, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” Spivak questioned the potential of the indigenous/marginalized to have their own say. In the traditional, historical and academic record others represent the subaltern, the natives about whom the historical events are generally recorded. If one follows colonial history only, “the subaltern has no history and cannot speak” (Spivak, 28). Such history is an elitist perspective. Spivak’s clarion call (along with others, such as Ranajit Guha and Dipesh Chakrabarty) has sensitized postcolonial theorists to redirect some of their projects in a more intentional way.

2. R. S. Sugirtharajah’s Influence.

No person is more often associated with postcolonial

criticism than R. S. Sugirtharajah, of the University of Birmingham. From his groundbreaking edited (and updated) collection *Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World*, widely used as a textbook in biblical and theological classes, to his role as editor of the *The Bible and Postcolonialism* series, he continues to discern and foster new conversations under this approach. At present, he has two *Festschriften* in his honor, contributing to his impact on the field (Premnath; Liew 2009). Sugirtharajah challenges fellow sojourners to rethink the centrality of the Bible—that is, the collection of ancient documents of the ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean worlds. De-centering the text (even the biblical text) is one objective of some postcolonial interpreters, a phenomenon overlooked in some earlier examinations “from the margins.” The centrality of the Bible was one predicament, according to Sugirtharajah, in the early stages of liberation theology. Theologically, Sugirtharajah desires to foster a more vibrant interreligious dynamic, one perhaps akin to the “third space” that Bhabha envisioned. Even the religious notion of “monotheism,” despite its theological emphasis in the NT, has damaging implications for contemporary Christianity, according to Sugirtharajah, especially for those desiring to reside in a more polytheistic, global and less exclusive religious world.

3. Postcolonial Reading of Biblical Texts.

In the field of biblical studies there are presently three directions that postcolonial interpreters have taken. First, some interpreters recognize and explore the context of the Roman Empire as the setting for the documents of early Christianity. Do these treatises critique or perpetuate Roman political policies? Are they in favor of empire or not? Most scholars who pursue this direction generally recognize the difference between the imperialistic tendencies of ancient Rome and those of the modern Western world. Rome maintained imperialism without capitalism in the modern sense. But it was an imperializing force nonetheless. Other postcolonial scholars, such as S. Moore, would not neatly classify the group performing “empire studies” as explicitly engaging in postcolonial interpretation. An emphasis of this approach is on the political nature of these tracts, which serves as a corrective to the concentrated focus on the theological dimension of early Christian texts.

Second, some postcolonial interpreters (e.g., M. Dube, R. Boer, R. S. Sugirtharajah) appropriate Said’s idea of contrapuntal reading as a fundamental aspect of exegetical work. For example, G. Soares-

Prabhu investigates the so-called Great Commission passage in Matthew 28 in light of Buddhist texts. This type of recently developed “intertextual” reading can be particularly useful for Christians who desire more thoughtfully engaging interreligious dialogues.

Third, an important area of postcolonial criticism explores how the heirs of indigenous colonized communities interpret the biblical texts. How do the “subalterns,” affected by centuries of economic abuse, read the Bible missionaries brought with them? As an old African proverb goes, “When the white man came to our country, he had the Bible, and we had the land. The white man said to us, ‘Let us pray.’ After the prayer, the white man had the land, and we had the Bible” (see Dube 2001). How do indigenous people wrestle with Scripture in their non-Western context after the White missionaries have departed?

All three approaches remind contemporary interpreters to keep specific issues at the center of the investigation: sensitivity to issues of power relations within the stories, including attention to issues of “land,” “race” and “gender”; commitment to the other (in/outside the story world); “contrapuntal” reading, which intermixes “traditional interpretations” with “marginal interpretations”; and a sensitivity “to help reposition [the Bible] in relation to its oriental roots and Eastern heritage” (Sugirtharajah 2001, 257-58). Such concerns are highlighted in the primary texts under discussion but also provide clues into the secondary literature attempting to guide an understanding of the primary texts.

In addition, this approach reminds interpreters to stay attuned to the following questions: (1) Who has the power to tell or interpret stories? (2) To whom do the stories/texts belong? (3) Who controls the meaning? (4) Against whom are the stories or interpretations aimed? (5) What is their ethical effect? (6) Who has power to access data? (7) What role does gender play? (8) What methods count as appropriate? (9) Does the text/story take a clear stance against ruling powers? (10) How is “otherness” constructed in the story?

As these questions demonstrate, this approach considers issues of power, status, identity, economics, ethnicity, and so forth, and the complexities of such in any given texts. It operates, then, on several levels at once. First, it is sensitive to the issues surrounding the text under interpretation. Second, it is sensitive to the issues surrounding the interpretations of the text under interpretation. Third, it is sensitive to the issues surrounding the culture of the interpreter who is investigating the text under inter-

pretation. In all, it is about margins, the borders and the other, all terms—margin, border, other—that are themselves becoming contested (Liew 2009).

In *A Postcolonial Commentary on the New Testament Writings* commentators on the four Gospels tackle the biblical texts from postcolonial angles. Their collective example provides some sense of the variety within postcolonial approaches to the Gospels. All of these interpreters situate their respective Gospels within the Roman imperial context, though each one handles the implications of that setting differently. These interpreters recognize the ambivalent stances that their Gospel takes with respect to exclusive claims of justice (W. Carter, F. Segovia), the complexity of replacing authority with an alternative authority (T. Liew, F. Segovia) or the ambiguous political stance of the Gospel toward the empire (V. Burrus, T. Liew). The question of whether the Gospels function as “postcolonial literature” is addressed and complicated by all of these interpreters. The hybridity of the Gospels may be their most common feature. The canonical Gospels utilize the imperial language of “gospel” (*euangelion*), “authority” (*exousia*) and “power” (*dynamis*) (see Authority and Power) to describe God’s own imperial venture, with attempts to redefine the meaning of these terms. Resituating these terms may be necessary in order to communicate its message in this first-century A.D. Greco-Roman context. More disturbing for these commentators is the borrowing of the signs of imperial power in order to narrate the evidence of God’s work in the world, including division (Mt 10:34; Lk 12:51), destruction (Mt 22:1-14) and gender oppression (Mk 7:24-30). Jesus not only suffers under the imperial will (Mk 10:33-34), but also he will repay with equal “imperial” force (Mk 9:1; 14:62). While Jesus’ earthly presence symbolizes peace, his end-time return is described, in analogous imperial fashion, as one of violent revolution. Sometimes the “colonized” imitate the rhetoric and actions of their “colonizers.” In Bhabha’s words, “Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demand of colonial power but re-implicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power” (Bhabha 1995, 34-35).

Postcolonial criticism, then, is not a method in any traditional way. It is a sense, like a “sixth sense.” Interpreters may add this approach to other meth-

ods that they utilize. However, they should remain attentive to the implications of their conclusions, especially the effect of those interpretations on those persons on the margins of society.

See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN CRITICISM; FEMINIST AND WOMANIST CRITICISMS; LATINO/LATINA CRITICISM; ROME.

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E. B. Powery

PRAETORIUM. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

PRAYER

Christian theology often has been marred by an unfortunate tendency to caricature first-century A.D. Judaism by projecting stilted portrayals of later rabbinic teaching back into the time of Jesus. Such misrepresentation has infected the Christian perception of Jewish prayer by highlighting the supposed legalism, formalism and predictability of memorized, statutory prayers recited with little or no room for spontaneity or individual expression to a distant God with whom there was little hope of personal intimacy. Nothing could be further from the truth. Second Temple Judaism was anything but straight-jacketed or monolithic. Setting aside possible evidence of increasing formalism in later rabbinic texts, the earliest of which postdate Jesus by more than a century, we may safely say that Jewish prayer in the first century A.D. was a highly diverse, lively spiritual practice characterized by all the admirable and the unfortunate traits characteristic of any other human religious activity. Furthermore, the four Gospels portray Jesus as a man deeply embedded in his own time who was also a religious innovator whose unique self-understanding and authoritative claims inaugurated a vision of prayer as intimate communication with the heavenly Father mediated through the only Son.

1. Jewish Prayer Practices in the Time of Jesus
2. Jesus' Prayer Habits
3. The "Lord's Prayer"
4. Prayer in the Gospels

1. Jewish Prayer Practices in the Time of Jesus.

From ancient times (1 Chron 23:30; Ps 5:3; 55:17; 88:13; Ezra 9:5; Dan 9:21; Jdt 9:1; *Pss. Sol.* 6:4) morning and evening were occasions for prayer and recitation of the Shema (originally Deut 6:4, but eventually expanded to include Deut 6:5-9; 11:13-21; Num 15:37-41). Josephus regarded this practice as a Mosaic ordinance (*Ant.* 4.212-213), typically obeyed in the privacy of the home. Technically, the Shema is a statement of faith more than a prayer, but it was made a prayer by the addition of introductory and concluding words of blessing. Portions of it have been discovered on tiny scrolls at Qumran, providing material evidence for the Palestinian use of phylacteries and of Shema recitation in Second Temple Judaism. Many associated these prayers with the morning and evening sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple, which could be called a "house of prayer" (Is 56:7; Mk 11:17 par.). Thus, the time of sacrifice was "the hour of prayer" (Acts 3:1; 10:9, 30), even though there is no evidence of coordinated communal prayer within the temple precincts, and the arena immediately surrounding the altar was an area of silence. For the Qumran community, which viewed the Jerusalem temple as apostate, the morning and evening prayers were associated with the rising and setting of the sun rather than sacrifice (1QS X, 1-3, 11; 1QH^a XX, 4-7; 1QM XIV, 12-14 [see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.128-129]). Philo attests similar solar associations among the Egyptian Therapeutae (*Contempl.* 27-28).

Midday prayer also has an ancient pedigree (Ps 55:17; Dan 6:10; 2 En. 51:4; Acts 10:9; *Did.* 8:3) and is associated with the three-times-a-day recitation of the Eighteen Benedictions (Shemoneh Esreh; also known as the Tefillah [Prayer] and the Amidah [Standing]), which eventually became the quintessential prayer of rabbinic Judaism (*m. Ber.* 4:1-5:5). The Tefillah is composed of three opening benedictions of praise; thirteen petitions for spiritual (three requests), material (four requests) and social (six requests) blessings; and three concluding benedictions of thanksgiving. However, there is no evidence that the Tefillah existed in more than a rudimentary form prior to the destruction of the temple (A.D. 70), in which case it would have reflected distinctly Pharisaic prayer habits, although similar benedictions, in different words and various orders, are attested more widely (2 Macc 1:24-29; Sir 36).

The synagogue was known as a “place of prayer” (Josephus, *Life* 277; *Ag. Ap.* 2.10; see Mk 1:21; Acts 13:15) where congregational involvement was encouraged. Every adult male could share in leading the assembly, and all could offer petitions in their own words. There is no evidence that prayers were recited in unison from a fixed text during Sabbath assemblies. In fact, evidence suggests that, at least among certain groups, rote recitation of memorized prayers was forbidden (*m. Ber.* 4:4). Together with the rabbinic warning never to write prayers down (“Those who write down benedictions are as though they burned the Torah” [*b. Šabb.* 115b]), such regulations reflect ancient concerns that all prayer be offered with *kawwanah*—concentrated, heartfelt devotion.

Reciting a blessing before each meal was also widely practiced (Deut 8:10; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.131; 1QS VI, 4-5; *m. Ber.* 6-8), and this custom was inherited by the early church from Jesus’ own practice (Mk 6:41; 8:6-7; 14:22-23; Rom 14:6; 1 Cor 10:30; 1 Tim 4:4).

The diversity found in the content and habits of prayer in Second Temple literature demonstrates that first-century A.D. Jewish prayer was anything but formalized. Prayer was democratic and egalitarian; individuals were welcome to approach Yahweh as a relational God who engaged in personal interaction with the faithful.

2. Jesus’ Prayer Habits.

Investigating Jesus’ prayer habits must presuppose certain conclusions about his religious and cultural context (see 1 above) as well as the content of the canonical gospels (see 3, 4 below). Inevitably there is a circular dimension to the discussion, but the interaction of historical and literary analysis may produce a plausible portrait of Jesus’ prayer life.

Jesus was reared in a pious Jewish home (Mt 1:19, 24-25; Lk 1:38; 2:21-24, 39, 41-42, 51-52) in which undoubtedly he learned to pray at an early age. Such instruction would have included lessons in how to offer *blessings over meals, morning and evening prayers with the Shema, perhaps afternoon prayer, and the encouragement to cultivate his own relationship with Yahweh through praise, confession and petition offered spontaneously as needed. The Gospels reflect this upbringing when they depict Jesus, later in his life, praying in early morning (Mk 1:35), late in the day (Mk 6:46 par.), before major decisions (Lk 6:12) and praising the Father for a successful mission (Lk 10:21-22 par.). Jesus, in turn, passes on his personal approach to prayer by teaching and modeling daily prayer to his disciples (Lk 11:1-4 par.), petitioning the Father in a time of crisis

(Mk 14:32-42 par.) and turning to Yahweh as he faces death (Mk 15:33-37; Lk 23:46).

Jesus regularly attended *Sabbath synagogue services where he would have participated in communal prayer (Lk 4:16), although the Gospels describe only occasions where he preached to the congregation (Mk 1:21-29, 39; 3:1; 6:2; Mt 9:35; Lk 4:15-21; 13:10). He shared the notion of the temple as a house of prayer, at least ideally (Mk 11:17 par.); his temple cleansing testifies to his passion for that ideal (Mk 11:12-16 par.; cf. Is 56:7; Jer 7:11). Yet, as with his synagogue appearance, the Gospels prefer to focus on Jesus’ teaching in the temple precincts (Mt 21:23; 24:1; Mk 11:27; 12:35; 13:1; Lk 2:41-50; 19:47-48; 20:1; 21:37-38; Jn 7:14, 28, 32, 45; 8:2, 20, 59; 10:22-39; 18:20).

Since the work of J. Jeremias, biblical scholars have given considerable attention to Jesus’ use of the Aramaic word *’abbā’* (meaning either “my Father” or “the Father”) in prayer. In Jeremias’s view, Jesus’ turn to *God as “my Father” was the central statement of his identity and mission, expressing a unique relationship with God that could only have come as “a word of revelation.” Jeremias’s argument consisted of several related points: addressing God personally as “my Father” was unknown in Palestinian Judaism prior to the NT period; the Hebrew words *’ab* (“Father”) and *’ābī* (“my Father”) had been completely supplanted by *’abbā’* in both Aramaic and Hebrew; *’abbā’* was the standard word used by children to address their father; whenever Jesus prayed, he always addressed God as *’abbā’*; Jesus’ practice in this regard was unprecedented. However, Jeremias’s arguments have not withstood the test of time.

First, as even Jeremias admitted, referring to God as “Father” was not unprecedented in Second Temple Judaism (Tob 13:4; 3 Macc 2:21; 5:7; 7:6; Wis 2:16; 11:10; *Jub.* 1:25, 28; 1QH^a IX, 35; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.152). Furthermore, God could even be addressed directly in prayer as “Father/my Father” (Sir 23:1, 4; 51:10; 3 Macc 6:3, 8; Wis 14:3; *Jos. Asen.* 12:8, 14-15; *Apocr. Ezek.* frg. 2; 4Q372 I, 16).

Second, Jeremias’s claim that *’abbā’* was the only term available to express “my Father” in first-century A.D. Aramaic and Hebrew is now known to be incorrect. The Hebrew words *’ab* and *’ābī* are standard terms in both Aramaic and Hebrew texts from the period (4Q372 I, 16; 1QH^a XVII, 35; 1Qap-Gen ar II, 19, 24; III, 3; 4Q213a I, II, 12; 4Q539 2, 3).

Third, the Gospels describe Jesus praying to *’abbā’* only once, in Mark’s version of the *Gethsemane incident (Mk 14:36), hardly a typical situation. Elsewhere, “Father” is always rendered by the

Greek *patēr*, which is just as likely a translation of 'ab or 'ābī as of 'abbā'. Better evidence for Jesus' use of 'abbā' appears in Paul's references to the word in Romans 8:16-17; Galatians 4:6-7, letters written to Hellenistic communities that would have had no other reason to know Aramaic. But this is a tenuous basis for asserting that Jesus always and only prayed to God as 'abbā'.

Fourth, there is no reason to assume that the intimacy of Jesus' relationship with Yahweh was tied to or dependent upon a particular word, whether 'abbā', 'ab or 'ābī. Nor is there evidence to say that intimacy with God as Father was the distinguishing feature of Jesus' prayers. Divine fatherhood certainly was a matter of relational intimacy, but it also concerned divine lordship (Ps 2:7; Mal 1:6; *Jub.* 1:24-25; *Pss. Sol.* 17:26-27; Mt 5:16, 45; 6:9-10 par., 32-33 par.; 7:21; 10:29; 11:25-27 par.; 15:13; 16:27; 20:23; 26:53; Mk 13:32 par.; 14:36; Lk 22:29) as well as God's work as redeemer (Ex 4:22; Is 63:16; Jer 31:20; 4Q372 I, 16; Mt 6:12-13 par.; 16:17; 18:10-14; 26:29; Mk 11:25 par.; Lk 23:34, 46; 24:49).

Indeed, Jesus' prayers were unique, but not because he prayed to God as 'abbā', 'ab or 'ābī. They were unique because Jesus, in praying to his Father, did so as the one, unique Son, a self-understanding rooted in his own religious experience (on this point Jeremiah was correct) (see Son of God). It was Jesus' claim to a unique identity that set his prayers apart, not an idiosyncratic vocabulary. A quintessential example appears in Luke 10:21-22 (// Mt 11:25-27). Though often referred to as a "thunderbolt from the Johannine sky," Jesus' prayer is more accurately described as the Synoptic preview of the Johannine vision (something that Jeremiah also observed). Jesus harnessed conventional language to unveil a new, revelatory reality: "No one knows who the Son is except the Father, and no one knows who the Father is except the Son and whomever the Son wishes to reveal him to." Filial intimacy with the God of Abraham, an intimacy historically available to members of the old covenant, is now experienced exclusively through Jesus, the Father's unique Son.

3. The "Lord's Prayer."

The iconic prayer of Christian devotion traditionally known as the "Lord's Prayer" appears in Matthew 6:9-13 and Luke 11:2-4. *Didache* 8 shows that some in the first-century A.D. church recited this prayer three times each day as a replacement for the Shema and Tefillah. Each of these two Gospels presents a different version of Jesus' words (see Table 1).

Matthew shows his familiarity with Jewish prac-

tice by introducing the prayer as a model rather than a fixed formula (recall the Jewish aversion to memorizing written prayers). Matthew's Jesus says, "Pray like this/in this manner" (*houtōs proseuchesthe*). Jesus instructs his followers in the concerns and priorities that he expects to animate their lives, a format typical of prescribed prayers. Elaborating on any or all of the petitions was standard practice. Perhaps this accounts for the two different canonical versions of the prayer. Or they may reflect the evolution of two liturgical traditions, although it is equally possible that they exhibit the editorial interests of the Gospel writers, especially Matthew (see 4 below).

Matthew's version divides into two sections of three petitions each united by parallel grammatical constructions (see Table 2). Luke's introduction describes a disciple asking Jesus to teach him how to pray. The various sects of Second Temple Judaism were distinguished by religious, social and political emphases that naturally would tailor group-specific approaches to prayer. In approaching Jesus as he does, this disciple notes that "John the Baptist taught his disciples how to pray appropriately. The Teacher of Righteousness played a similar role at Qumran. According to Luke, at least some of Jesus' disciples expected comparable instruction from him. Their request, coupled with Jesus' positive response, indicates that Jesus and his followers viewed themselves as a distinct group animated by particular concerns. Furthermore, since the disciple makes his request after observing Jesus at prayer, the narrative implies that Jesus taught what he modeled and modeled what he taught, a crucial principle for Christian theology and practice. This prayer is simultaneously the Lord's prayer, conveying his priorities, and the disciples' prayer, instructing them (and all Christians) in how their prayers become like his. Disciples are expected to appropriate Jesus' priorities, conforming their lives to his passions. Since Luke's entire version is contained within Matthew's, the longer tradition will be analyzed here.

3.1. The Address: "Our Father." Although the address in Matthew's version ("our Father who is in heaven") is more elaborate than the one in Luke's version ("Father"), there is no essential difference between them. Relating to God as Father connotes personal intimacy but also acknowledges God as the Creator (Deut 32:6; Acts 17:28), King (Ps 2:7; Mal 1:6; *Jub.* 1:24-25; *Pss. Sol.* 17:26-27) and Redeemer (Ex 4:22; Is 63:16; Jer 31:20), dimensions of divine Fatherhood directly addressed in the first three petitions. Matthew's collective address ("our Father") is no less intimate than Luke's, since the one praying understands

Table 1. Lord's Prayer in Matthew and Luke

Matthew 6:9-13 Our Father in heaven May your name be sanctified May your kingdom come May your will be done As in heaven, so also on earth Give us today our daily bread Forgive us our debts As we also have forgiven our debtors And do not lead us into temptation But deliver us from evil.	Luke 11:2-4 Father May your name be sanctified May your kingdom come Give us each day our daily bread Forgive us our sins As we also forgive everyone who sins against us And do not lead us into temptation.
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that relationship with God results from an individual's membership within the covenant community. That the Father "is in heaven" does not put God at a distance but rather acknowledges divine sovereignty over all the earth, for heaven is the Father's throne room (Mt 5:34). The phrase also coheres with Matthew's preference for referring to "the kingdom of heaven" instead of "the kingdom of God." Jesus is inviting his disciples to follow him and enter into their own unique relationship with God as Father.

3.2. The First Petition: "May Your Name Be Sanctified." "The name" is a circumlocution for God's person. To know another person or a deity by name is to be in relationship with that person or deity. To act in someone's name is to act by that person's authority on his or her behalf. "To sanctify the name" was the traditional Hebrew way of calling for the public display of God's holiness (Lev 22:32; Is 29:23; Ezek 36:23; 1 En. 61:12). Thus, the first petition instructs disciples to ask that God would reveal his holiness to the world, something that God alone can do. Jesus almost certainly had in mind the words spoken through the prophet Ezekiel in which Yahweh declares, "I will show the holiness of my great name" by delivering Judah from Babylonian captivity (Ezek 36:21-23; 38:16, 23; 39:7, 25-27). Ezekiel's association of Yahweh's commitment to deliver Judah with the promise to pour out the Spirit on all people, thereby transforming Judah's "heart of stone into a heart of flesh" (Ezek 36:26-27; 39:29 [cf. Jer 31:31-34]), gives a specific focus to the manner in which God "sanctifies the name": it occurs when the end-time gift of the Spirit comes to transform God's redeemed people, and Yahweh is shown to be the one and only true God. Jesus the messianic Son fulfills Ezekiel's vision through his inauguration of the kingdom.

God's holiness is now revealed in the cosmic plan of redemption unfolding through Jesus. Disciples are to share in this endeavor, praying for the Father's ultimate success.

3.3. The Second Petition: "May Your Kingdom Come." Jesus was not the first to associate the sanctification of God's name with prayer for the coming *kingdom. An ancient prayer known as the Kaddish states, "May his great name be magnified and sanctified according to his will in the world he created. May he establish his kingdom in our lifetime, in our days." Yahweh sanctifies his name by establishing the long-awaited kingdom on earth (Pss. Sol. 17; 1QM XII, 7-8). The kingdom's consummation is the establishment of God's royal rule over creation demonstrated in the *judgment of all those in rebellion and the eternal *blessing of all the righteous. Jesus' particular formulation of "the kingdom coming" remains unparalleled in Jewish literature, where typically it is God who comes to the nation (1 Chron 16:33; Ps 96:13; 98:9; Is 26:21; 35:4; 40:9-10; 1 En. 1:3-9; 25:3; Jub. 1:22-28; As. Mos. 10:1-12). Now Jesus and the kingdom come together, for he inaugurates the Father's victory on earth (laying the foundation for the "already but not yet" eschatology characteristic of the NT). Jesus' disciples must live as obedient citizens within the kingdom, submitting to the king's authority, demonstrating the transformative power of the Father's life-giving Spirit. However, kingdom obedience should not be confused with the kingdom's coming; this is not a request that people behave in a manner sufficient for the establishment of God's reign, or that human transformation may inaugurate the kingdom. Only the Father brings the kingdom through the gospel proclamation of his Son. Thus, prayer for the kingdom's coming is multi-

Table 2. Matthew's Two Parallel Petitions

Set One 1. May your name be sanctified 2. May your kingdom come 3. May your will be done	Set Two 4. Give us our daily bread 5. Forgive us our debts/sins 6. Deliver us from evil
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dimensional. The petitioner (1) surrenders daily to the comprehensive, existential demands of Jesus' lordship; (2) embodies the self-sacrificial, ethical expectations of kingdom citizenship; (3) eagerly anticipates the Father's final victory at Jesus' parousia.

Some late manuscripts of Luke's Gospel replace the kingdom clause with "May your Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us." This change accords with Luke's special interest in the Spirit's activity (seventeen references, versus six in Mark and twelve in Matthew). Since the Spirit's arrival is evidence of the kingdom's presence, the petition requests the spiritual empowerment necessary for obedient kingdom living.

3.4. The Third Petition: "May Your Will Be Done." The first three petitions offer variations on a theme, repeating the same request in different ways; thus, nothing substantive is lost by the absence of this petition from Luke's version of the prayer. Furthermore, the third petition in Matthew is identical to a unique phrase also found in Matthew's version of Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane (evidence of Matthean redaction?). On that occasion, the Matthean Jesus prays, "My Father [*pater mou*], if it is not possible for this cup to be taken away unless I drink it, *may your will be done*" (Mt 26:42). Jesus does not teach his disciples to perform anything that he himself does not implement. At his moment of greatest crisis Jesus embodies the principal lessons of the first half of the Lord's Prayer: *discipleship is always theocentric, never egocentric; it is animated by the kingdom's coming; thus prayer, even when petitionary, is not so much a means of getting what one wants as it is a continual (re)submission to the Father's purposes.

The clause "as in heaven, so also on earth" probably is intended to modify all three of the preceding requests, as was first suggested by Origen (*Or.* 26.2). Jewish prayer typically was cosmic in scope, anticipating the eventual obedient coordination of every dimension in God's creation. Since heaven is the ultimate location of God's throne (Mt 5:34), praying "on earth as it is in heaven" anticipates the coming of the *Son of Man on heaven's clouds, when the Father's lordship becomes cosmically uncontested.

3.5. The Fourth Petition: "Give Us Our Daily Bread." The transition from the first to the second set of petitions has long been the subject of debate. There are two basic positions: first, there is no transition to speak of because the second half of the prayer is as *apocalyptically oriented toward future fulfillment as the first; second, there is a definite shift at the prayer's midpoint, with petitions four through six turning away from apocalyptic hopes to focus on the real-

world necessities of temporal well-being. Perhaps it is wiser to reject the demand to choose, allowing the entire prayer to remain apocalyptically oriented while reading petitions four through six as instructive in how to submit temporal concerns to the primacy of God's apocalyptic kingdom (cf. Mt 6:33-34).

The sole adjective in the entire prayer, *epiousios*, which modifies "bread," appears nowhere else in Greek literature (apart from later Christian references). Three different etymologies have been suggested: (1) from the preposition *epi* plus the noun *ousia* ("being, existence"), yielding either "the bread necessary for physical existence" or "the spiritual bread from heaven;" (2) from the temporal phrase *epi tēn ousan [hēmeran]* ("for the present [day]"), yielding "enough bread for today;" (3) from the feminine participle of *epeimi* ("to come upon, arrive"), yielding "give us today our bread for the coming day." This last option also may be read materially (real bread for now) or spiritually (spiritual bread preparing us for the parousia). Although the etymology remains uncertain, the freedom with which Jewish prayers asked God for immediate, physical necessities should give priority to a straightforward, material understanding.

Disciples are invited to pray for their material needs, but they should not forget the emphasis on (1) needs not desires, (2) essentials not luxury or abundance, (3) daily requirements not accumulation or excess, and (4) necessities for faithful citizenship in the kingdom of God not temporal society. Authentically praying the first three petitions radically reshapes a disciple's perspective on what constitutes genuine necessity.

3.6. The Fifth Petition: "Forgive Us." The variation in Matthew's use of "debt" and Luke's use of *"sin" is evidence of the prayer's origin in Palestine, where Aramaic was commonly spoken. The Aramaic word *hōbā'* means "debt, money owed," but it can metaphorically designate "sin, guilt" (as indebtedness to another). Matthew and Luke offer two translation variants of a shared Aramaic source (oral or written?). The apparent conditionality of this request ("forgive us as we forgive others") must be interpreted within the full context of Jesus' teaching (Mt 5:23-26, 43-48; 6:14-15; 18:21-35; Lk 6:35; 7:36-50; 17:4). The Father's *forgiveness is always a gift to the undeserving (Ps 19:12; 25:11, 18; Is 40:2; 55:6-7; Jer 31:34; 33:8; 36:3, 7; Ezek 36:25-32; 11Q5 XIX, 9-11, 13-14; Tefillah benedictions 5, 6), but Jesus frequently reminds disciples that a tree is identifiable by its fruit (Mt 3:10; 7:17-19; 12:33; Lk 8:43-45). Grace received overflows as grace extended to others. An unforgiv-

ing disposition indicates alienation from God's *mercy. Because the fifth petition presumes daily self-examination, confession and *repentance, the continual experience of God's mercy should create a humility that willingly forgives others.

3.7. The Sixth Petition: "Do Not Lead Us to Temptation." The final petition, containing the prayer's only negative request, asking God not to do something, presents several ambiguities. First, the Greek word *peirasmos* may mean either "temptation to do wrong" or "testing to be approved." The Letter of James, for example, uses *peirasmos* in both senses when discussing life's struggles (Jas 1:2 [testing]; Jas 1:12-14 [temptation]). Second, commentators debate whether Matthew's additional clause "but deliver us from evil" refers to "evil" (i.e., acts of personal wickedness) or to the "evil one" (i.e., Satan). Third, interpreters disagree over whether the person praying asks for preservation through life's turmoil or for preservation from the final tribulation at the end of history (Rev 3:10). The tenor of the second half of the Lord's Prayer, turning as it does to the disciple's temporal, material needs, together with parallels such as Sirach 2:1; 33:1; 11Q5 XXIV, 1—texts that describe God's responsibility for both sending and delivering from testing—indicates that the most likely sense is "Do not lead us into worldly tests, but rescue us from wickedness."

The tension in the request is palpable. The disciple is being taught to pray, "Father, do not lead us into the tests that you provide for our growth." But again, Jesus' experience provides the key. Both Jesus' forty days in the wilderness (Mk 1:13 par.) and his agony in Gethsemane (Mk 14:32-42 par.) illustrate Jesus' grappling with this very tension as he follows the Father obediently into a crisis situation while also praying for the Father to deliver him out of it (compare Sir 2:1; 33:1). Such seemingly contradictory behavior is actually a faithful recognition that there is no need to go searching for trials, since obedient discipleship will bring them readily enough; and while the origins of life's struggles often remain inscrutable, the Father's resources are always available. Whether a difficulty is merely circumstantial or deliberately sent either by God to test us or by Satan to tempt us is best evaluated in retrospect. In any case, the origins of the trial are irrelevant to the final outcome, for the Father never sends an impossible test (1 Cor 10:13), and demonic temptation need never prove irresistible (Jn 16:33; Heb 2:18; Jas 1:14; 1 Jn 4:4; 5:4-9). Gethsemane is paradigmatic. The disciples' behavior contrasts with Jesus' actions as their failure to pray presages their failure in the moment of testing/temptation (Mk

14:38 par.). For Jesus, Gethsemane (and his fasting in the desert) was a test that he endured even though both entailed satanic temptation. For the disciples, an opportunity for growth in Gethsemane became a temptation that they failed even though they were led into it by Jesus. Jesus' faithful endurance also demonstrates how the sixth petition is connected to the third, tying together the end of the prayer's first half with the end of the prayer's second half: "Father, do not lead me into testing, but may your will be done, and may I always obey." Such daily prayer, introspection and situational awareness are essential to enduring discipleship.

4. Prayer in the Gospels.

Appreciating each Gospel as a unique, literary achievement is an important dimension of NT interpretation. Whether reflecting diverse oral and/or written traditions (e.g., Q), editorial activity or a combination of both, each of the four Gospels presents the subject of prayer somewhat differently. Adequately grasping NT teaching requires both an appreciation for the literary dimensions of each Gospel (rather than harmonizing them into a single narrative) and valuing the different ways in which each book depicts the historical Jesus. These two approaches need not conflict and may prove to be mutually illuminating.

4.1. Mark. Mark's Gospel opens with the *Holy Spirit descending on Jesus as a heavenly voice declares that he is God's unique Son, who now takes up the roles of Davidic king and Isaianic *servant (reading Mk 1:11 as a conflation of LXX Gen 22:2; Ps 2:7; Is 42:1). As Son of God, Jesus experiences the Spirit's direction (Mk 1:12-13) and empowerment for his proclamation of the kingdom (Mk 1:14-15, 21-22, 39), the performance of exorcisms (Mk 1:23-28, 32-34, 39) and *healing of the sick (Mk 1:29-31, 40-42). The first prayer reference depicts Jesus rising early in the morning to pray (Mk 1:35) and then instructing his disciples in the next step of their itinerary (Mk 1:38-39). The implication is that the Spirit-empowered Son of God receives divine direction through prayer. Mark's second prayer reference (Mk 6:46), coming hard on the heels of John's martyrdom (Mk 6:14-29) (and earlier references to hostility [Mk 3:6, 21-22; 6:2-6, 11, 14-29]), reiterates that Jesus obeys the Father regardless of opposition. Thus, Mark begins to unfold a complex Christology: Jesus fulfills his mission through the combination of personal identity, empowerment by the Holy Spirit and faithfulness in prayer.

Mark 9:29, the third prayer text, extends the value of prayer from Jesus to the disciples. Although

they too have experienced great success in preaching, exorcism and healing (Mk 6:7-13), when confronted by a demon-possessed boy, their attempts at exorcism failed because they failed to pray (Mk 9:17-29). Apparently, they had forgotten that kingdom service requires ongoing, prayerful dependence on the Father (Mk 9:29). In other words, they had yet to fully appropriate the example modeled by Jesus. Here Mark indicates the connections between his *Christology (Jesus as the prayerful Son) and successful discipleship (and the theological category of sanctification).

The fourth prayer text (Mk 11:17, 24-25) further expands upon the disciples' role in the kingdom. Jesus accuses the temple leaders of subverting God's intentions that the sanctuary be a house of prayer for all (Mk 11:17). In contrast, Jesus appoints his followers as the new house of prayer, replacing the apostate leadership (Mk 11:18) soon to be destroyed by God (Mk 11:12-17, 20-25). The mountain being removed through the disciples' prayers (Mk 11:23) is Mount Zion, now representative of any obstacle that would stand in the way of God's coming kingdom. The community of Jesus' praying followers becomes the new location of the Father's holy presence on earth, as well as the new hub for his kingdom expansion.

Mark finally includes two incidental references to prayer, one ethical (Mk 12:40), the other concerning prayer for relief during the Roman siege of Jerusalem (Mk 13:18), before reaching the climax of his prayer theme in Gethsemane (Mk 14:32-39). Jesus and the disciples are juxtaposed. Jesus pursues obedience through his greatest test/temptation by praying, while his disciples fall asleep, neglecting their spiritual preparation for the trial ahead. Thus, Mark's prayer theme portrays Jesus both as the paradigmatic man of prayer to be emulated by every disciple and as the unique agent of God's kingdom whose own prayer life was essential to his successful mission.

4.2. Matthew. Matthew reproduces Mark's basic prayer themes in presenting Jesus as both exemplary and unique in his prayer life. First, Jesus prays as John's martyrdom foreshadows his own destiny (Mt 14:1-12, 23), again suggesting that his persistent faithfulness to Calvary is in some measure due to his prayerful communion with the Father. Second, the community of disciples will become the new house/temple of prayer (Mt 21:12-13, 18-22; cf. Mt 18:15-20). Third, Gethsemane remains paradigmatic for prayer's role in spiritual perseverance (Mt 26:36-46). Matthew also adds didactic texts supplementing his special portrait of Jesus as the final prophet like Moses. Thus, Jesus authoritatively prays for and blesses little

*children (Mt 19:13), and he introduces the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:9-13) with apodictic, ethical injunctions: disciples pray for their persecutors (Mt 5:44); they will not pray in ways calculated to gain public recognition (Mt 6:5-6); and they pray not to bend God's will but instead to place their trust in God's goodness (Mt 6:7-8).

Most importantly, as the final prophet like Moses, Jesus thanks the Father for answering his prayers (Mt 11:25-27), thereby revealing the content of Jesus' petitions. This Son has an exclusive, filial relationship with the Father in which "all things have been committed to him," including his role as sole revealer of the Father to others, another crucial christological affirmation. It is through the medium of Jesus' prayers that disciples are enabled to find faith.

4.3. Luke. Luke's Gospel says more about prayer than any other, sharing Mark's perspectives but with significant alterations. First, Luke's introductory chapters serve as a pre-Pentecost, linking the work of the Holy Spirit with the prayers of the faithful (Lk 1:10, 13; 2:37; cf. Acts 1:8, 14; 2:1-4, 42).

Second, Jesus continues to receive divine guidance through prayer (Lk 5:16, replacing Mk 1:35 // Lk 4:42); he also remains exemplary in his prayerful obedience on the Mount of Olives, unlike the sleeping, unfaithful disciples (Lk 22:39-46). Here Luke's editing highlights Jesus' paradigmatic role as the "pray-er" par excellence (Crumpp 1992). However, Luke omits Mark's materials linking prayer and discipleship where Jesus exhorts the disciples about prayer and exorcism (Mk 9:29; cf. Lk 9:43-44) and curses the fig tree (Mk 11:24-25), replacing this symbol of judgment with Jesus' prophetic lament over Jerusalem (Lk 19:41-44). In both cases Luke reserves Mark's lessons about the importance of prayer to kingdom ministry and the disciples' status as God's new "house of prayer" for fuller treatment in Acts.

Third, the Lukan Jesus teaches extensively about the ethics and nature of prayer. The Q traditions about praying for enemies (Lk 6:28), reciting the Lord's Prayer (Lk 11:2-4), and using prayer for public display (Lk 20:47) need no comment. Luke's special material includes three assurances: the Father (1) is always eager to receive his people's prayers, never viewing any petitioner as "shameless," no matter the request or the circumstances (Lk 11:5-10 [in Lk 11:8 the word *anaideia*, traditionally rendered as "persistence," is better translated as "shamelessness"]); (2) will answer prayer only with good things (Lk 11:11-13), beginning with the best gift of all, the Holy Spirit (Lk 11:13; cf. Mt 7:11); (3) hears prayer the first time it is offered, unlike the unjust judge who re-

sponds only to repetition (Lk 18:1-5). Nonetheless, the Father answers in his own time, expecting that the faithful will persist in their prayers (even when seemingly unanswered) until the end of time (Lk 18:6-8; 21:36). Perseverance in prayer, not to be confused with repetitious prayer, even while suffering is the sign of faith for which the Son of Man will search when he comes (Lk 18:8).

Finally, Luke develops the christological theme of Jesus the intercessor, the Father's prayerful agent of divine revelation. Thus, Jesus prays while receiving his baptismal commission (Lk 3:21), before choosing the Twelve (Lk 6:12), before Peter's christological confession (Lk 9:18), before his *transfiguration (Lk 9:28-29) and before the disciples ask him how to pray (Lk 11:1). Luke's lesson is that spiritual illumination, especially insight into the truth of Jesus' identity, is made possible through his prayers. Disciples exercise faith as a direct result of Jesus' intercessions (Lk 10:21-22); the disciples persevere and overcome satanic accusation only because Jesus prays for them (Lk 22:31-32). Whereas other NT writers describe Christ taking up the cause of heavenly intercession after his *ascension and glorification (Rom 8:34; Heb 7:25; 1 Jn 2:1; cf. Acts 7:54-60), Luke insists that Jesus had already begun his work as (heavenly) intercessor during his earthly ministry of humiliation.

4.4. John. John's prayer material expands the christological theme of Jesus the intercessor. As the preexistent Word (*logos) that became flesh (Jn 1:1-18), Jesus comes "in the name of the Father" (Jn 5:43; 10:25), meaning that he lives to glorify God by doing only those things that the Father wants him to do (Jn 5:19-30; cf. Jn 8:49-50; 11:4; 13:31-32; 14:13; 15:8; 17:4; see also Deut 18:19-20). The resurrection of *Lazarus (Jn 11:1-44) serves to demonstrate that Jesus' petitions are always answered positively (Jn 11:21-22, 41-44) because he only asks according to God's will, which means that he always prays "in the name of the Father." The so-called High Priestly Prayer (Jn 17) depicts Jesus the intercessor praying for the fulfillment of the Father's will in his life (Jn 17:1-5), the lives of his disciples (Jn 11:6-19) and all future believers (Jn 11:20-26). Such wholesale obedience to the Father is the central tenet of discipleship and the focus of Jesus' prayer because the Father desires the same type of relationship with every disciple that he has with the Son: to be one (Jn 17:11, 20-23, 26). Jesus therefore "sends them [disciples] into the world" just as the Father sent him (Jn 17:18; 20:21). In other words, disciples are sent "in the name of Jesus" just as Jesus was sent "in the name of the Father." On this

basis, Jesus assures his followers, "Whatever you ask in my name, I will do" (Jn 14:13-14; 15:7-8, 16; 16:23, 26). In other words, Jesus promises the Father's positive response to prayer when it is aligned with his will, a point made explicit in 1 John 5:14: "This is our assurance we have in him, that whatever we ask according to his will, he hears us." In his own way, John agrees with the Synoptics. The praying Jesus is paradigmatic and unique, simultaneously. The intercessions of Jesus the intercessor make possible and exemplify the miraculous possibilities available to every disciple who intercedes "in the name of Jesus," in oneness with the Father and the Son.

See also DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; FAITH; FASTING; WORSHIP.

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D. M. Crump

PREDICTIONS OF JESUS' PASSION AND RESURRECTION

Acts 3:22 and 7:37 identify Jesus as the “prophet like Moses” (quoting Deut 18:15). Jesus is thus viewed by the early church as the proclaimer and interpreter of God’s past, present and future counsel. According to the Gospels, Jesus’ *prophetic ministry ranges from interpreting the Mosaic *law (Mt 5–7), proclaiming the nearness of the *kingdom of God (Mk 1:14–15), the prediction of the destruction of *Jerusalem and the *temple (Mk 13:2; Lk 13:33–35) to the prediction of his parousia as the *Son of Man (Lk 17:24). Of particular interest, however, are those predictions of Jesus that focus on his own immediate future. They testify to an inescapable crisis in the earthly life of Jesus. This article will explore these latter predictions, paying particular attention to the relationship between implicit and explicit predictions of Jesus’ *death and *resurrection.

1. The Accounts of the Gospels
2. Implicit Predictions of Jesus
3. Explicit Predictions of Jesus
4. Jesus as Interpreter of His Destiny
5. Conclusion

1. The Accounts of the Gospels.

The Synoptic Gospels in particular contain repeated predictions of the *passion and resurrection of Jesus.

In the second half of each of the Synoptics three major passion-resurrection predictions serve as significant landmarks in the unfolding narratives. Like birth pangs signaling a delivery, they point to Jesus’ inescapable mission awaiting him in Jerusalem. Each of the Synoptic Gospels reports the predictions within the same thematic context. The first prediction follows Peter’s confession of Jesus as the Messiah, the second prediction follows the narrative of the transfiguration and the *healing of the epileptic boy, and the third prediction essentially follows the discourse with the rich young man (note Matthew’s insertion in Mt 20:1–16). Except for Luke 18:35–43, all three predictions in each of the Synoptic accounts are followed by a *discipleship theme stressing the anticipated rejection and vindication that will be shared by Jesus and his *disciples.

1.1. The Predictions in Mark. The three major Markan predictions (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:32–34) are conspicuously placed within their narrative context. Mark 8:27–32 introduces a marked change of focus from chronicling the demonstration of Jesus’ *exousia* (“power”) (Mk 1:1–8:26) to the final test of his *exousia* (Mk 8:27–16:8, [9–20]). Furthermore, Mark 8:27–32 leads to the first instruction of the disciples that the Son of Man must die and rise after three days. Mark 10:32–34, on the other hand, is placed immediately prior to the entry into Jerusalem via Jericho. Mark clearly presents a climactic development beginning with the first prediction focusing on rejection, moving to the theme of being delivered into human hands (Mk 9:31), and then finally to humiliation and death in the third prediction.

1.2. The Predictions in Luke. While Luke displays great similarities to the arrangement of the Markan narrative, here the passion-resurrection predictions (Lk 9:18–22; 9:44; 18:31–33) take a subordinate place within the overriding theme of the necessity to hasten to, and suffer in, Jerusalem (see Lk 9:51; 13:33). Luke does, however, mention that Jesus’ impending work in Jerusalem is an “exodus” that must be accomplished (Lk 9:31). This suggests that Jesus will act as the “prophet like Moses” who delivers his people from enslavement.

1.3. The Predictions in Matthew. Matthew appears to be least concerned among the Synoptic evangelists to emphasize these predictions (Mt 16:13–23; 17:22b–23; 20:17–19). Nevertheless, in Matthew’s section prior to the passion narrative we may notice a certain significance attributed to these predictions as well.

1.4. The Predictions in John. John refers to the impending crisis in terms of the “lifting up” (*hypsōō*)

of the Son of Man. By means of this verb, both crucifixion and exaltation may be implied (Jn 3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34). The latter concept is closely related to the glorification (*doxazō*) (see Glory) of the Son of Man (Jn 12:23; 13:31; 17:5; 21:19). The most direct, albeit implicit, statement recorded in John is the saying about the temple in John 2:19-22 (cf. Mk 14:58 // Mt 26:61; Mk 15:29 // Mt 27:39). Jesus predicts the tearing down (see Jn 10:11) and raising up of his body within three days. By comparing his body with the temple, Jesus may be alluding to the building of a living temple (cf. Mk 12:10-11 // Ps 118:22; 1 Cor 3:16-17; 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16; Eph 2:21; 1 Pet 2:5; Rev 21:22) (see 2.1.3 below).

2. Implicit Predictions of Jesus.

Certain redactional (see Redaction Criticism) and form-critical (see Form Criticism) analyses of these explicit predictions have led exegetes such as G. Strecker and W. Kümmel to the conclusion that historically there is little authentic data to be derived from these sayings. According to these and other exegetes, the sayings more or less appear to bear the mark of predictions after the event (*vaticinia ex eventu*). Especially the third major passion-resurrection prediction seems to betray, in their eyes, post-Easter knowledge (see 3.1. below). In order to arrive at a historically convincing view regarding Jesus' predictions of his immediate future, it is crucial to consider implicit predictions alluding to a crisis event of rejection and vindication.

2.1. References to Rejection and Vindication.

The Gospels transmit a rich cluster of rejection-vindication sayings. This includes the eschatological prospect (Mk 14:25 // Mt 26:29; Lk 22:16, 18), the metaphor of the cup (Mk 10:38-39 // Mt 20:22-23; Mk 14:36 // Mt 26:39; Lk 22:42; Jn 18:11), the metaphor of *baptism (Mk 10:38-39 // Mt 20:22-23; Lk 12:50), the metaphor of the hour (Mk 14:35, 41 // Mt 26:39, 45; Lk 22:53), the parable of the wicked tenants (Mk 12:1-12 // Mt 21:33-46; Lk 20:9-19), as well as the saying about the sign of *Jonah (Mt 12:38-40; 16:1-2; Lk 11:29-32). What do these veiled predictions signify in detail?

2.1.1. *The Eschatological Prospect.* The matrix of the *eschatological prospect spans a great arch between the death of Jesus and the consummation of the kingdom in the messianic banquet (see Table Fellowship). Jesus anticipates his death not as a cul-de-sac but rather as a necessary passage leading eventually to the consummation of the kingdom of God.

2.1.2. *The Metaphors of the Cup, Baptism and the Hour.* The metaphors of the cup and of baptism in particular refer to Jesus' impending crisis in terms

of a severe yet temporary outpouring of divine *judgment. Against the background of the OT (for cup, see Is 51:17-23; Jer 25:15-29; for flood/baptism, see Job 9:31; Ps 18:17; 32:6; 42:8; 69:2, 14-15; 124:4-5; 144:7; Is 8:7-8; 43:2; Jon 2:4), these metaphors refer to internal (cup) and external (baptism) inundation in the wrath of God. Luke 12:49-50 clearly establishes the fact that this event of divine judgment is temporary, not permanent. Jesus' inundation in judgment is followed by the outpouring of the fire of division upon the earth as well as suffering for the disciples (see Mk 10:38-39). The metaphor of the hour (see Jn 2:4; 7:30; 8:20; 12:23, 27; 13:1; 17:1) undergirds the anticipation of a severe, divinely appointed, yet temporary event.

2.1.3. *The Parable of the Wicked Tenants.* The authentic citation of Psalm 118:22-23 at the end of this parable (Mk 12:10-11 // Mt 21:42; Lk 20:17-18) both confirms the eschatological prospect by stating the fact of rejection and vindication and proclaims the establishment of the messianic foundation stone. By indirectly identifying himself as the rejected stone (i.e., the son of the vineyard owner), Jesus views his impending rejection as a step toward the establishment of a new messianic rule. Despite (and we might add "through") rejection, God will establish his Messiah (see Christ).

2.1.4. *The "Sign of Jonah" Saying.* The sign of *Jonah is the vindication of the preacher (Jonah = Jesus) as an eschatological warning to *repentance. While refusing to give a heavenly and visible sign demanded by the *Pharisees (Mk 8:12), Jesus promises the sign of the invisible yet consequential divine vindication of the mortally endangered preacher (Mt 12:38-40 par.).

3. Explicit Predictions of Jesus.

Only against the background of these diverse intimations of impending rejection and vindication (see also 1.4 above, regarding implicit statements in John) can a historical and material investigation of the explicit predictions of death and resurrection promise to be convincing. The segregated investigation of Jesus' implicit predictions and his explicit intimations has been the Achilles heel of modern, critical exegesis. If Jesus, however, spoke about his impending rejection and vindication by means of the rich spectrum of images outlined above, then the question of the historical authenticity of predictions of death and resurrection appears in a considerably different light. In addition, arguments adduced against the authenticity of these predictions often are based on uncertain literary-critical and form-critical grounds.

3.1. Explicit References to Passion and Resurrection. Detailed investigation of the three major Synoptic passion-resurrection predictions (see references cited in 1.1-3 above) yields the observation that each of them possesses its own linguistic and contextual integrity. Each prediction functions within a plausible historical setting (note esp. the first prediction at the beginning of the journey toward Jerusalem and the third prediction immediately prior to entry into Jerusalem). Multiple attestation and Semitic coloring (see esp. the first and second predictions) further support that which the Synoptic evangelists claim to transmit: genuine predictions of the historical Jesus.

Some exegetes, such as F. Hahn, argue that the available form of the predictions reflects post-Easter redaction, while a core goes back to Jesus' vague prediction of an imminent crisis event. Most notably, the detailed descriptions contained in the third prediction appear to support this argument. Jesus predicts his being delivered up to the chief priests, being condemned to death, being delivered up to the *Gentiles, being mocked, insulted, spat upon and scourged, being killed and raised after three days. Detailed comparison, however, between the third Markan passion-resurrection prediction (Mk 10:33b-34) and the Markan passion narrative (see esp. Mk 14:43-44; 14:64; 15:1; 15:20, 31; 14:65; 15:19; 15:15; 15:24; 16:6) shows that both in terms of the sequence of events and in word usage the third passion prediction precedes the very old Markan passion narrative. J. Jeremias adds the observation that this most detailed prediction contains no features that would not be generally known in capital proceedings in Palestine at the time of Christ. Further detailed study discloses the weakness of arguing that these predictions were composed in part or in total after the event.

3.2. The Relationship to Passion-Parousia Sayings. C. H. Dodd and more recently K. Berger (among others) have suggested that Jesus' words about his impending crisis may have been sufficiently ambiguous to have been the source for both resurrection and early parousia sayings. Matthew 10:23; Mark 9:1 (// Mt 16:28; Lk 9:27); Mark 13:30 (// Mt 24:34; Lk 21:32) as well as Luke 17:24-25; Mk 14:62 (// Mt 26:64) seem to suggest the imminent occurrence of the parousia. It is indeed true that we do not possess any saying of Jesus that directly relates the events of death-resurrection and parousia to each other. However, three factors distinguish the vindication-resurrection sayings from the early parousia sayings and thus call into question the argu-

ment that they were originally interchangeable.

First, there is a difference regarding time references. While the vindication-resurrection event occurs immediately following rejection and death, the parousia event is merely an imminent event (compare the specific "three days" reference to speedy recovery with the vague time frames in Mt 10:23; Mk 9:1; 13:30).

Second, the vindication-resurrection sayings convey a degree of urgency absent in the early parousia sayings (compare *dei* ["one must"] in Mk 8:31 and *mellei* ["one will have to"] in Mk 9:31 with the general anticipation of fulfillment regarding the parousia sayings). Whereas the vindication-resurrection occurs in the paradoxical context of the judgment of the righteous, the parousia marks the triumph of the Son of Man (Mt 10:23).

Third, the references to vindication-resurrection display a different relationship to the event of rejection and death. Whereas references to vindication-resurrection following rejection and death function as complementary contrasts, death-parousia sayings merely display a loose connection to one another (see Mk 14:25; Lk 13:35; 17:24-25; the inverted order parousia-death in the last example illustrates the loose connection between the two events). It is therefore most convincing to argue that Jesus predicted his immediate vindication-resurrection from rejection-death side by side with his imminent parousia.

4. Jesus as Proclaimer and Interpreter of His Destiny.

Historiographical research frequently separates the facts of history from their interpretation by following generations. On the basis of the preceding observations, I conclude that Jesus functions as the divine interpreter of his own history. The disciples are being given interpretive keys by which they may eventually understand the events of the death and resurrection of the Messiah. The following specific points may be noted.

4.1. The Anticipation of Death. H. Schürmann and others have emphasized the fact that Jesus' message inherently carried an element of danger. Jesus' claim to *exousia* (Mt 5:17-48), his controversial inclusion of sinners in the offer of entry into the kingdom, and his opposition to the ruling clergy of his day (cf. Mk 6:1-6 // Lk 1:14-30; Mk 12:1-12 // Mt 21:33-46; Lk 20:9-19) suggest that Jesus must have been facing the possibility of death. This prospect would have been all the more likely in light of the execution of *John the Baptist and the rejection of Jesus' own

message by the religious authorities. The predictions of rejection and death (e.g., Lk 17:25; Jn 10:11; 12:7) thus operate in a realistic historical setting.

4.2. The Resurrection Assurance. Jesus' predictions of vindication and resurrection (see also Mk 9:9 // Mt 17:9; Mk 14:28 // Mt 26:32) mark the first step toward interpreting the event of his death as a God-intended, universally significant event. Far from being a fateful and tragic end of Jesus' ministry, the cursed event has a particular meaning before God.

4.3. The Ransom Saying. Jesus reportedly interpreted his death as a ransom (see Servant of Yahweh) for many (Mk 10:45 par.), thus alluding to Isaiah 53:11b, 12b. This "Son of Man" saying, which stands up as authentic under critical scrutiny (see Page), marks the interpretive teaching of Jesus as the foundation of early Christian belief in the sacrificial death and justifying resurrection of Jesus.

4.4. The Eucharistic Words. Jesus' eucharistic words during the last Passover meal with his disciples (Mark 14:22-24 par.) underline the fact that he attributes a profound redemptive meaning (see Weihs; Backhaus) to his impending death (see Last Supper).

5. Conclusion.

Mark 9:10 reports that prior to Easter the disciples were unable to understand Jesus' teaching regarding his resurrection. This suggests that resurrection predictions were not as explicit in the ears of the disciples as they now appear in the light of 1 Corinthians 15:4. Hearing them as predictions of the Messiah, whose eternal reign rather than death was expected (Dan 7:13-14), the consternation on the part of the disciples is understandable. Furthermore, from the perspective of the disciples, resurrection was to occur at the end of the age to all people (Dan 12:2). Their lack of understanding Jesus' reference to his individual resurrection is therefore all the more plausible. In the minds of the disciples both rejection-vindication and death-resurrection predictions were, before the Easter event, opaque and/or offensive teachings of Jesus as the Messiah. After the resurrection, however, Jesus' implicit and explicit predictions took on a new dimension and provided the disciples with a framework for interpreting these wholly unparalleled events (see Weihs) that had taken place before their eyes according to the divine will.

See also DEATH OF JESUS; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; RESURRECTION; SERVANT OF YAHWEH; SON OF MAN.

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PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD

In the past the emphasis of Gospel and Jesus studies has been on Jesus' relationship to royal messianism and his conflict with the *Pharisees as the dominant party in Judea. Discussion of priesthood focused primarily on the characterization of the chief priests during Jesus' last days. A sea change in scholarship began with E. P. Sanders, who argued for the essentially priestly (and temple-focused) character of first-century A.D. Jewish life. Sanders's claim that the Pharisees were not the force to be reckoned with (as the Gospel writers portray them) has been criticized by some (e.g., Hengel and Deines), but others have, from various angles, endorsed Sanders's arguments for the centrality of the priesthood in first-century A.D. Jewish life.

A concerted scholarly focus on priestly and cultic material in the OT, combined with a more sympathetic study of priestly material in the sources (and the evidence of recently published *Dead Sea Scrolls) and less reliance on *rabbinic material (which characterized Jeremias's *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*), is transforming our understanding. A well-established scholarly tradition focuses on the priests' sociopolitical and *economic position (e.g., Sanders; VanderKam). There is increasing focus on the theology of priesthood, especially the symbolism of the accoutrements and rites of priesthood in the context of a temple and liturgical cosmology (e.g., Barker 1991, 2003, 2004; Hayward; Fletcher-Louis 2001, 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2007a, 2011, 2012). The sources do not separate the politics and the theology of priesthood. Scholars agree that the priests function as God's representatives. But a growing number think that both the Bible and first-century A.D. Jews had a rich and complex theology of priesthood that went much further than mere divine representation, and that this, intertwined with their political position and an equally complex theology of the *temple, explains important (and otherwise puzzling) aspects of the Gospel records.

1. Sources
2. Qualifications and Functions
3. Meaning and Theology of the Priesthood
4. Priesthood in the First Century A.D.
5. The Gospels, Jesus and the Priesthood

1. Sources.

Perhaps because priests often were *scribes, the primary sources for priests and priesthood are many and varied. Besides all the relevant biblical texts (especially Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Ezekiel, 1-2 Chronicles, Zechariah, Malachi), many of our sources for Jewish antiquity are either clearly written by priests (the *Aramaic Levi Document*, texts in the Qumran library, the works of Flavius Josephus) or have a strong priestly focus and are likely to be written by priests (1 *Enoch*, 2 *Enoch*, Ben Sira (and its Greek translation, Sirach), *Jubilees*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, *Letter of Aristeas*, Aristobulus, *Testament of Moses*, Pseudo-Philo, *Apocalypse of Abraham*). Equally, there are hardly any sources that are overtly nonpriestly or, antipriestly (though see *Pss. Sol.* 8; 17). For the shape and character of priesthood in first-century A.D. Judaism there is considerable agreement among the diverse historical sources, though material in early rabbinic texts does not always coincide with the evidence of texts from the first century (such as Philo and Josephus).

Individual primary texts have their own emphasis and perspective on priesthood that reflect different positions among competing parties and groups (of Sadducees, Pharisees, *Essenes, the priests of Leontopolis and others) and the development of theologies over time (starting with very old biblical material, through late fourth-century traditions in the *Aramaic Levi Document*, 1 *Enoch*, Philo and some of Josephus's sources, through to legal and mystical material from the rabbinic era). However, for the most part the Gospels seem to assume the priestly realities and theology of a common *Judaism (shared by all the parties), and all the relevant Gospel texts can be explained given the evidence in the other sources for the roles of the priests in Jesus' world.

2. Qualifications and Functions.

Priests were priests by birth (in the line of Aaron, the Levite). Torah defines their essential duties. The priesthood oversaw the running of the temple in general (Ezek 44:14; Sir 45:24; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.191) and had particular responsibility for the making of sacrifices as an expression of thanksgiving, for atonement for sins and for hearing individuals undertake vows. They inspected the offerings of lay Israelites' (Philo, *Spec.* 1.166), but otherwise they performed their duties in silence (*Let. Arist.* 92-95), while the Levites were responsible for music and for the policing and administrative oversight of the wider temple space (see Num 3:5-10; 18:3-4; Ezek

44:11, 14). Priests received tithes (with the Levites) and were charged with blessing the people (Lev 9:22-24; Num 6:23-26; Deut 21:5; cf. Ben Sira/Sir 50:20-21; *Jub.* 31:15; 1QS II, 1; *m. Tamid* 5:1; 7:2).

For their work in the temple priests wore special clothing (Ex 28—29; 39:1-30; Ezek 44:17-19; Ben Sira/Sir 45:7-12; *Let. Arist.* 96-99; Josephus, *J.W.* 5.228-237; *Ant.* 3.151-187) and were anointed with oil (Ex 28:41; 1 Chron 29:22). The responsibility for the management of the nation's ritual purity (Lev 11—15; Num 19) also entailed some work outside of the temple, as in, for example, the inspection of cases of *leprosy (cf. Mk 1:44; Lk 17:14). In the first century, priests officiated in the temple a couple times a year according to a rota divided into twenty-four "courses," a detail reflected in the account of Zechariah's service in Luke 1:5-9 (cf. 1 Chron 24; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.363-365).

This left plenty of time for the fulfillment of other responsibilities. Along with the Levites, they were God's appointed teachers of Israel (Lev 10:10-11; Num 31:21-24; Deut 27:9-10; 31:9-13; 33:10; Mal 2:7; Ezek 44:23; Ezra 7:10; cf. Hecataeus of Abdera XL,3.5-6; Sir 45:17; *Jub.* 31:15; 1Q28b III, 23). In line with their intimate knowledge of Torah and knowledge of God's righteousness (Ps 132:9; Sir 45:26), they had judicial responsibility, both locally and at a national level, with the high priest chairing the national court, the *Sanhedrin (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.218; Hecataeus of Abdera XL,3.5; cf. Deut 17:8-9; 21:5; 2 Chron 19:8-11; Ezek 44:24). Historically, the king had, at one time, acted as judge (2 Sam 8:15; 1 Kings 3:9-28; 10:9; Jer 22:3; 23:5), but the requirements of Mosaic law, which preceded the institution of kingship, prevailed in the Second Temple period (cf. *Aramaic Levi Document* 3:17; 6:1; Ben Sira/Sir 45:17; *Jub.* 30:18-21; 31:15; *T. Levi* 8:17; 1Q28b III, 27-28; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.218; *Ag. Ap.* 2.187).

Some responsibilities were not peculiar to the priestly calling, even if they were in some sense appropriate to the priest's defining role as mediator. Both priests (e.g., Ezra 9:5-15; Joel 2:17; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.326-328; 3 Macc 2) and nonpriests (e.g., the king in 2 Sam 24:17; Moses in Ex 33:12-23; Daniel in Dan 9; angels in Tob 12:12) were intercessors. Priests led the nation in prayer (Wis 18:21; Philo, *Spec.* 1.97; 3.131; *Mos.* 2.133; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.191), and according to reliable rabbinic tradition, this included recitation of the Shema in the daily temple liturgy (*m. Tamid* 5:1). By virtue of their ritual access to God and their intimate knowledge of Scripture, and through the high priest's breastpiece (known in the Greek as the *logeion*, "the oracle"), they could be expected to

serve as prophets and prophetic interpreters of scriptural prophecy (see 3.1 below). Their God-ordained duties, especially teaching Torah and administrative oversight of the temple, combined with the free time for education and training that their duties afforded meant there "was a significant overlap in the Second Temple period between the priestly elite and the scribal elite" (Himmelfarb, 15). That is, they were skilled in writing, counting and associated activities, such as calendrical observation and calculation and the keeping of genealogical records (see Ezra 7:1-6; Neh 13:13; *Aramaic Levi Document* 9:1-18; 12:1-9; *T. Levi* 8:17; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.29-35). The temple evidently had its own library of both biblical and other traditions (see Josephus, *Ant.* 3.38; 4.303-304; 5.61; cf. *Let. Arist.* 3; 2 Macc 2:13-15). But, of course, in the first century A.D. and outside of the temple there were many scribes who were not priests, some of whom handled copies of Scripture.

The priesthood was strictly separated from the rest of the nation. For example, priests' clothing was not to be worn "by an outsider" (Sir 45:13), nor by the priests themselves outside the temple (Lev 10:7; 21:12; Ezek 44:19; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.91-92). They had exclusive use of a special brand of anointing oil and incense (Ex 30:31-33; Num 16:40). Ordinary Israelites were prohibited from wearing *ša'atnēz*, a mixture of wool and linen (Lev 19:19; Deut 22:11), but this was required for priestly garments (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.208, cf. *m. Kil.* 9:1). Nonpriests were prohibited access to priestly food (Ex 29:33; Lev 22:10-16). Even the Levites were prohibited physical access to the holy things reserved for the priests. Scripture warned against any who would challenge these boundaries, especially the king (2 Chron 26:16-21; cf. Num 16-17; Heb 7:14). Priests were not supposed to own land (though some did [see Josephus, *Life* 422]), but they were provided for by a system of tithes (Num 18:21-32; Neh 10:37-39) and offerings (of firstfruits, firstlings and the share of any meat Israelites butchered at home for private use). Some have seen in Exodus 19:6 a claim that every individual Israelite was a member of a royal priesthood (cf. 1 Pet 2:5, 9; Rev 1:6; 5:10). However, Jews from at least the fourth century B.C. onward seem to have taken the language of Exodus 19:6 (Israel "will be for me a *mamleket kōhānīm* and a holy nation") to mean that Israel, as a nation, is to be ruled by priests, not that all Israelites are priests (see, e.g., *Aramaic Levi Document* 4:7; 11:6; 2 Macc 2:17) (see Schwartz).

3. Meaning and Theology of the Priesthood.

In various ways, Jews invested the obvious, practical

realities of the priestly office (sketched above) with deeper meaning as part of their understanding of the temple and its liturgy. In particular, priesthood was interpreted in the context of the belief that the temple was a microcosm (with the roofed sanctuary as heaven, the courtyard and altar the land, and the bronze laver “the Sea” [1 Kings 7:23-26, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 3.179-183]), and that it functioned as a restored Eden (see Hayward; Barker 2004). The full theological ramifications of priestly identity focused on the roles and vestments of the high priest.

Torah envisages one priest who is “exalted above his fellows” (Lev 21:10): a high priest (variously called the “head priest” [2 Chron 31:10; Ezra 7:5; 1QM XV, 4]; the “first/preeminent priest” [LXX Ezra 7:5]; the “great priest” [Lev 21:10; Sir 50:1]). He alone entered the holy of holies on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16), and he alone, at other times, wore the full set of glorious, gold and multicolored, bejeweled garments given to Aaron at Sinai (Ex 28; 39; Lev 8:7-9). In addition to the tunic, sash and linen undergarments worn by all priests (Ex 28:39-42; 39:27-29; Lev 8:13), the high priest had a multicolored “ephod” (*ēpōd*) and a “breastpiece [*hōšen*] of judgment” carrying stones engraved with the names of the twelve tribes, a blue robe with pomegranates and golden bells at its lowest fringe, and a distinctive turban carrying a gold leaf (*šîš*) inscribed with the four-lettered name of God, the Tetragrammaton (*Let. Arist.* 98; Philo, *Mos.* 2.114-115; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.178, *J.W.* 5:235; cf. Ex 28:36).

Investigation of the biblical description of these garments, in the context of wider ancient Near Eastern traditions (see Fletcher-Louis 2004a; 2004b; 2007a; Meyers; Propp) and ancient Jewish commentary on them, along with associated traditions surrounding the high priest or high priestly figures (Hayward; Barker 2003; 2004, Fletcher-Louis 1997; 2002; 2012) leads to the conclusion that the high priest was considered a uniquely divine representative of Israel’s God, the true human being, with his full set of garments symbolizing, also, the whole cosmos.

3.1. The High Priest a Divine Office. On the basis of Exodus 28:2, 40 (garments “for beauty and for glory”), the (high) priest is regularly ascribed “glory” (Heb. *kābôd*; Gk. *doxa*; also Heb. *hōd*, *hādār*; Aram. *yēqār* [Aramaic *Levi Document* 13:4-5, 15-16; Ben Sira/Sir 45:7-8, 12, 20, 26; 50:7, 11; 1 Macc 14:4-5; 15:32, 36; *Jub.* 31:14; 1Q28b III, 25; IV, 28; V, 18; 4Q511 35, 4; 4Q418 81, 5; 4Q491c 1, 8; 4Q408 3 + 3a, 5; *Let. Arist.* 96, 98, *T. Levi* 8:5; cf. 2 *En.* 22:8; 71:9]). He is even “wrapped in garments of glory” and splendor (Ben Sira 50:11 [cf. scholion to *Megillat Ta’anit* for

Kislev 21]), in a way reminiscent of the language that the psalmist uses for Yahweh (e.g., Ps 29:1; 97:6; 104:1-2), and he is described in language that evokes the “appearance of the likeness of the glory of Yahweh,” the human form seated on the God’s throne-chariot in Ezekiel 1:26-28 (see also Ben Sira/Sir 50:7; cf. 4Q405 23 II, 8-9).

In Ben Sira/Sirach the description of the high priest Simon in chapter 50 echoes so precisely the details of the poem to Wisdom in chapter 24 that the high priest appears to be the very embodiment of *Wisdom. Philo identifies the high priest with the *logos* (*Fug.* 108-110; *Spec.* 1.81; *Migr.* 102; cf. *Somm.* 1.215), implicating him in the work of creation. This accords with his role in the cultic drama: on the stage of the temple microcosm the high priest plays the role of the creator God, Yahweh, whose name he speaks and wears (as *the* designer label). This is worked out in detail in Ben Sira/Sirach 50, where the story of creation in Genesis 1 is applied to the high priest’s activities (Fletcher-Louis 2004c). In the OT God’s creative work is sometimes depicted as the activity of a warrior, overcoming forces of chaos inimical to the order of creation (e.g., Ps 74:12-17; 89:8-14). The high priest also seems to play the role of the divine warrior, his pomegranates and golden bells symbolizing thunder and lightning (Josephus, *Ant.* 3.184; *J.W.* 5.231) that accompany Yahweh in his theophany (cf. Ex 19:16; Ps 18:13-14; 77:18; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.343-344; 3.80; 5.60-61; 6.27); and, in one passage the sash with which he is girded (Ex 28:39) is described as a (slain) Leviathan, the twisting serpent that Yahweh slays (Josephus, *Ant.* 3.154-156; cf. Ps 74:14; Is 27:1-2). There was widespread interest in the light-giving properties of Aaron’s garments, especially the stones of the *hōšen*, which were somehow related to the mysterious Urim and Thummim, radiating light (*Let. Arist.* 97; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.215-217; 4Q376; 1Q29; *L.A.B.* 26:9, 13, 15), a light that was connected to the perfect (uncreated) light of Genesis 1:3 (see Fletcher-Louis 2003, 232-51).

These aspects of the (high) priestly identity are best explained by the belief that the high priest is God’s divine cult statue, the living image-idol (*šelem*) of God. Parts of his attire (esp. the breastpiece and ephod, the precious stones with their engravings as of a seal, the robe with its pomegranates and the rosette on the turban) are those that, generically, belong to the garments that clothe cult statues in the wider ancient Near East and in Greco-Roman antiquity (cf., e.g. Jer 10:4-9; Ezek 16:15-22) (see Fletcher-Louis 2004a; 2004b; 2007a). It is fitting that Aaron should be so dressed because the tabernacle as de-

scribed in Exodus 25–40 recapitulates Genesis 1, and so Aaron in the tabernacle-as-microcosm is what Adam was created to be in the macrocosm: the *šelem ʾelohîm*, the cult statue of the one, true, creator God (on Adam as divine cult statue, see Herring). Several texts show that this is how Exodus 28 was understood at the end of the Second Temple period. The true high priest was identified with Adam, the true human being, or he served as the representative of humanity (*Jub.* 32:8; Philo, *Somn.* 1.215; 2.188; cf. *Lev* 21:17–23; *Ezek* 28:12–15), wearing the garments of the first man (see the texts discussed in Hayward, 45–48). And the high priest was deemed the perfect cult statue of God, fulfilling the original intention for Adam as God's *šelem* (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.325–337; *L.A.B.* 25–26; 2 *En.* 22–67). This way of understanding the high priest helps explain the existence of texts that express or describe worship directed to the high priest (and to high priestly figures) (Hecataeus of Abdera in Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 40.3.4–6; Ben Sira/Sir 7:27–31; 50:1–21 [esp. 50:20–21]; *T. Levi* 17:3; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.331–335; *b. Yoma* 69a; 4Q405 23 II; *Dan* 7:13–14; 2 *En.* 57; 64; cf. *Dan* 7:13–14; 1 *Macc* 3:3–9; 14:4–15; 1 *En.* 48:5; 62:6–9; *Jos. Asen.* 29:6; *T. Reu.* 6:12; 3 *En.* 12–16).

But it should be stressed that *proskynēsis*, praise and even sacrifice (in Sir 7:27–31) directed to the high priest were unlike that offered to human beings in the Greco-Roman world—for example, to the ruler cult surrounding Alexander the Great and the Roman emperor. This is because the priesthood may best be conceived as an “office,” not a matter of personal identity. Scripture lays down no specific personal, moral requirements of priests; rather, they are set apart by ritual and physiognomic purity, and by certain lifestyle restrictions (*Lev* 21). Historically, the priesthood was given to the Levites and Aaronides in view of their acts of faithfulness and zeal at Sinai (*Ex* 32; cf. *Deut* 33:9; *Num* 25). For the descendants of Aaron, as for all Israelites, there were expectations of right behavior, but the role itself was not to be earned or bought (by contrast to priesthood in the Greco-Roman world). Wearing his special clothing, having passed through the necessary rituals of purification, and in fulfilling carefully circumscribed duties, the high priest no longer has an individual, private identity; his own personality is occluded by the identities of those whom he now represents in his public office (God, Adam, the nation, the cosmos). And having passed through the rites that equip him for his office, he is perfect, sinless (Philo, *Spec.* 102; *Fug.* 108). This also means that, in worshiping the high priest, Jews did not risk transgressing their be-

lief in one God. When non-Jews made Alexander the Great a god, in recognition of his own personal achievements, he became the thirteenth member of the pantheon (Aelian, *Var. hist.* 5.12), but Israel's high priest is Yahweh (at key moments in the liturgy); he was not a second god.

The fact that the (office of) high priest is God's living image-idol helps explain other traditions. He is God's prophet (*T. Levi* 8:2, 15; Josephus, *J.W.* 1.68–69; *Ant.* 3.192, 214–218; 11.326–328; 13.282–83, 299–300, 322; *Jos. Asen.* 22:13; 23:8; 26:6; 4Q376 1 II; Philo, *Spec.* 4.192)—an agent of revelation, through visions and the oracular power of his apparel—just as statues of gods were believed to communicate messages from the gods. The fact that slandering or disobeying the high priest was viewed as a capital offense (see Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.194; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.293–295) also reflects the fact that the high priest is this kind of human representative of Yahweh. Finally, it goes also with those texts that say that the (high) priest is God's “angel” (not merely his “messenger”) (*Mal* 2:7; Hecataeus of Abdera XL.3.5; 1Q28b IV, 25; 4Q511 35, 4; *T. Mos.* 10:2), especially the evidence that he could be identified with the angel who carries God's name in Exodus 23:20–22 (on LXX *Ex* 23:20–22, see van der Kooij; and cf. 3 *En.* 15).

3.2. The Royal Priest. Torah puts the priesthood at the head of the nation in all spheres of life. Israel is allowed a king (*Deut* 17:14–20) but is required to have a high priest, who is the anointed one, the messiah (*Ex* 28:41; *Lev* 4:5; 1 *Chron* 29:22; Ben Sira/Sir 45:15; 1QS IX, 11; 4Q375 I, 9). A king should be accountable to the Levitical priests (*Deut* 17), and throughout the Second Temple period, with the partial exception of the Herodian period, the nation was led by the high priest and his colleagues. From Aristobulus I (104–103 B.C.) onward, the Hasmonean high priests claimed also the title “king” (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.70, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.301; 20.241). Earlier Hasmonean high priests adopted many of the trappings of royalty (see, e.g., Simon Maccabee in 1 *Macc* 14).

Some have thought that the priesthood was supposed to be concerned only with temple worship, a realm separate from political and civil realities (Jeremias; Rooke; cf. Bond, 33–34). And it has sometimes been assumed that the Hasmonean combination of the priesthood and kingship was a novelty, that the absence of a king alongside the chief priest for most of the postexilic period has to be explained by the constraints of the policies of the nation's foreign rulers (the Persians, Greeks and then Romans), and that Herodian and Roman rule corrupted the

priesthood by forcing it to engage in the political sphere. However, the consistent witness of the sources from the pre-Maccabean period (e.g., Neh 12; Zech 3:1-10; *Aramaic Levi Document* 4:17; 11:6; Hecataeus of Abdera XL,3.4-7; cf. 1 Macc 12:20-23; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.297-301, 302-303, 306-312, 329-339; 12.226-227; 1 *En.* 1—36) has the priest lead the nation without a king and only sometimes with a governor (VanderKam), and numerous sources ascribe royal prerogatives to the high priest in a way that indicates a self-conscious theology of royal priesthood that resisted a separation of the political and the cultic. This is to be expected because the laws of Moses (esp. Ex 28—29; see also Zech 3—6) view the high priest as a royal figure (see Davies, 157-61; Propp, 524-25, 732). Some aspects of Aaron's garments are distinctively royal (the *mišnepet*, "turban," of Ex 28:4, 39; cf. Ezek 21:26 [MT 21:31]; Is 62:3; the *nēzer*, "diadem," of Ex 29:6; cf. 2 Sam 1:10; 2 Kings 11:12; Ps 89:39 [MT 89:40]; 132:18; 2 Chron 23:11), while others (the multicolored, bejeweled breastpiece and ephod) are fitting for a king (though not the sole prerogative of the king) because kings in the ancient Near East also functioned as the living image-idol of the god, and those aspects of Aaron's garments signify his divine image-idol identity. Many were happy to say the high priest wore a crown (Heb. *ātārā*; Aram. *kēlil*; Gk. *stephanos* [Zech 6:11; Ben Sira/Sirach 45:12; Josephus, *J.W.* 5.235; *Ant.* 3.172, 187; 20.12; Philo, *Mos.* 2.114; *T. Levi* 8:2, 9; cf. Ezek 28:12; 1Q28b IV, 2-3; 11Q18 14 II, 2-5; 4Q405 23 I, 6; Philo, *Mos.* 2.116; *Fug.* 111, 118; *Let. Arist.* 98]), and one biblical passage sees him sitting on (*al*) a throne (Zech 6:13; cf. Ps 110:1, 4; 4Q491c 1, 5-6; 2 *En.* 24:1).

Conventional biblical language for kings could even be applied to the priesthood (see Is 11:2 in *Aramaic Levi Document* 3:6; cf. *T. Levi* 2:3; 4:5; 18:5, 7; also Gen 49:10 in *Aramaic Levi Document* 11:6 [discussed in Stone, Greenfield and Eshel, 35, 184-88]), and for some, the royal priest fulfilled the model of Melchizedek, king and priest of God Most High in Salem, who brought out bread and wine to Abraham (Gen 14:18-20; cf. Ps 110:4; *Aramaic Levi Document* 5:2-8; *T. Levi* 8:5; 18:2, 7; *T. Mos.* 6:1). Aaron's breastpiece of judgment functioned as a war oracle (Num 27:21), and already in the Pentateuch (Gen 34; Ex 32:27-29; Num 25), and all the way down through the postexilic period, not just under the Hasmoneans, priests are warriors, leading battles, both spiritually and physically (Num 27:21; Deut 20:2-4; 2 Macc 15:12-16; *T. Levi* 5-6; 1QM; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.282-283, *Jos. Asen.* 23:14-17; 26:6; 27:6, *T. Mos.* 10:2; 11Q13 III, 9-14; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13:284-287). So it is unsur-

prising that under Roman rule the high priest's garments, which symbolized kingship and could function as a war oracle, were, for the most part, kept under Roman (or Herodian) control, under lock and key in the Antonia Fortress, except for use at festivals (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.404-408; 18.90-93; 20.5-14).

4. Priesthood in the First Century A.D.

4.1. Position in Jewish Society. After centuries of leadership under (royal) high priests, Roman rule brought a dramatic change in the nation's model of governance, with *Herod the Great claiming both the title "king" and, for the first time in the postexilic period, the authority to appoint and depose the high priest. After Herod (and his immediate successor, Archelaus) the priesthood regained much of the power that it had lost, especially when the Roman authorities based themselves in Caesarea Maritima (not Jerusalem), though none of the high priests in the first century A.D. made the kind of claim to kingship that had been a feature of Hasmonean rule. Roman control of their vestments was, in part, designed to prevent that possibility. In any case, Rome twice invested royal authority in a Herodian descendant who significantly qualified the power of the high priesthood, Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 41-44) and Agrippa II (A.D. 48-66). Given the well-established royal, judicial and military elements of the high priest's office, we can be sure that Rome's rule frustrated the aspirations of successive incumbents to the position. It is not surprising that on the outbreak of revolt in A.D. 66 the nation's chief priests played a leading role toward the formation of a new, independent nation state.

In the decades before the war the ruling Jewish elite owed their position to the biblical view that the nation should be governed by a high priest, the inextricable relationship between the priesthood and ancestry, and the education that equipped them both for governance of a temple-state and for the realpolitik of empire-wide Jewish community relations. This meant that the aristocracy, based in the nation's mother city, was, for the most part (but not exclusively), priests, and power was concentrated in a few high priestly families (all of whom, we have no reason to doubt, were of Zadokite lineage). Both the NT (Mt 2:4; Mk 8:31; Lk 9:22) and other sources (e.g., Josephus, *J.W.* 2.243; *Ant.* 20.205; *Life* 193) refer to a body of chief priests ruling alongside the high priest. This seems to have comprised priests of the high priestly families permanently resident in the capital, with positions of national and cultic responsibility and membership of the Sanhedrin. It included some who had once been

the high priest (e.g., Lk 3:2; Jn 18:13, 19–24; Josephus, *J.W.* 2:243; *Ant.* 20:205; *Life* 193). Almost certainly, all of the high priests in the first century A.D. were “Sadducees (Josephus, *Ant.* 20:199; Acts 5:17; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13:293–298). Many aristocrats were Sadducees, though not all of them (Josephus, *Life* 12, for example, followed the Pharisees).

With some confidence, we estimate that there were eighteen thousand to twenty thousand priests and Levites in the first century A.D. (Sanders, 181). So, most priests (like Zechariah in Luke 1) lived economically and culturally normal Jewish lives, far from the machinations of international power politics. Because the duties of the priest’s office might take up only a few weeks of a year’s work, priests lived throughout the land and at all levels of society. Judging by passages in Josephus and Philo, we infer that some struggled to make a living (Philo, *Spec.* 1.154; Josephus, *Ant.* 20:181, 206). *Essenism was a thoroughly priestly movement, and the name “Essene” probably reflected widespread piety surrounding the high priest’s breastpiece, which some called *essēn* (see, e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 3:163; cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 2:119 on the *Essēnoi*). Some Pharisees were priests (e.g., Josephus, *Life* 197), but we do not know what proportion. Sanders has argued that priests were a self-standing group with their own professional traditions. However, there is also evidence to suggest that on taking up public office, priests had to choose whether to follow the teachings of one of the leading parties (e.g., Josephus, *Life* 12). In short, “the priests” were not a monolithic body, though the “chief priests” seem to have been a well-defined group based in Jerusalem.

4.2. Infighting and Causes of Discontent. Priests sometimes fought among themselves, the most celebrated cases being the struggles over the high priesthood between reformers and traditionalists in the second century B.C. that led to the rise of the Maccabees and the conflict between the Jerusalem priesthood and the founders of the Dead Sea community at Qumran (see also the creation of the Oniad temple at Leontopolis in Egypt [Josephus, *Ant.* 13:62–68]). According to Josephus, conflict flared up again in the years before the Great Revolt (Josephus, *Ant.* 20:180–181, 206, 213), and other sources reflect ongoing struggles between rival priests or priestly theologies, and between the masses (that included lower ranking priests) and the ruling chief priests (e.g., *Pss. Sol.* 2:1–21; 8:11–13; 17:5–12, *T. Levi* 17:11; *T. Mos.* 5–10; *1 Enoch*; *2 Enoch*).

There were many causes of conflict: the choice of liturgical calendar (whether solar or lunisolar), the

location of the temple (with rival temples at Shechem and Leontopolis in Egypt); the purity of priests, especially those in positions of power (e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 13:288–296, 372; *T. Mos.* 5–7); liturgical theology and practice (with sharp disagreements between Pharisees and Sadducees on some ritual details); the accusation of moral corruption against priests in power, the relationship with Rome and its policies; and the relative positions of priests and Levites (Josephus, *Ant.* 20:216–218). In particular, there were also competing views of the relationship between the high priest and a king in God’s intended order: some evidently saw no need now for a king at all (albeit the high priest carried some royal power); others wanted an overt recognition of the high priest as *the* king; while others hoped for, or set about, the creation of a diarchy whereby a king and a priest ruled together. Although the royal functions of the high priest were a well-established tradition grounded in Scripture, all agreed that a king (from the tribe of Judah) could not function as a priest (2 Chron 26:12–21; Josephus, *Ant.* 20:226; cf. Num 16–17; Heb 7:14).

4.3. Hope for a Priestly Messiah. Officially, a mediator between God and his people, during “the years of direct Roman rule . . . the high priest was the man in the middle, between the secular ruler and the people . . . representing the people to the ruler and the ruler to the people” (Sanders, 322), and struggling, all the time, to find a *modus vivendi* between the expectations of the superpower and the (Pharisaic-led) piety of the people. For many Jews, the serving high priests were unfit for the job, and there is widespread evidence of a hope for a coming, God-appointed priest who would replace the (Sadducean) high priest appointed by Rome (or by the Herodian king). Some expected a new high priest without a king (*T. Mos.* 10:2; *2 En.* 68–72; cf. 4Q541 9 I; Lk 1:16–17; 3:15; Josephus, *Ant.* 14:40–41; 20:226). The Qumran community and other Jews believed that the nation should be governed by a king, alongside and subordinate to a high priest (1Q28b IV–V; 1QS IX, 10–11; 1Q28a II, 11–23; *T. Jud.* 21:1–4; Josephus, *Ant.* 18:4; cf. Deut 17:14–20; Jer 33:17–22; Zech 4:14; 6:13). Some have seen a focus on the priesthood in the political theology of the Roman period as a new development (e.g., Bond, 193n24); however, it reflects both the dominance of the priesthood throughout the postexilic period (VanderKam) and the vision of the Pentateuch (see above).

The most important text for the expectation of a high-priest messiah is likely to be the vision of a “one like a son of man” in Daniel 7 (see Son of Man).

Commentators have been divided over the identity of this figure, some arguing that it is an angel, others that it is simply a literary symbol for Israel. In the light of biblical and wider beliefs about the priesthood, a true high priest, appearing at a future (eschatological) Day of Atonement, may better explain all the relevant data, including Jesus' references in the Gospels to "the Son of Man" (Lacocque; Fletcher-Louis 1997; 2006; 2007b; 2011).

5. The Gospels, Jesus and the Priesthood.

The Gospels accurately reflect the position of the priestly aristocracy both in the *passion narratives and at earlier points in Jesus' life (Mt 2:4; Jn 1:19; 7:32, 45). Jesus does not engage with many issues that occupied priests (such as calendar and ritual particulars), and swaths of his teaching apparently have no direct relationship to the symbolic world of the priesthood. However, the traditional view of scholars that the Gospels present Jesus' self-understanding in terms of a royal messianism (see Christ), and that neither Jesus himself nor the Gospels owe anything of substance to the theology of priesthood for his mission, is being revised in the light of a better understanding of the theology of priesthood and the fact that the priest-messiah was required to play a central role in Israel's government (e.g., Kerr; Barker 2004; Bond; Fletcher-Louis 2006; 2007b; Perrin; Attridge).

5.1. Jesus and His Disciples as Priests. There are quite a few texts that suggest that Jesus behaved as a (high) priest. Jesus is called "the holy one of God" (*ho hagios tou theou* [Mk 1:24; Lk 4:34; Jn 6:69]), a title used exclusively of Aaron in the Bible (Ps 106:16; cf. Num 16:7; Ben Sira/Sirach 45:6). In some healing stories he has contact with the contagiously impure (a leper, a woman in menstrual flow, and a corpse [Mk 1:40-45; 5:25-34, 35-43 par.; cf. Num 5:1-4]), and life-giving power flows out from him to remove the impurity. Such "contagious holiness" recalls the power of the high priest in his anointed garments (Ex 30:29; Ezek 44:19; Wis 18:20-25).

Jesus forgave *sins (Mt 9:1-8; Mk 2:1-12; Lk 5:17-26; 7:36-50; cf. Jn 20:23), behavior that for a first-century Jew could be derived from an understanding of the responsibilities of the true high priest, as God's representative and real presence (Ex 28:38; Lev 10:17; cf. 2 En. 64:5). In the transfiguration story Jesus' garments become dazzling white (Mk 9:3; cf. Mt 17:2; Lk 9:29) in a way that recalls the light-giving properties of the high priest's garments in general and, in particular, his dazzling white linen garments of the Day of Atonement (see Philo, *Somn.* 1.216-217; cf. *m. Yoma* 3:6). Language in the context (esp. Mat-

thew's version [Mt 16:13-17:13]) associates the mountaintop revelation of Jesus' identity (see Transfiguration) with the installation of a new (royal) high priest at the New Year festivals (1 Macc 10:21; Jub. 32:2-9; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.50-52; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.303-308; *J.W.* 1.73) (see Fletcher-Louis 2001). Jesus' detachment from ordinary *family ties finds, in at least one passage (Lk 14:25-33, discussed in Fletcher-Louis 2000), inspiration from the behavior of the priestly tribe (see Ex 32:27-29; Deut 33:9).

Such priestly themes also connect directly to the "Son of Man" title. In Mark 2:10 it is as "Son of Man" that Jesus claims to forgive. The argument of Mark 2:23-28 can be seen to rely on the notion that since Jesus is the Son of Man, who is the true high priest, his contagious holiness gives a Galilean cornfield the legal status of the temple, where there is a new order of priests, who, like God himself (Gen 2:2), are allowed to work on the *Sabbath (cf. Jn 5:17) (Fletcher-Louis 2007b). In the narrative block of the incidents of Caesarea Philippi and the transfiguration (Mt 16:13-17:13; Mk 8:27-9:13), Jesus wants his disciples to understand that he is not just the (royal) Messiah; he is also Daniel's priestly Son of Man (Mk 8:31, 38; 9:9, 12 par.) (Fletcher-Louis 2001). Indeed, many of the Gospel "Son of Man" sayings are illuminated or explained through a consideration of their possible relationship to biblical and postbiblical priest traditions.

The Son of Man comes in God's *glory (Mk 8:38; 13:26 par.; cf. Mt 25:31; Jn 12:23; 13:31), as we should expect of the high priest who is described receiving glory in God's presence (i.e., in the sanctuary) in Daniel 7:14, whence he would be expected to return (as if from heaven to earth). The Son of Man suffers in a way that some texts suggest was sacrificial. Some first-century A.D. Jews expected the eschatological high priest to suffer (4Q541 9 I, 2-7), and the language of Daniel 7:13 (he "was brought near" [*haqrēbūhī*]) can in other contexts (e.g., Ezra 6:10, 17) be taken to mean something "was offered" (as a sacrifice). In Mark 10:45 (and Mt 20:28) he will give his life as a "ransom" (*lytron*), a strange word for a human life, but one that is (uniquely) used of the Levites already in LXX Numbers 3:12, 46, 48-49. Like the (royal) high priest in his garments (see above), the Son of Man will come (as the divine warrior) with thunder and lightning (Lk 17:24; cf. Mt 24:27).

The "Son of Man" title provokes the issue of *blasphemy. This is to be expected. If Jesus as the Son of Man is the true eschatological (royal) high priest, then all should submit to him (1 Macc 14:43; *T. Jud.* 21:1; *T. Sim.* 7:1; *T. Reu.* 6:5-7); to do otherwise

would be blasphemous (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.293-295; *Ag. Ap.* 2.194). But since Jesus is a Davidide, how could he be Daniel's coming high priest? In one saying (Mt 12:31-32; Lk 12:10) Jesus deems the failure to recognize him as the one whom Daniel foresaw forgivable, for it is understandable that it would not occur to those living under the framework of the Mosaic covenant that Jesus could qualify for such a high priestly role. In the end, Jesus has to justify his dangerous and strange claim to be a king who is a priest through appeal to Psalm 110:1-4, which describes a sacral king after the order of Melchizedek (Mk 14:62; cf. Mk 12:35-37 par.). In the same breath he claims, publicly, in the Sanhedrin, to be the fulfillment of Daniel 7:13 and Psalm 110:1. From the Sanhedrin's point of view, this is an attack on the "eternal" office (Sir 45:7, 13, 15, 24) of high priest, which Caiaphas currently fills. Jesus' words imply that Caiaphas is not fit for office, and thus they constitute blasphemy. And his words make a direct attack on the Mosaic, God-given constitution that barred the line of Judah, and of David, from the priestly office. That too was blasphemy (Mt 26:65; Mk 14:64). Yet, in other ways the Gospel trial scene seems to imply a transition from Caiaphas to Jesus as true high priest (see Bond). Caiaphas's tearing of his garments, for example, may imply, that he himself is the one not fit for office (cf. esp. Mt 26:65 with Lev 21:10).

In Matthew 25:31-46 the Son of Man's identity is inextricable from that of the "little ones," as we should expect of a high priest who bears the people of God over his heart (Ex 28:9-29; cf. *Jub.* 32:8; Philo, *Somn.* 2.188); and, as befits the royal high priest, he is enthroned (cf. esp. Zech 6:13; 4Q491c 1, 5-6). Here too, and in other places (e.g., Mt 24:30; Mk 13:26; Lk 18:8; 21:27, 36; Jn 5:27), the Son of Man has a judicial authority that reflects the high priest's role as supreme judge and divine warrior. So too in other logia Jesus says that his receiving the respect that he is due, as the true high priestly Son of Man, will be the criterion of divine judgment in the eschatological dénouement (Mt 16:27; Mk 8:38; 9:26; Lk 12:8-9). During his ministry there is, then, a supreme irony that Jesus, who as high priestly Son of Man is the true head of the nation, is judged guilty of being a rebellious son, a drunkard and glutton, who does not respect his elders (Mt 11:19; Lk 7:34; cf. Deut 21:18-21).

The healed *blind man has the right response to the Son of Man (who is "sealed" by the father [Jn 6:27; cf. Aaron in Ex 28:11, 21, 36]): *worship (Jn 9:35-38). And, on other occasions, it is as the true high priest that Jesus receives the worship (which ulti-

mately belongs to God himself). In Matthew 2:11 the magi fall down and worship the infant Jesus and give him presents fit for a royal high priest (gold [Ex 28:5-6, 11], frankincense [Ex 30:34; Lev 2:1], myrrh [Ex 30:23]). That is, for Matthew, their prostration fulfills biblical texts that look forward to the nations' pilgrimage to Zion and worship of Israel's god (esp. Ps 72:10-11; Is 60:6). In Luke 24:50-53 Jesus departs from the disciples with the distinctive two-handed blessing of the priest (Lev 9:22; Ben Sira/Sirach 50:20-22). This closing scene of Luke's Gospel reprises the opening one. There, Zechariah has an encounter in the *hēkal*-as-heaven and comes out to the people (Lk 1:5-25); here, Jesus ascends to heaven, receiving the disciples' worship as he goes.

5.2. *Jesus and His Movement Against the Priesthood?* Some think that Jesus' fate at the hands of the Jerusalem authorities stems from his critique of the (corrupt) priesthood (e.g., Perrin). Certainly, Jesus' teaching prowess, reputation as a prophet and as a worker of powerful deeds against the people's spiritual enemies (the *demons), and even as a divine warrior in defeating chaos (e.g., Mk 4:35—5:20 par.) would give the chief priests cause to envy him (Mt 27:18; Mk 15:10), to be indignant at (Mt 21:15) or threatened by behavior that usurped their own responsibilities. Jesus' action in the temple (Mk 11:15-19) and teaching in Jerusalem (esp. Mk 12:1-12 par.; Mk 12:28-34; Mt 22:7, 12) seem only to have encouraged their fears. But, the Gospels do not position Jesus against the priesthood per se; and in two double-tradition passages he laments the violence suffered by the priesthood and the temple establishment, even at its own hands (Mt 23:34-36 // Lk 11:49-51 [cf. 2 Chron 24:20-21; *Liv. Pro.* 23]; Mt 23:37-39 // Lk 13:34-35).

5.3. *The Gospel of Luke.* Luke takes for granted the tight connection between *apocalyptic experiences, priestly spirituality and the prophetic calling (Lk 1:5-25) and is keen to affirm the piety that could be modeled by the ideal, "blameless" priest (Lk 1:6). But he can also record Jesus directing sharp criticism at the dangers of a priestly concern for purity (Lk 10:29-37). And Luke's Jesus can claim for his movement the zeal of a class of warrior priests (see, on Lk 14:25-35, Fletcher-Louis 2000).

5.4. *The Gospel of John.* Some (e.g., Heil) have seen priestly elements in the Christology of John, especially in the fight over Jesus' seamless garment in John 19:23 (cf. Ex 28:32; 39:23; Lev 21:10; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.161), but others have doubted. However, Caiaphas's depiction as teacher and prophet in John 11:49-51 shows John lived and breathed priestly tra-

ditions (cf. Jn 18:15-16), and A. Kerr has demonstrated that the complex theology of priesthood emerging from recent scholarship has many points of connection to John's distinctive Christology (cf. Barker 1991; Bond, 133-40).

Jesus is the priestly "holy one of God" (see 4.1 above), the light of the world (Jn 8:12; cf. Jn 1:4-5, 7-9; 3:19-21; 9:5; 11:9-10; 12:35-36, 46), like the radiant, solar high priest (e.g., Ben Sira/Sir 50:5-7; 1Q28b IV, 27; 4Q541 9 I, 3-5; cf. 2 En. 22:8-10; L.A.B. 26:13; 3 En. 12:3-4), and he has been "consecrated" by the Father (Jn 10:36; cf. Ex 28:41; 29:1; 30:29-30; Lev 8:12). Various themes throughout the early chapters that have a priestly background come together in the *prayer in John 17 (see Attridge). Jesus "consecrates" himself (Jn 17:19; cf. Jn 17:17). Jesus has God's glory, and he manifests God's name (Jn 17:6, 26); both are (high) priestly prerogatives (Mal 2:2; *Let. Arist.* 98; 1Q28b IV, 25-28; *Pss. Sol.* 17:5). Jesus and his followers have a mutual indwelling (Jn 17:6, 9-10, 12, 24; 10:29; 12:32; 13:3; 14:20) that recalls the high priest's representation of God's people, even as Jesus simultaneously is "in the Father." There are also echoes of the Aaronic blessing (Num 6:22-27) in John 17:11-15. Ultimately, the disciples, who themselves are "consecrated" (Jn 17:17, 19), get to share in Jesus' priestly ministry (cf. Jn 20:23). Even John's Logos doctrine can be explained through recourse to theological reflection on the biblical priesthood in the Greek-speaking Diaspora (Barker 1991).

Although (high) priestly themes and ideas appear throughout the Gospels, Jesus (and his disciples) do not straightforwardly lay claim to existing (Aaronic) priestly categories. In particular, many of the trappings of office (special clothing, rites of purification, temple space and time) seem to disappear. And, ultimately, Jesus is remembered in the bread and the wine that recall the (pre-Mosaic) order of Melchizedek (cf. Gen 14:18; T. Levi 8:5).

See also ESSENES; JUDAISM, COMMON; PHARISEES; SADDUCEES; SANHEDRIN; SCRIBES; TEMPLE.

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PROPHETS, PROPHECY

This article considers a theme of considerable importance in the context of the Bible as a whole and of the Jesus tradition in particular. Prophecy has three dimensions: speaking for God, predicting the future,

and the authority to speak thus, without resort to or the permission of tradition or any other human authority. All three themes run through the New Testament, epitomized in the paradigmatic prophetic text in the New Testament, the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ, or the Revelation to John.

1. Literary Context
2. Synoptic Gospels
3. Gospel of John
4. Conclusion

1. Literary Context.

In the NT, generally, prophets are less communicators of divine words than divine agents. Indeed, NT prophets and prophecy are reminiscent of the stories told about the lives of the prophets such as *Elijah and Jeremiah, the former being explicitly linked with *John the Baptist (Mt 17:11-13 par.), and the latter mentioned by Peter in answer to Jesus' question regarding his identity (Mt 16:14 par.). As in the OT, prophecy can include words of warning and prediction (Mk 13:2; Lk 3:7-9; 19:41-44; Acts 21:11) as well as social critique (Mk 12:38-40), with the enigmatic character of biblical antecedents now being disclosed (Mt 13:35).

The Gospels show much concern with the way ancient prophecies and other scriptural texts relate to the present generation (Mt 23:36 par.; cf. 1 Cor 10:11) and how the key actors in the divine drama, to which they bear witness, are themselves imbued with a sense of vocation (Mt 11:2-6) and special charisma imitating, and indeed transcending, the prophets of old (Mt 12:41-42). Some believed that something special was happening that both linked with the past and set apart the present (Lk 16:16). This is particularly clear in the Gospel of Luke, which exhibits the sense of the present as a time of fulfillment, an auspicious time: "Blessed are the eyes that see what you see! For I tell you that many prophets and kings desired to see what you see, but did not see it, and to hear what you hear, but did not hear it" (Lk 10:23-24 [cf. 1 Pet 1:10-12]). Likewise, we find the idea of an ongoing prophetic experience sitting alongside the belief in the climactic prophetic moment with John the Baptist and Jesus (Lk 7:28; 16:16). The prophetic environment is captured in Luke's infancy narratives, where figures such as Zechariah (Lk 1:67) and Anna (Lk 2:36) indicate a resurgence of the prophetic spirit, here intimately linked with the writer's conviction about the messianic figure whose life he tells of (Simeon is not explicitly stated to be a prophet, though he "looked forward to the consolation of Israel, and the Holy

Spirit rested on him" [Lk 2:25]). All of this is in keeping with early Christian belief that eschatological salvation was not wholly in the future and had broken into the present in the resurrection of Jesus and the experience of the Spirit. Early Christians seem to have regarded prophecy as a mark of the return of the eschatological Spirit and as such constituted a key element in their identity.

Of all the NT texts outside the Gospels relating to prophecy, Acts 2:17 encapsulates as well as any the view that prophecy is in some sense not just "fulfilled" but actually renewed and, indeed, restarted. In the quotation from Joel in Peter's speech on the day of Pentecost, Joel 2:28-32 is quoted. The introduction "in the last days" sets the tone for the significance of what is happening and marks the moment as eschatological. The promise in Acts about the prophetic spirit inspiring men and women is an important theme of Acts (Acts 11:27; 13:1; 15:32; 21:9-10; cf. the false prophet in Acts 13:6). Visions are a crucial part of the narrative (see *Dreams and Visions*). The threefold telling of Paul's conversion (Acts 9; 22; 26) sets *apocalyptic vision as a motor of divine providence. Also important is the account of the events leading up to Peter preaching to Cornelius in Acts 10. Hidden in the story is a guide to the workings of the prophetic spirit.

In *rabbinic sources there is some evidence that the return of the *Holy Spirit to the people of God was considered to be a mark that the new age had in fact dawned. In a passage such as *t. Sotah* 13:3 the prophetic Spirit had departed from Israel with the last of the prophets to return "in the last days." Such a belief probably was based on passages such as Malachi 4:5 and possibly Deuteronomy 18:15 (cf. Mk 8:28). Whether this was widespread is unclear. It seems unlikely that there was a widely held belief concerning a period without prophecy, in the light of passages in the writings of *Josephus, where we find a variety of different prophetic figures (e.g., *J. W.* 1.78-80 [cf. Acts 5:37]; 6.300-309; *Ant.* 18.63-64 [cf. Jn 7:12, 47]; 20.97-99 [cf. Acts 5:36]; 20.169-172 [cf. Acts 21:38]). There may have been a concerted attempt by the learned elite to confine the activity of the divine spirit to the eschatological events and thereby implicitly undermine any claim to prophetic wisdom in this age.

In the Bible various figures are said to be anointed, including prophets (Is 61). Qumran texts refer to "a prophet" (1QS IX, 11; 4Q175). The expectation of a prophet who should come in the last days is, like the hope for a descendant of David, firmly rooted in Scripture (Deut 18:15-22, quoted in 4Q175). Similar

expectation is attested in the NT (Jn 1:31; 6:14). Related to this belief was another rooted in Scripture: the expectation that Elijah would come (Mk 6:15; 8:28; 9:11-13). According to Malachi 4:5-6, the coming of Elijah will be before the great and terrible day of the Lord: "And he will turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of the children to their fathers." In other words, Elijah's coming reverses the process, which the messianic distress had set in motion, when dissension and strife were the order of the day (*m. Sotah* 9:15; Mk 13:12; *Jub.* 23:9). In addition to this restoring function, Elijah's coming seems to link with the coming of the prophet like Moses in one important way: the interpretation of Torah. In 1 Maccabees 4:46 we find that the desecrated stones of the temple are removed to a suitable place until a prophet arose who would be able to tell the people exactly what should be done with them. Similarly in the Mishnah (*m. 'Ed.* 8:7) the coming of Elijah will be the time when disputed issues over ritual cleanness and other disputed halakic issues would be settled (*m. B. Meš'i'a* 1:8; 2:6; 3:4-5; *m. Šeqal.* 2:5). Elijah's departure on the chariot of fire (2 Kings 2:11) contributed to a vital expectation. It is no surprise, therefore, that John and Jesus were identified as Elijah, embodiments of the returning Elijah (Mk 6:14-16).

The theme of prophecy strikes the reader of the Gospels most forcibly in connection with the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, particularly in the redactional comments in the Gospel of Matthew (e.g., Mt 1:23; 2:6; 12:18-21; 13:14-15; 15:8-9; 21:4-5; see also Mk 1:2-3; Lk 3:4-6; Jn 12:15, 40), but also embedded in the tradition of Jesus throughout the Gospels (e.g., Mt 12:41; Lk 4:16-19; 7:27; 11:32; Jn 1:23). The similarity of such contemporary application to the prophetic interpretation found in the Habakkuk commentary from the *Dead Sea Scrolls (1QpHab) has often been noted. In both there is a sense that definitive interpretation of obscure prophetic texts has been illuminated by events interpreted by an authoritative teacher, or in relation to the events in his life, as we find in fulfillment formulae in the Gospels.

2. Synoptic Gospels.

The complexity of traditions associated with the prophet, rooted as it is in the Torah (Deut 18:15-22; cf. Acts 3:22) and in prophetic pronouncements, is of great importance for understanding the figures of John the Baptist and Jesus. The visionary revelation as the basis of authority, the tradition of rejection and suffering, the hints that this suffering might be vicarious, and above all the eschatological character

of both Spirit and prophecy indicate how many themes converge on prophecy.

2.1. John the Baptist. According to the Gospels, the preaching of John the Baptist played a crucial role in the initial stages of Jesus' ministry. The baptism of John was important for Jesus. The Gospels record that Jesus saw a close link between himself and John in his understanding of his ministry. In Luke 7:28 (cf. Lk 1:76) John is indeed a prophet, but also "more than a prophet." But while John can be called the "greatest among those born of women," the least in the kingdom of God is greater than John. John stands at the fulcrum of the ages; he stands on the brink of the age of fulfillment, but he himself is not part of it (Mt 11:12-13; Lk 16:16; Tuckett, 407). Jesus sees the ministry of John the Baptist as initiating a decisive break with the old order of the law and the prophets, but he asserts that the fulfillment, to which John bears witness, is inaugurated in his own ministry (Mt 11:2-6). There is something special about his eschatological role that sets him apart from those like Zechariah who prophesied (Lk 1:67) and those others before John (Lk 16:16). Thereby, John is set apart as the prophet like Elijah, of unique eschatological importance (Mt 11:10; Lk 1:17; 7:26-27; cf. Mal 4:5).

The Gospels portray John as an eschatological prophet who looked forward to the coming of one mightier than he (Mk 1:7); it is the one mightier than John who would baptize with the Holy Spirit. The baptism with the Holy Spirit is an eschatological judgment (Lk 3:16). According to the Gospels, John seems to have expected the great and terrible Day of the Lord (cf. Mal 4:5). The evidence from Josephus's account concerning the Baptist (*Ant.* 18.116) suggests that there may well have been a significant eschatological component, as Josephus tells us that John was put into prison because "Herod was afraid that his preaching would cause an insurrection, explicable if we suppose that John's preaching had a subversive element. It is the eschatological element in John's message that is most significant, according to the NT. Mark implicitly (Mk 9:12-13 [though this saying need not imply an identification of John with Elijah]) and Matthew explicitly (Mt 11:14; cf. Lk 7:27) identify John with the Elijah who is to come (cf. Mal 4:5), and all the Synoptic Gospels quote the verse in Malachi 3:1 in connection with John the Baptist (Mt 11:10; Lk 7:27; cf. Mk 1:2).

2.2. Jesus' Prophetic Vocation. As far as Jesus is concerned, the tradition suggests that he saw a close link between himself and John in his understanding of his ministry. The earliest layers of the tradition

record that there was contact between John and Jesus after the former had been put into prison. The Baptist sent his disciples to inquire whether Jesus was in fact the one who was to come (Mt 11:2 par.). In Luke 7:31-35 Jesus characterizes John and himself as part of the same mission. Luke 7:32 shows that two different approaches of God's messengers are both rejected by the people. The saying indicates how closely Jesus saw his ministry being linked with that of the Baptist (cf. Jn 3:22-24; 4:1).

Jesus' own call seems to have depended on it (Mk 1:11; cf. Mk 11:27-33). In this prophetic-type call there is an echo of Ezekiel 1:1 in Mark 1:10, and Jesus is presented as believing that he had been commissioned by God to speak and act in the way he did. The baptism accounts have affinities with the call experiences of prophets such as Isaiah, Ezekiel and Second Isaiah (Is 6:1; 42:1; 64:1; Ezek 1:1). Indeed, Mark's version presents it as a personal experience in which a vision of the Spirit and a divine voice proclaim the nature of Jesus' relationship with God. His speech resembles the authoritative divine pronouncement of the prophets, "Thus says the Lord," prefaced as it is with the solemn "Truly, truly, I say to you." While the methods of scribal interpretation of Scripture as set out in Sirach 39 may be found in the Jesus tradition (e.g., Sir 39:2-3: "He will . . . penetrate the subtleties of parables; he will seek out the hidden meanings of proverbs and be at home with the obscurities of parables"), that sense of one acting with authority, "not as the scribes" (Mk 1:22), is prevalent throughout. There is a sense in which the authority claim attributed to Jesus goes beyond the "prophetic" category. The "Thus says the Lord" of the prophets is almost an exact parallel to the authority claims of Jesus in the Gospels. Nevertheless, it is striking that the stereotyped formula does not appear in the Gospels.

According to Mark 1:22 (cf. Mk 11:28), Jesus' teaching differed from that of the scribes, and the distinctive feature about it was its authority. He had the reputation of being a prophet (Mt 21:11; Lk 7:16; 9:8; 24:19; cf. Jn 6:14; 7:40, 52; 9:17). At the heart of later rabbinic religion was the belief that their interpretation of the Torah was no novelty, but rather could be traced back in its essentials to the prophets and ultimately to Moses (*Pirke 'Abot* 1:1): "Moses received the Law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders and the elders to the prophets and the prophets committed it to those of the great synagogue" (cf. later tradition that Moses received the oral Torah on Sinai [*Exod. Rab.* 47:7]). This concern for tradition and the application of in-

sights from the past to the needs of the present is absent from Jesus' teaching as we now have it. In the interpretations of the law of Moses in the *Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:21-48; cf. Mk 2:6) no reference is made to previous doctrinal authorities, but instead the interpretations are introduced with the emphatic "I," indicating that Jesus considered himself to be an interpreter at least on a par with the doctrinal authorities of his own day.

Jesus based his *authority to speak in this way on a conviction, probably based on the baptismal experience at Jordan (Mk 11:28). With this prophetic-type call there is no record of Jesus submitting his message to any doctrinal authority for confirmation, for he believed that he had been commissioned by God to speak and act in the way he did. His assertion that the final revelation of God's kingdom was already effective, and the events leading to its consummation were imminent, was a critical interpretation of the Jewish traditions of such importance that its authenticity was likely to have been questioned by those who did not share his methods and interpretations. Perhaps we may see the significance of the saying against the temple in Mark 14:58 in a new light if we realize that what Jesus presented was a threat to the authority of the *Sanhedrin and the temple, the former as the place whence the Torah went forth to the whole of Israel (*m. Sanh.* 11:2), and the latter the place where God's presence was said to dwell (cf. Mt 12:6: "one greater than the temple is here"). In his message Jesus was asserting that a more definitive experience of God was both imminent and immanent.

The question of Jesus' authority lies behind the Beelzebul controversy (Mk 3:22-30; Lk 11:14-23). In this story, some suspect that Jesus' powers showed the influence of the powers of darkness. This was a charge that continued to be of importance in Jewish traditions about Jesus (e.g., "Jesus practiced magic," with the implication that he was possessed by an alien supernatural power, "and led Israel astray" [*b. Sanh.* 43a]). The issue of authority also comes up particularly in John's Gospel, where, throughout the book, Jesus claims the authority to speak of the things of God because of his direct experience of God (e.g., Jn 7:16-24).

Elsewhere, inspiration by the Spirit is important (Mt 12:28 [though the Lukan parallel, Lk 11:19, does not mention the Spirit; cf. Acts 10:38]; Lk 4:1). The account of Jesus' preaching in the synagogue in Capernaum (Lk 4:16-30), peculiar to Luke, is based on the fulfillment of Isaiah 61. Other material in the Synoptic Gospels seems to indicate that Jesus

thought of himself as a prophet, inspired by the Spirit (Mt 13:57; 12:39; Lk 13:33-34). He was also thought to be a prophet by his contemporaries, as certain reports concerning reaction to Jesus indicate (Mt 21:11; 26; Lk 7:16; 24:19; cf. Jn 1:45; 6:14; 7:40; 9:17). Indeed, it is significant that at his trial Jesus is asked by the soldiers to prophesy (Mk 14:65), though it should be pointed out that in Matthew 26:68 // Luke 22:64 "prophesy" seems to be used sarcastically as a call for Jesus to identify who it is that hit him.

Jesus challenges his generation and places himself in the long line of prophets who have done the same (Lk 11:49-51). Like Elijah and Jeremiah, he is rejected by his contemporaries (Mk 6:4; cf. Jer 15:10; 20; Lk 4:24; Jn 4:44). Indeed, arguably the journey to Jerusalem represents the heart of a sense of prophetic vocation, if Luke is taken as guide: "'Yet today, tomorrow, and the next day I must be on my way, because it is impossible for a prophet to be killed outside of Jerusalem.' Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the city that kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to it! How often have I desired to gather your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you were not willing!" (Lk 13:33-34). The theme of the suffering of the prophets is part of the oldest layers of the Gospel tradition (e.g., Mt 5:12; 23:29-30) and is one that is taken up elsewhere in the NT (e.g., Rom 11:3; 1 Thess 2:15; Rev 11). Whether Jesus regarded himself as fulfilling the role of the figure prophesied in Isaiah 53 is not as clear as it might appear. With the exception of Luke 22:37 (cf. Mt 12:17-21), there is no explicit quotation from Isaiah 53 on the lips of Jesus, and the explicit quotations of it in the NT are notoriously few in number (Acts 8; 1 Pet 2:22).

What is evident in the Gospels is a repeated emphasis on the inevitability of suffering. This is seen in sayings about the necessity of the *Son of Man suffering. These, at least in their present form, may be later reflections on the events of Jesus' *death and *resurrection (e.g., Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:33-34), though Luke 9:44 suggests that there may have been an earlier form of that tradition. The preordained nature of the prophetic vocation as one that involves suffering is evident especially in Matthew 23:29-36 // Luke 11:47-52 (cf. Mk 6:4; Lk 4:24; Jn 4:44). The Lukan version suggests divine wisdom commissioning emissaries (Lk 11:49), perhaps before the foundation of the world, Jesus included, who could expect to be without honor (Mk 6:4) and indeed suffer (Lk 11:50; cf. Lk 13:33-34; Mt 5:12). Matthew's version omits the reference to the *wisdom of God. The result is that it seems that it is Christ who sends the prophets and wise men (Mt

23:34). The necessity of the suffering of the emissary of God, echoing what we find in, for example, the prophecy of Jeremiah, is an important theme in the Gospel tradition and is also evident in *Lives of the Prophets*, an ancient Jewish apocryphal text.

3. Gospel of John

Prophets make their occasional appearance in the Gospel of John. Reference to the biblical prophets aside (Jn 1:23, 45; 8:52-53; 12:38), the high priest has prophetic powers; questions are raised about the prophetic character of John the Baptist (Jn 1:21, 25; 6:45) and also of Jesus (Jn 4:19, 44; 6:14; 7:40, 52; 9:17). In the case of Jesus (Jn 5:36; cf. Jn 6:14), and to a lesser extent John the Baptist (Jn 1:31), the prophetic activity is seen in connection with the performance of deeds, whereas in the case of the high priest, it is his words that are indicative of their prophetic role.

One theme in particular makes only an isolated appearance in the Synoptic Gospels but is very frequent in the Gospel of John: Jesus as the emissary of God (e.g., Jn 7:16; 12:44-45). The institution of agency in the Jewish sources concerns a situation where an individual is sent by another to act on the sender's behalf: an agent is like the sender, with the latter's full authority (*Mek. Exod.* 12:3; cf. *m. Ber.* 5:5) (Borgen). Thus, to deal with the agent is to deal with the sender, as in, for example, *Sipre* on Numbers 12:8: "With what is the matter to be compared? With a king of flesh and blood who has an agent in the country. The inhabitants spoke before him. Then said the king to them, You have not spoken concerning my servant but concerning me." Jesus is a spokesman of the divine, a heavenly agent, akin to but exceeding in authority and nature the angelic agents. J.-A. Bühner has argued for a blending of the angel motif and the prophet motif in the Jewish tradition and suggests that this may be a key to answering the background of Johannine Christology (Bühner, 271, 427). Like angels, prophets were regarded as speaking with the voice of God (e.g., Deut 18:18-20; Jer 1:9), and in later Jewish tradition we find the identity of the angel/messenger (Bühner, 341-73).

The Johannine Jesus is impelled by some higher call, appealing to a higher authority, which, rather than the law of Moses, becomes the criterion for his action. The Johannine Jesus claims to offer revelation of God and also in his words, from what he has seen and heard in heaven. The law, which came through Moses, becomes part of the testimony, along with the words of John the Baptist and the deeds or signs of Jesus (Jn 5:46). Jesus claims not to have spoken on his

own authority, for "the Father who sent me has himself given me a commandment about what to say and what to speak. And I know that his commandment is eternal life. What I speak, therefore, I speak just as the Father has told me" (Jn 12:49-50).

The Gospel of John is what J. Ashton has called "an apocalypse in reverse" (Ashton, 371), in that the heavenly mysteries are to be sought not in heaven or through access to a body of written knowledge but primarily, and uniquely, in and through Jesus, the revelation of the hidden God (Jn 14:8; 1:18) who also reveals the mysteries of God (Jn 6:46). What we find in the Gospel of John relates to the theme of the attainment of knowledge of the divine mysteries and, supremely, the mysteries of God, but interpreted consistently christologically. One is tempted to suggest that when in *4QInstruction* the reader is told to meditate on the *rz nhyh* ("the secret of what is to come") and study it always, "this is, in the Gospel of John, the divine plan embracing past, present and future but focused in Christ" (Ashton, 57).

4. Conclusion.

Prophecy is a crucially important feature of the Gospels, historically, theologically and hermeneutically. The sense of present communion with the divine, in which tradition and accepted channels of authority are relativized by the prophet's conviction that his vision or word has an authority, which is at least as great as that of the authoritative texts from the past, typifies much of what is central to the NT. Both in the prophetic figures mentioned by Josephus and the major figures in the NT we find characters whose significance depended not solely, or even primarily, on their words, their prophecy, but rather on the actions. They were the ones who believed that in what they did the eternal impacted on the contingent and conditioned actual events (Mannheim, 192-98). The Gospel narratives offer us accounts of characters who were not just hoping for a changed world but set out in the context of the present to make articles of faith a reality: Elijah appears, and the Son of Man goes as it is written of him. This means that their convictions and action disrupt patterns of behavior. This in turn typifies the ethos of earliest Christianity. It is exemplified by a saying extant only in Luke's Gospel, where Jesus says, "I must be on my way, because it is impossible for a prophet to be killed outside of Jerusalem" (Lk 13:33).

See also APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING; ELIJAH AND ELISHA; ESCHATOLOGY; JOHN THE BAPTIST; MOSES; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS.

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PROTEVANGELIUM OF JAMES. See GOSPELS: APOCRYPHAL.

PURITY AND IMPURITY. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAR; JUDAISM, COMMON; LAW.

Q

Q

For over a century “Q” has been used to refer to the 230 or so sayings of Jesus that Matthew and Luke share but are not found in Mark (see Synoptic Problem). In 1861 H. J. Holtzmann built on earlier discussion of the sources of the Gospels and claimed that Matthew and Luke had drawn on two main sources: Mark’s Gospel and a collection of the sayings of Jesus. (Later Holtzmann would modify his position by positing that Luke also knew and used Matthew.) The latter soon came to be referred to by German scholars as *Quelle* (“source”). In 1890 J. Weiss abbreviated *Quelle* to “Q” and this quickly gained wide acceptance.

In the twentieth century the Q hypothesis has been the basis of nearly all study of the origin and development of the Gospel traditions. This article sets out both the strengths and weaknesses of the Q hypothesis. The final section sketches the different ways the theological perspective of Q has been understood.

1. Terminology and Importance of the Q Hypothesis
2. The Case for the Q Hypothesis
3. The Nature and Extent of Q
4. Questioning the Q Hypothesis
5. The Theology and Purpose of Q

1. Terminology and Importance of the Q Hypothesis.

1.1. Terminology. Over the course of the past century the term “Q” has been used in several ways. Although formerly “Q” often served as a shorthand way of referring to non-Markan traditions shared by Matthew and Luke, the more precise term for this is in fact “double tradition.” Whereas “double tradition” can technically apply to any analysis of shared material between two Gospels, scholars who use the phrase without explicit definition invariably have Matthew and Luke in view. Today most employ “Q”

to refer to a reconstructed text and/or body of oral tradition(s), whether composite or unitary. Whatever its precise character, Q is regarded as largely coterminous with the scope of traditions shared by Matthew and Luke and established in a fairly fixed order. Scholars accept that with few exceptions Luke has preserved the original order of the Q traditions, though not necessarily the original wording. Hence, it has become customary to refer to Q passages with the Lukan chapter and verse numbers. For example, Q 7:22 is a reference to the Q tradition that lies behind Luke 7:22. Such practice has become codified in what is now often considered the definitive reconstruction of the sayings collection, *The Critical Edition of Q* (2000), the culminating results of a years-long project undertaken by over three dozen scholars under the leadership of J. Robinson, P. Hoffmann and J. Kloppenborg.

1.2. Importance. The Q hypothesis is important in current study of the Gospels for two reasons.

1.2.1. Q as Authentic Jesus Tradition. Many early supporters of the Q hypothesis believed that Q provided direct access to the authentic teaching of Jesus. Typically, the criterion of “multiple attestation” has attracted wide support in discussions of the authenticity of the Gospel traditions (see Criteria of Authenticity). Thus, traditions found in several strands of the Gospel tradition (Mark, Q, traditions found only in Matthew [M] or only in Luke [L], traditions underlying the Fourth Gospel) are more likely to be authentic than traditions less widely attested. Moreover, the apparently primitive cast of Q and its formal similarity to another sayings collection, the *Gospel of Thomas*, have led some scholars (e.g., Crossan; Borg) to ascribe even more weight to Q as a witness to the historical Jesus. However, others (e.g., Schröter; Perrin) have questioned the heuristic value of comparing Q to the *Gospel of Thomas*, just as still others (Kloppenborg Verbin) object that even when the theorized redactional layers are taken into account,

there are inadequate grounds for drawing a straight line from the earliest layer of Q to the historical Jesus.

1.2.2. *Q as Representative of Diversity in Early Christianity.* Following seminal studies by H. Koester and J. Robinson, some have claimed that the existence of Q underlines the diversity of earliest Christianity. Since Q did not contain *passion or *resurrection traditions (although it presupposes both), the Q “community’s” understanding of the Christian faith differed markedly from Paul’s or Mark’s strong emphasis on the centrality of the cross (see Death of Jesus) and resurrection. Q is alleged to represent a very early form of Christianity in which, for example, Jesus was understood to be God’s *Wisdom, or Wisdom’s representative, or in which expectations of the imminent return of Jesus as an *apocalyptic “Son of man” figure were dominant. Wisdom and apocalyptic strains concurrent within Q have been separated out and have served as a basis for hypothesizing successive layers of redaction, which in turn have been utilized to reconstruct a socioreligious history of the Q “community.”

2. The Case for the Q Hypothesis.

Four main arguments have been advanced in support of the view that both Matthew and Luke used Q as a primary source as well as Mark. Although some are stronger than others, taken cumulatively, these arguments are confirmation for many that there are good grounds for accepting that both Matthew and Luke used Q.

2.1. *Verbal Agreement.* There is often very close verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke that extends over several verses. As examples, the following four passages should be compared carefully: (1) Matthew 3:7-12 // Luke 3:7-9, 16-17; (2) Matthew 4:1-11 // Luke 4:1-13; (3) Matthew 11:2-11, 16-19 // Luke 7:18-28, 31-35; (4) Matthew 23:37-39 // Luke 13:34-35. In line after line of the Greek text (and even in an English translation) there is such close verbal correspondence that it is quite arguable that Matthew and Luke are drawing on traditions from the same source. If both evangelists drew on independent traditions (i.e., oral traditions that had not been collected into a source), much greater divergence in wording would be expected. This observation is supplemented by an appeal to Markan priority: even though Matthew and Luke are different Gospels, both have used Mark. Thus, it is likely, so the argument runs, that where they agree closely in non-Markan sections, both are using a common source.

Although in many of the non-Markan passages that Matthew and Luke share the verbal agreement

is striking, in the following three passages (and in many others) it is not. Both Matthew and Luke include the *parable of the man who built his house on the rock (Mt 7:21, 24-27 // Lk 6:46-49), but the wording differs considerably. In Matthew 23:4, 6-7, 13, 23, 25-27, 29-32, 34-36 // Luke 11:39-52 a large number of similar sayings are found in the same order; in some sayings the wording is very close, but in others there is striking variation. Both Matthew and Luke include what is clearly the same parable of the pounds, but their versions of the lengthy parable differ in numerous details (Mt 25:14-30 // Lk 19:11-27).

Supporters of the Q hypothesis account for the differences in the wording of non-Markan traditions in two main ways. Since both Matthew and Luke often revise the wording of Mark quite extensively, we should not be surprised to find that they have also done so with the second main source that they utilized. This is a plausible argument, and in some passages the evangelists’ *redaction of Q can be discerned with little difficulty.

But why have the evangelists revised some Q traditions quite considerably but not others? Some have suggested that the variations in some passages are so great that it is likely that Matthew and Luke drew on two different editions of Q. In other words, Q was revised and even extended (perhaps more than once); it was utilized at different stages in its evolution by Matthew and by Luke. Some writers use the abbreviations Q^{Mt} and Q^{Lk} to refer to the versions of Q used by Matthew and Luke. This has resulted in rather elaborate genealogies to explain the differences between Matthew and Q (see, e.g., Betz, 43-69). Others have explained such differences by ascribing them to the vagaries of the oral traditioning process (Dunn; Baum), a solution that sits well with the last two decades’ interest in oral studies within NT research (see Orality and Oral Transmission). Such appeals have not gone uncriticized (e.g., Burkett), particularly because they struggle to explain how the oral medium is consistent with the extensive, shared sequence between Matthew and Luke (see 2.2 below), a pillar for the two-source hypothesis. At any rate, some such explanation seems necessary to account for the close verbal similarity in some passages and differences in others.

2.2. *The Phenomena of Order.* Although Matthew weaves his sources together (especially in the five large discourses) and Luke places them in “strips” or blocks, there are some significant agreements in the order in which the non-Markan traditions are found in Matthew and Luke. These agreements in order cannot be coincidental and strongly

suggest the use of a common source. For example, the following individual sayings or small units appear in Matthew in the same order: Luke 3:7-9, 16-17; 4:1-13; 6:20b-21, 22-23, 29, 30, 32-35, 36, 37-38, 41-42, 43-44, 46, 47-49; 7:1-10, 18-23, 24-26, 27, 28, 31-34, 35. In at least 85 percent of the Q traditions it is possible to ascertain the common order or to determine which evangelist disturbed the common order.

In this connection, another much-discussed line of evidence is doublets. In several passages in Matthew and Luke we find that essentially the same material is repeated; these repetitions are known as doublets. "Source" doublets occur where Matthew and/or Luke use the Markan form of a saying but elsewhere also include a similar saying that can best be explained as stemming from Q. The following two doublets are particularly striking (though there are many more): (1) "The one who has, to that one will more be given . . ." (Mk 4:25 // Mt 13:12 // Lk 8:18), with a similar saying at Matthew 25:29 // Luke 19:26; (2) "Whoever wants to follow me must deny themselves . . ." (Mk 8:34-35 // Mt 16:24-25 // Lk 9:23-24), with a similar saying at Matthew 10:38-39 // Luke 14:27; 17:33.

Although H. Fledderman urges that no one should underestimate the evidentiary importance of such doublets (Fledderman 2005, 60), this is still a line of evidence with its own attendant consequences and limitations. For example, the phenomena of shared order and doublets may militate against the possibility that both evangelists were drawing on independent oral traditions. Why should so many traditions appear in both Gospels in the same order, especially when there is often no obvious reason for their juxtaposition? At the very least, Matthew and Luke seem to have drawn on a cycle of oral traditions with a fairly fixed order. C. Tuckett considers doublets one of the weakest arguments for the two-source hypothesis because their presence often is explicable on a variety of grounds (Tuckett 1996, 10-11).

2.3. Q as a Coherent Entity. The Q material hangs together as an entity. With several exceptions, the Q traditions may be regarded as sayings of Jesus. Many supporters of the Q hypothesis go further and claim that the non-Markan traditions shared by Matthew and Luke betray a similar theological outlook. There is admittedly a level of circularity in this kind of argument. Since portions of Q are reconstructed on the basis of its perceived coherence with other Q sayings material, both the consistency of Q and the probative value of this value are subject to question. Perhaps more promising are renewed attempts to define Q's genre and literary aims on a

macrolevel (Järvinen; Fleddermann 2012).

The cumulative force of the preceding arguments is impressive, but the case for Q falls short of absolute proof. Even the strongest supporters of Q accept that the hypothesis is less securely established than Markan priority. However, for many, Q remains a valid working hypothesis for study of the Gospels.

3. The Nature and Extent of Q.

The evidence is marginally stronger for concluding that Q was a written document rather than a collection of oral traditions transmitted with a fairly fixed order. However, the need for comparative studies of the transmission, revision and expansion of oral and written traditions in antiquity remains. Although most of the early supporters of Q thought that it was a collection of sayings in Aramaic (and therefore earlier and more reliable than traditions that circulated in Greek), this view is no longer widely accepted. It was based partly on one interpretation of the comments of Papias (early second century), quoted by Eusebius (at the beginning of the fourth century): "Matthew collected the sayings [*ta logia*] in the Hebrew language [i.e., perhaps Aramaic] and each one interpreted [or 'translated'] them as he was able." However, since Papias also uses *ta logia* to include Mark's narratives, as well as sayings of Jesus, most scholars now conclude that Papias was referring to canonical Matthew and not Q. If so, Papias's phrase "in the Hebrew language" may either be a reference to the Jewish features of Matthew's Gospel or a mistake.

Several scholars have claimed that some Q traditions that differ considerably in Matthew and in Luke rest on the evangelists' differing, or even in some cases mistaken, translations of underlying Aramaic traditions. However, the linguistic evidence is not clear-cut, and Matthew's and Luke's knowledge of Aramaic is not demonstrable (see Languages of Palestine). On the other hand, there is some linguistic evidence supporting the conclusion that Q was composed originally in Greek. Since there is often close verbal correspondence in Matthew's and Luke's Q traditions, it is probable that both were drawing on traditions in the same language, Greek. Q probably was originally a little larger than the 230 or so verses shared by Matthew and Luke. Since both Matthew and Luke omit some Markan material, why should we suppose that both have incorporated Q in full? Hence, some of the traditions found only in Matthew or in Luke (M or L) may have belonged originally to Q, though the precise extent of such additional Q traditions is not clear. Two examples will

show just how difficult it is to be sure. Matthew 11:28-30 follows immediately after a Q block and, according to some, even though these verses are not found in Luke, they may have belonged to Q. However, if they did belong to Q, why did Luke omit traditions that he surely would have included had he known them? Luke 4:16-30 is at least partly independent of Mark. Did Luke include some Q traditions in this important passage, even though there is no trace of non-Markan material in the equivalent passage in Matthew? Since some of the non-Markan traditions in Luke 4:16-30 cohere well with a number of Q traditions, several scholars accept this suggestion.

4. Questioning the Q Hypothesis.

Until about four decades ago the two-document hypothesis (i.e., Markan priority and Q) was accepted widely by scholars from very different backgrounds. Earlier objectors to the Q hypothesis had made little headway. Some claimed that the alleged contents of Q are so heterogeneous that it is unlikely to have existed as a distinct source; this point will be discussed below. Others noted that no other writing quite like Q seems to have existed in the early church, though the discovery of the *Gospel of Thomas* partly undermined this point. Other objectors claimed that the considerable variations in the proposed reconstructions of Q eroded confidence in the hypothesis. More recently, however, reconstructions have shown that there is broad agreement about the contents of Q.

Since 1965, however, several fresh attempts to undermine the Q hypothesis have offered alternative explanations of the evidence. Several rival hypotheses have been vigorously supported and must be considered seriously. On the two-Gospel hypothesis (to be distinguished from the two-document hypothesis), first set out in 1789 by J. J. Griesbach and recently defended vigorously by W. Farmer, A. McNicol and others, Luke has used Matthew, and Mark has used both the earlier Gospels. Other scholars (most notably A. Farrer, M. Goulder and M. Goodacre) retain Markan priority and dispense with Q by claiming that Luke has used Matthew. Both of these alternative solutions to the Synoptic problem eliminate the need for any form of the Q hypothesis by claiming that Luke used Matthew.

If this claim is accepted, major implications follow for our understanding of the origin, transmission and development of the Gospel traditions. On this view, the earliest form of the traditions must always lie behind Matthew's Gospel, not Luke's; hence, Matthew is particularly important in historical reconstruction. If Luke has used Matthew, then he has

used this major source freely indeed. He is the first "interpreter" of Matthew, which he has dismantled in order to write his own very different Gospel. For the following reasons, advocates of the Q hypothesis find this most unlikely.

4.1. The Matthean Discourses. If Luke has used Matthew, what has happened to Matthew's five impressive discourses? On this view, a small part of Matthew's *Sermon on the Mount in Matthew 5-7 reappears in Luke 6:20-49, but the rest of the material is either scattered (apparently haphazardly) throughout Luke's Gospel and set in different contexts or is omitted completely. Why would Luke want to do this? Matthew's other discourses have been treated similarly. For example, Matthew's second discourse in Matthew 10 reappears in no fewer than seven different chapters in Luke.

Although attempts have been made to account for Luke's rather odd treatment of the Matthean discourses, they have convinced few. M. Goulder recognizes that Matthew's fifth discourse poses particular difficulties for his hypothesis. He has to concede that Luke has carefully separated the Markan and non-Markan parts of Matthew 24-25. The former are included in Luke 21, the latter are isolated (by marking a copy of Matthew with a pen) and included in Luke 12-13; 17; and, we may add, Luke 19. This is a tortuous explanation of Luke's methods.

4.2. The Matthean Expansions of Mark. If Luke has used Matthew, we would expect him to have adopted some of the expansions and modifications that Matthew makes to Mark. But hardly a trace of them can be found in Luke. Where Matthew and Mark have the same tradition, Luke opts for Mark's version and ignores Matthew's; at the same time, he rearranges Matthew considerably. Why did Luke find Matthew so unattractive, when in almost all other parts of early Christianity it became the favorite Gospel?

Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi provides a good example. At Luke 9:18-21 Mark's account (Mk 8:27-30) has been used, but there is no sign in Luke of the major addition Matthew makes to Mark at 16:16-19. Here several sayings of Jesus addressed to Peter, including the words "On this rock I will build my church," have not been used.

Why, then, does Luke omit so many of Matthew's numerous expansions of Markan material? This point has often been pressed by those who deny that Luke has used Matthew. Goulder replies as follows. Luke has a "block policy": "When he [Luke] is treating Markan matter he has Mark in front of him, and he has made it his policy not to keep turning up

Matthew to see what he has added. . . . Luke does not include the additions because he had decided on a policy which involved letting them go" (Goulder, 1:44). This leads Goulder to suggest that once a Markan block has been dealt with, Luke sometimes comes back to Matthew's additions to Mark: some of the additions are transferred to other contexts, some are ignored unintentionally, some are rewritten.

4.3. *Agreements of Matthew and Luke Against Mark.* According to some scholars, a further phenomenon erodes the plausibility of the view that Luke used Matthew: the minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark. A number of scholars have appealed to the minor agreements in order to undermine the Q hypothesis and also to offer clear-cut support for Luke's use of Matthew. The minor agreements, it is countered, can be turned against this alternative hypothesis. For those who entertain Luke's use of Matthew, it is clear that in Markan contexts Luke sometimes prefers Matthean words or phrases. But it must also be acknowledged that in Markan contexts Luke makes it his policy not to keep turning up Matthew to see what he has added. On this evidence, champions of Q will counter that the minor agreements do not undermine the Q hypothesis, for if Luke did use Matthew, he must have redacted the first Gospel quite perversely. Nevertheless, the sheer weight of minor agreements and their quality is fair reason to be cautious; accordingly, E. P. Sanders calls minor agreements "the Achilles' heel" of the two-source hypothesis (Sanders and Davies, 76).

4.4. *Variations in Similar Non-Markan Traditions.* Where Matthew and Luke contain similar non-Markan traditions, most scholars accept that it is difficult to decide which evangelist has the earlier form of the tradition. But scholars who claim that Luke has used Matthew must accept that it is always Luke who has changed Matthew's earlier form of the tradition. Their attempts to defend this view often look like special pleading.

For example, if Luke has used Matthew, then he has abbreviated Matthew's earlier and fuller version both of the Beatitudes (Mt 5:1-12) and of the Lord's *Prayer (Mt 6:9-13). Why would Luke want to do this? In both cases it is difficult to discover plausible reasons; it is much less difficult to suppose that while Luke has retained Q traditions with few changes, Matthew has expanded them.

4.5. *Variations in Placing Q Sayings Relative to Markan Contexts.* After the temptations of Jesus (Mt 4:1-11 // Lk 4:1-13) Luke and Matthew never use the Q sayings that they share in the same Markan

context. If Luke has used Matthew, then he has carefully removed every non-Markan (Q) saying from the Markan context that it has in Matthew and placed it in a different context.

4.6. *Implied Differences between Luke's Treatment of Mark and Matthew.* One final point sums up several of the above observations. If we accept that Luke has used Mark, then with the help of a synopsis we can readily discover the changes of various kinds that he has made to Mark. On the whole, he has retained the order of Mark's traditions and has considerable respect for their content, especially when he is quoting sayings of Jesus. If Luke has also used Matthew, we would expect him to have modified his second source in broadly similar ways. But this is by no means the case.

5. The Theology and Purpose of Q.

Were Q traditions brought together simply as an anthology or summary of the sayings of Jesus? How coherent are they? Do they contain one primary theological perspective? Were Q traditions selected, arranged and modified for particular theological or pastoral reasons? Discussion of these questions has been approached from three quite different angles.

5.1. *The Relationship of Q to the Earliest Kerygma.* At the turn of the twentieth century several writers on the purpose of Q accepted that it must have contained an account of the death and resurrection of Jesus as well as a collection of his sayings. However, since in their passion and resurrection narratives Luke and Matthew share no more than a few phrases that are not found in Mark, it is impossible to sustain this view.

In his influential study of Q, A. Harnack insisted that Q was a source of unparalleled value. It had been compiled without any discernible bias, "whether apologetic, didactic, ecclesiastical, national or anti-national" (Harnack, 171). Mark had exaggerated apocalypticism and subordinated the "purely religious and moral element" of Jesus' message (Harnack, 250-51). Q, on the other hand, was a relatively complete account of "the message of Jesus" that expressed clearly the very essence of Christianity for twentieth-century people.

Harnack's theological presuppositions were challenged by K. Barth and R. Bultmann, who insisted that proclamation of the cross and the resurrection, not the teaching of the historical Jesus, was at the heart of the earliest Christian preaching. Harnack's confidence in Q as "the message of Jesus" was also challenged by the work of the first form critics (*see* Form Criticism). They insisted that since all the

Gospel traditions have been shaped by the faith and the needs of the post-Easter communities, not even Q provides direct access to the teaching of Jesus.

So what was the relationship of Q to the kerygma or proclamation of the earliest post-Easter communities? M. Dibelius, B. H. Streeter and T. W. Manson all saw Q as a supplement to the early kerygma of the cross and resurrection of Jesus. Q traditions were used as ethical guidance and encouragement for those who had accepted the kerygma.

Although this general view held sway for some time, it was strongly challenged by H. E. Tödt. Tödt noted that many Q traditions are not hortatory and argued that the purpose of Q can be uncovered by elucidating the Q community's use and development of Son of Man sayings. The community did not develop a passion kerygma, but was convinced that Jesus, who had reestablished fellowship with his followers as the risen one, is also the one who, as the coming Son of Man, would be the eschatological guarantor of that fellowship. Tödt's proposals depended heavily on an unlikely view of the Son of Man traditions in Q, but other scholars followed his lead and showed that Q traditions had been arranged and shaped in the light of christological concerns. G. Stanton drew attention to the importance of the accounts of the *baptism and *temptations of Jesus that stood at the beginning of Q; together with Matthew 11:2-6 // Luke 7:18-23 (and related passages), they confirm that for the Q community, the prophetic *eschatological promises were being fulfilled in the actions and words of Jesus. The past of Jesus (including his rejection by those to whom he was sent), as well as his soon-expected parousia, was important to the Q community (see *Apocalypticism and Apocalyptic Teaching*).

5.2. Redaction-Critical Studies. In the 1950s the ways the four evangelists reshaped and arranged the traditions at their disposal were studied intensively (see *Redaction Criticism*). It soon became possible to show that "redaction" of earlier traditions had been carried out in accordance with particular theological emphases. Discussion of Q from this perspective was pioneered by D. Lührmann and has been continued by a number of scholars. Attention is focused on the ways originally separate traditions have been linked together in Q and on sayings that have been "created" by the Q community in order to clarify or interpret earlier traditions. Separation of original tradition and later redaction is obviously much more difficult and hypothetical than it is in the case of Matthew's and Luke's redaction of their sources, but that has not deterred scholars from trying to discern the primary

purposes of the compiler(s) of Q. Along these lines, some have argued that several blocks of Q traditions share strikingly similar literary features or theological emphases. For example, R. Piper has shown that Q traditions include a number of collections of proverbs, or aphorisms, which develop an argument in similar ways. This paved the way for work like that of W. Arnal, who attempts to supplement genre analysis with a sociological mirror reading of Q's proposed context.

But it is not easy to discern the overriding concern of the final redactor of Q. Hence, it is no surprise to discover that some have suggested that Q traditions underwent two or more major redactions. Reconstructions of possible stages in the development of Q traditions are likely to be influenced strongly by the investigator's presuppositions concerning the transmission and development of Gospel traditions, and even by views on the development of earliest Christianity.

5.3. The Literary Genre of Q. Since an appreciation of the literary genre of a writing is a crucial first step in interpretation, it is surprising that earlier writers on Q paid so little attention to its literary genre. J. Robinson remedied this in a bold claim that Q was part of a "trajectory" of sayings genres that extended from Proverbs to gnostic writings (especially the *Gospel of Thomas*) and the mishnaic tractate *'Abot*. On this view, the wisdom sayings in Q are dominant, and Jesus is portrayed primarily as the representative of the heavenly Sophia (Wisdom). Robinson's proposals were refined and extended in J. Kloppenborg's major study *The Formation of Q*. Kloppenborg notes that the writings with which Robinson associates the literary genre of Q are much more homogeneous than Q itself. He argues that the formative component of Q consisted of a group of six "wisdom speeches" that were hortatory in nature and in their mode of argumentation, similar to other wisdom writings. This stratum was subsequently expanded by the addition of groups of sayings that adopted a critical and polemical stance with respect to *Israel; the *temptation story (Mt 4:1-11 // Lk 4:1-13), which was the final addition to Q, gave it a more biographical cast. Those who are impressed by the wisdom character of Q will typically identify it as an instruction genre, a Hellenistic gnomologia, or a collection of *chreiai.

M. Sato argues that the literary genre of Q is comparable with OT prophetic writings. In all three of the main stages of Q's composition many individual Q traditions are prophetic in form and in emphasis. Whereas for Kloppenborg prophetic tradi-

tions in Q are subsidiary to wisdom traditions, for Sato precisely the reverse is the case. Debate on the genre of Q is likely to continue for some time.

Many thus surmise that Q existed as a written document; its 230 or so sayings of Jesus were used and partly reinterpreted by both Matthew and Luke. If so, we can be less certain about Q's earlier history, literary genre, overall theological perspective and purpose. Although clusters of traditions with related themes can be identified, Q contained such varied material that it is unwise to claim that it had one primary theological perspective or that it was used in the early church in any one specific way. The Q hypothesis will continue to be prominent in tradition-critical study of the Gospels, but also in discussion of the origin and nature of the earliest expressions of Christian faith.

See also FORM CRITICISM; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; REDACTION CRITICISM; SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

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QORBAN. See LAW.

QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS

It has become customary to think of the quest of the historical Jesus in three phases: the original quest chronicled by Albert Schweitzer beginning in the eighteenth century and ending with Schweitzer himself in 1906; the post-Bultmannian "New Quest" of the 1950s; and the contemporary "Third Quest." However, this scenario owes as much to the enterprising spirit of British publishers as to anything else. Schweitzer's original German title, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede: Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (1906)—"From Reimarus to Wrede: A History of Life-of-Jesus Research"—suggested a sober history of biographical research within a strict timeline. The English version of the title, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, was coined by translator William Montgomery and his publisher, Adam and Charles Black. It heightened the impression that critical research showed that the Jesus of history was different (as Schweitzer himself insisted) from the Christ of the creeds, orthodox theology, liberal scholarship and Christian piety. It also reinforced the misconception that Schweitzer had explored the entire quest of the historical Jesus and his place in history. As it was, Schweitzer began with Hermann Samuel Reimarus in 1778 and ended with himself in 1906 (extended to 1912, but not radically changed in the second edition).

History repeated itself in the case of the New Quest. Its historian and leading advocate, James M. Robinson, recalled that the term had its origin in discussions with the editor of the SCM Press in London regarding a paper that Robinson had presented to the Oxford Congress on the Four Gospels in 1957. Robinson's original title was "The Quest of the His-

torical Jesus Today." It was intended not to supersede Bultmann but rather to develop his ideas. The eventual title given to Robinson's book, *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1959), was "an afterthought."

Given this history, it was perhaps inevitable that any change of direction should be labeled "The Third Quest." The term gained prominence through N. T. Wright's revision of Stephen Neill's *The Interpretation of the New Testament, 1861-1986* (1988). Wright drew attention to renewed interest in Jesus as a figure in Jewish history, linked with the discovery of new materials, including the Dead Sea Scrolls. The fact that the term "Third Quest" appeared in a history of NT interpretation published by a major university press enhanced its status as a defining category.

It is debatable whether the term "Third Quest" should be used to describe all historical Jesus scholarship after the sudden demise of the New Quest, or whether it should be restricted to work that emphasized the Jewishness of Jesus and methodologies associated with it. If the former is the case, then the Third Quest appears to be a continuation, albeit a new phase, of the "Old Quest." If the Third Quest entails new and distinctive methodologies, it implies a new enterprise running alongside surviving remnants of previous quests.

"Third" implies two predecessors, suggesting that Schweitzer was right in insisting that the quest began with Reimarus, and that there were no prior attempts to discover the historical identity of Jesus. It also downplays half a century of scholarship exemplified in Britain by the generation of C. H. Dodd and T. W. Manson, in North America by B. W. Bacon and H. J. Cadbury, and in Europe by Joachim Jeremias and Oscar Cullmann.

It is not surprising that scholars found it necessary to invent the facetious term "The No Quest" to fill gaps in the three-quests scenario. In what follows it may be necessary sometimes to use terminology generated by the three-quests scenario, but the discussion will make clear its inadequacy.

This article focuses on the history of postbiblical developments.

1. The Quest of the Theological Jesus
2. Quests Before the Quest
3. Schweitzer's Quest in Context
4. From Harnack to Grundmann
5. From Bousset to Bultmann and the "New Quest"
6. European Alternatives
7. The English-Speaking World
8. The Ongoing Quest
9. Concluding Reflections

1. The Quest of the Theological Jesus.

Until the sixteenth century, the Christian church was more concerned with what could be called “the quest of the theological Jesus”—Jesus as construed within the context the belief systems of Christian tradition. Appreciation of this context is a prerequisite for understanding the quest of the historical Jesus.

1.1. Jesus Within Judaism. Initially, the quest of the historical Jesus began as an internal Jewish controversy. It is arguable that it was formally inaugurated by a delegation of scribes sent from Jerusalem to investigate Jesus’ reputation as an exorcist and healer (Mk 3:22-27; cf. Mt 12:22-30; Lk 11:14-22). To modern ears—Christian and Jewish—their findings may sound bizarre. The healings were real, but they were empowered by Beelzebul: Jesus was Satan-possessed. In the world of Second Temple Judaism the Torah was clear: a prophet who led people astray in the service of an alien deity—in this case Beelzebul—by means of signs and wonders was not to be heeded. His appearance should be viewed as a test of Israel’s fidelity to God. Such a prophet should be put to death so that evil might be purged from Israel (Deut 13:1-5; cf. Ex 20:1-7; Deut 5:6-10). From the first, history and theology were inextricable.

The charge of leading people astray in the service of Beelzebul was one of several found in the canonical Gospels. Another delegation challenged Jesus’ violation of cultic purity (Mk 7:1-23; cf. Mt 15:1-20; Lk 7:37-41). Charges included breaking the Sabbath, being a stubborn and rebellious son (Deut 21:18-21; cf. Mt 11:19; Lk 7:34) and blasphemy. The charges involved capital offenses. Eventually, Jesus was convicted of blasphemy connected with prophetic claims (Mt 26:63-68; Mk 14:61-65), a charge that dated from the beginning of his activity (Mt 9:3; Mk 2:6; Lk 5:21). In the Synoptic narratives confessions of Jesus as the Christ were made only after the negative charges (Mt 16:13-20; Mk 8:27-30; Lk 9:18-21).

1.2. Jesus Within Christianity. Second-century Christian literature (e.g., the writings of Justin Martyr [d. 165]) indicates that negative rumors persisted, and controversies continued in the Greco-Roman world in the time of Origen and Eusebius. However, with “the parting of the ways”—the separation of Christianity from Judaism—the center of gravity of theological concern began to shift. The internal debate within Christianity moved from the canonical Gospels’ apologetic defense of the righteous historical identity of Jesus to his theological identity as the *Son of God and the Savior of humankind.

This shift of interest was indicated by several factors. In the Western church Yeshua of Nazareth

came to be known by the Latin name “Jesus,” which was not used in his lifetime, except possibly by *Pontius Pilate and the soldiers involved in the crucifixion. The Latin form served to contextualize him for the Latin-speaking part of the Roman Empire. However, it did so at the expense of turning him into a virtual Gentile, obscuring the fact that the Greek and Hebrew forms of his name—*Iēsous* and *Yēšúaʿ* (or *Yēšū*, for short)—were also the OT name of “Joshua,” and with it the possibility that Yeshua of Nazareth was engaged in a second, but peaceful, conquest of the land of Israel.

Another factor in this shift was the almost-imperceptible way in which the term “Son of God” acquired the sense of “God the Son,” or simply “the Son.” In biblical contexts “Son of God” could indicate the nation of Israel (Hos 11:1; cf. Mt 2:15), a newly anointed king (Ps 2:7), peacemakers (Mt 5:9) or Jesus as the Spirit-anointed messianic Son (Mt 3:17; Mk 1:11; Lk 3:22; cf. Acts 10:36-38).

Patristic Christology was dominated by *theological interpretation, which looked for truth behind the phenomena of history and Scripture. Irenaeus (ca. 130–ca. 200) did not question the veracity of biblical narratives. His celebrated recapitulation theory set out in *Against Heresies* sought patterns in the divine work of redemption and restoration beneath the surface of biblical history (*Haer.* 3.16.6). Eve through disobedience brought death to herself and the human race; Mary by her obedience brought salvation (*Haer.* 3.22.4). Through a tree humankind was made debtor to God; through a tree came cancellation of the debt (*Haer.* 5.17.3).

Irenaeus championed a trend in which atonement theory and the circumstances surrounding Jesus’ death ran, as it were, on separate tracks. It gave an explanation “from above,” which was related to the course of events “below” at a single point—the death of Jesus. Many regard *On the Incarnation* by Athanasius (ca. 296–373) as the classic patristic statement of Christology in terms of soteriology. The argument was summed up in this statement: “He became man that we might become divine, and he revealed himself through a body that we might receive an idea of the invisible Father; and he endured insults from men that we might inherit incorruption” (*Inc.* 54).

Controversy over Jesus’ sonship came to a head with Arianism. The Alexandrian presbyter Arius accused his bishop, Alexander, of downplaying Jesus’ humanity. Both sides agreed that divinity entailed immutability and impassibility. The followers of Arius argued that since Jesus suffered and died, he was

subject to change and suffering, and therefore he could not be fully God like the Father. The supporters of Alexander argued that since only God could save, Jesus must be fully divine in order to be the savior of humankind. The Council of Nicea (325) condemned Arius and defined Jesus' sonship as "consubstantial with the Father" (*homoousion tō patri*). The dispute raged on until the Council of Constantinople (381), which endorsed Nicea, while modifying its formula to produce what is called the Nicene Creed.

The debate entered a new phase as the rival schools of Alexandria and Antioch disputed whether the incarnation involved assumption of flesh in a more general sense, or whether the preexistent Word was united with a particular man. The Council of Chalcedon (451) put together a patchwork formula, drawing on formulations from both schools. It affirmed that the Son was consubstantial with the Father regarding his divinity and consubstantial with human beings regarding his humanity—like them except for sin.

The opening chapter of Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus* was devoted to problems bequeathed by Chalcedon. As Schweitzer saw it, Chalcedon's doctrine of the two natures of Christ dissolved the unity of the personality of Jesus and cut off the last possibility of a return to the historical Jesus. "The contradiction was elevated into a law." The humanity of Jesus was preserved as an appearance. But the deception of the formula kept Jesus "prisoner and prevented the leading spirits of the Reformation from grasping the idea of a return to the historical Jesus" (Schweitzer 2001, 5). The dogma had to be shattered before people could even grasp the thought of his existence.

The attempt to derive a rationale for the incarnation apart from consideration of Jesus' life was taken to new heights by Anselm (ca. 1033–1109) in his *Cur Deus Homo*. The title could be translated as *Why Did God Become Man?* or *Why the God Man?* Anselm undertook to prove by logical steps that even if nothing were known about Christ, the human race could not be saved without him (*Cur Deus Homo* 1.3–4). However, the ensuing argument depended on a combination of theological and culturally conditioned beliefs, including sin as a debt, the alternative of making satisfaction or punishment, human inability to make satisfaction because of sin, the need to make up the number of fallen angels, and Jesus' death as a work of supererogation, for which Christ chose the salvation of humankind as a reward.

1.3. Jesus in Talmudic Judaism. Following the

destruction of the *temple and the ruinous wars with *Rome that left *Jerusalem devastated, Jewish identity was preserved through oral law, which became the basis of the Mishnah (oral teaching). The two main centers of Jewish life were Palestine and Babylonia, which in time produced interpretations of the Mishnah for their respective communities in the form of the Talmuds (teaching). The Jerusalem Talmud dates from around A.D. 400; the Babylonian Talmud, generally regarded as more authoritative, was produced a hundred years later (see Rabbinic Traditions and Writings).

The Talmuds contain veiled polemical references to Jesus, calculated to show the superiority of Judaism. They ridicule Gospel accounts of Jesus' birth and maintain that Jesus was rightfully executed as a blasphemer and idolater. On account of their garbled characterizations, scholars in the Christian tradition have tended to dismiss their historical value. However, more recent scholarship has called for reassessment (Peter Schäfer, *Jesus in the Talmud*, 2007) (see Jesus in Non-Christian Sources).

P. Schäfer contends that the characterizations indicate a high degree of familiarity with Matthew and John and represent a sophisticated anti-Christian polemic. The Jerusalem Talmud was more restrained, as it emanated from Roman Byzantine Palestine at a time when Christian influence on political power was in ascendance. In Babylonia, on the other hand, the Jewish community enjoyed relative freedom, and the compilers of the Babylonian Talmud did not feel the same constraints in depicting their hostility to Jesus. It would seem that Jewish tradition, no less than Christian tradition dating from roughly the same period, contributed to lines of division that have persisted down to modern times.

2. Quests Before the Quest.

2.1. Issues in Reformation Christology. In the Leipzig Disputation (1518) Martin Luther (1483–1546) defended the "theology of the cross" in contrast to the "theology of glory." The latter denoted the presumptuous speculations of scholastic theologians about God's inner being. It bypassed God's revelation in the sufferings of Christ on the cross. For Luther, the Gospel that best expressed the theology of the cross was John. Luther's *Preface to the New Testament* (1522) pronounced John to be the "principal" Gospel; it truly "showed Christ," presenting much teaching but few works. Luther's preference for John represented a trend that lasted for centuries, using John as a lens for interpreting the other Gospels.

However, a younger generation of scholars developed a Lutheran scholasticism that keenly debated the relative merits of *kenōsis* and *krypsis* to explain the Son's divinity and humanity. *Kenōsis* ("emptying") suggested renunciation or nonuse of divine attributes—such as omnipotence, omnipresence, omniscience—during Jesus' earthly life. It claimed the support of Philippians 2:6–11, but *kenōsis* raised questions of whether such limitation of divinity was merely temporary or even an incarnation at all. *Krypsis* ("hiding" or "hiddenness") argued for Christ's full, but hidden, possession of divine attributes. But this seemed to imply that the cosmic functions of the Word continued to operate—perhaps unknown to Jesus himself—while he was a baby in the manger, asleep during the storm on the lake, or conversing with the Pharisees.

The Calvinist alternative argued, "Since the God-head is incomprehensible and everywhere present, it must follow that it is indeed beyond the bounds of its assumed humanity, yet it is nonetheless in the same, and remains personally united with it" (*Heidelberg Catechism*, question 48).

An issue of a different kind surfaced in Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1509–1564). It turned on the rise of skepticism, which had already begun in the age of the Renaissance (see 2.2 below). Since Calvin's *Institutes* expounded Reformed theology, it raised the question of the legitimation of the Reformed belief system over against Catholicism. Calvin argued that the church could not be the final authority, because its claims rested ultimately on the Bible. The Word of God in Scripture was the basic source and criterion of Reformed faith. But this answer raised questions about how one knows that Scripture is the Word of God, and whose interpretation is correct. For Calvin, "The highest proof of Scripture derives in general from the fact that God in person speaks in it. . . . We ought to seek our conviction in a higher place than human reasons, judgments or conjectures, that is, in the secret testimony of the Holy Spirit" (*Institutes* 1.7.4). Calvin supplemented this argument by external "proofs." Miracles and prophecy (miraculous fulfillment of predicted events) were invoked to confirm the supernatural authority of the accompanying revelation (*Institutes* 1.8.5–10). Catholic apologists replied that Calvin's view was subjective, and that continued miracles in the Catholic Church proved that God was still on its side. Calvin retorted that he was supported by Jesus' miracles, which brought glory to God (Jn 7:18; 8:50). Modern "miracles" were like those claimed in Augustine's day by the Donatists; they were pseudo-

miracles, "delusions of Satan," calculated to lead people astray (*Institutes*, prefatory address) (cf. Deut 13:2–6; Mt 24:24).

It fell to the Arminian Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) to bring into the open the question whether Deuteronomy 13:2–6 might be applied to Jesus himself. In *The Truth of the Christian Religion* (1627) Grotius promptly dismissed the thought on the grounds that Jesus' works brought glory to God. Moreover, Jesus forbade worship of false gods.

2.2. The Rise of Skepticism. From Calvin's day onward miracles and prophecy became increasingly important for their extrinsic role in legitimating belief systems, first in Protestant and Catholic polemics, and then in disputes between Christianity and secular skepticism. Among the factors in the rise of skepticism was the rediscovery in the Renaissance of ancient skepticism (Richard Popkin, *The History of Skepticism: From Savonarola to Bayle*, 2003). Interest in the skepticism of Pyrrho (d. ca. 270 B.C.) was stimulated by publication of *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* by Sextus Empiricus (ca. A.D. 200), *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius, and the writings of Cicero.

Early Pyrrhonism in the form of systematic doubt was employed by Catholic apologists as a new "engine of war" against Calvinism. In return, Protestants deployed systematic doubt against Catholicism. Skepticism about the reliability of the senses and the ability of reason to discover ultimate truth provided the horizon within which truth claims in philosophy, science and religion would be judged. Rationalism and empiricism (a term connected with the methods and name of Sextus Empiricus) were just two developments.

Hobbes and Spinoza sought to preempt appeal to miracles as warrant for invoking religious beliefs in the political sphere. In chapter 37 of *Leviathan* (1651) Thomas Hobbes (1558–1679) defined a miracle as "a work of God (besides His operation by way of nature, ordained in the Creation) done for the making manifest to His elect the mission of an extraordinary minister for their salvation." However, he warned against false prophets and ignorance of natural causes. The state, as "God's lieutenant," had the right to demand public conformity, but privately everyone was free to believe or not believe acts that "had been given out for miracles."

Benedictus de Spinoza (1632–1677) also discussed miracles in an apparent digression. In chapter 6 of his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670) he argued that since the laws of nature were laws of God, nothing could occur outside them. Hence, we could not

gain knowledge of God from “violations” of divine law. John Locke (1632–1704) argued that miracles furnished empirical evidence for accepting beliefs that were above reason (*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* [1690]; *The Reasonableness of Christianity* [1695]; and his posthumously published *Discourse of Miracles* [1706]). They functioned like the credentials of an ambassador.

The purpose of David Hume’s (1711–1776) section “Of Miracles” in his *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748) was not to show the impossibility of miracles, but rather to challenge their role in establishing belief systems. Hume’s definition was also a refutation: “A miracle is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as entire as any argument from experience can be imagined” (*Enquiry*, 10.90). He concluded, “No human testimony can have such force as to prove a miracle, and make it a just foundation for any such system of religion” (*Enquiry*, 10.98).

The importance of Hume’s argument lay not in its novelty, but rather in the way that Hume deployed arguments that had been around for more than a century. Use of analogy—comparing reports of the past with contemporary understanding of reality—played an increasingly important part in the quest of the historical Jesus.

2.3. Alternatives to Orthodoxy. In the period from the Reformation to the Age of Enlightenment two streams of construing the identity of Jesus emerged. The first may be described as broadly Unitarian. What they had in common was rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity and the Nicene view of the personal divinity of Jesus, while desiring to retain Christian identity. The second stream was Deism—a term given to describe various attempts to supplant theistic Christianity.

2.3.1. Forms of Unitarianism. During the 1530s Michael Servetus (ca. 1511–1553) composed treatises on the errors of the concept of the Trinity, arguing that the term itself was unbiblical. Orthodoxy compounded misunderstanding of biblical language with patristic mistakes about “natures” and “persons.” Servetus’s tragic execution was precipitated by his *Christianismi restitutio* (1553), which was composed as a reply to Calvin’s *Institutio christianae religionis*.

Socinianism derived from the Latinized names of two Italian scholars who were uncle and nephew, Lelio Francesco Mario Sozini (1525–1562) and Fausto Paolo Sozzini (1539–1604). The latter’s *De Jesu Christo servatore* (1594) attacked the penal view of atone-

ment. God was only one person. Although Jesus should be honored as the agent of salvation, it did not follow that he possessed a divine nature.

In Britain the terms “Socinianism” and “Arianism” often were used interchangeably. However, Socinianism affirmed the exaltation of Jesus to divine status, whereas thoroughgoing Arianism was anti-Trinitarian. The leading English Arians—Isaac Newton (1642–1727), William Whiston (1667–1752), Samuel Clarke (1675–1729)—were intimately connected by Cambridge, science, biblical studies, and with one another. Newton was Lucasian Professor of Mathematics and subsequently Master of the Mint, but privately he was an almost obsessive student of Scripture. Newton himself seems to have been more anti-Athanasian than pro-Arian. He saw himself as a faithful follower of Scripture and ante-Nicene Christology.

William Whiston was Newton’s assistant and handpicked successor. Whiston shared many of Newton’s convictions but was less circumspect. His plea to the archbishops of Canterbury and of York for a more accommodating approach to Christology backfired, and he was removed from his professorship (1710). Today he is remembered less for his Arianism than for his translation of the works of Josephus (1737).

Samuel Clarke became a Newtonian at Cambridge. He translated Newton’s *Opticks* into Latin in order to make Newton’s ideas more accessible on the continent. Clarke’s reputation for Arianism was based on his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712). In the uproar, the bishops ruled that Clarke should not be required to retract, on the condition that he agreed to publish nothing further on the subject. In his historical-critical handling of the church fathers, Clarke represented the way of the future. In his handling of the NT, Clarke (like Newton and Whiston) remained in the precritical age, taking texts at their apparent face value and drawing logical deductions. It is questionable whether any of the three merited the title “Arian.”

The leading advocate of Unitarianism in Britain was the discoverer of oxygen and Presbyterian minister turned Unitarian, Joseph Priestley (1733–1804). Priestley sharply criticized the preexistence and divinity of Christ and also the satisfaction theory of atonement. His extensive writings included harmonies of the Gospels in Greek (1777) and English (1780), the two-volume *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* (1782) and *An History of Early Opinions Concerning Jesus Christ* (1786). Following rioting against him in England, Priestley settled in America (1794), where he was instrumental in turn-

ing Thomas Jefferson to Unitarianism.

Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) was the framer of the Declaration of Independence and third president of the United States (1801–1809). Priestley's *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* convinced him that one could be a Christian without believing in the Trinity or divinity of Christ. Other writings inspired Jefferson to examine the life of Jesus. They remained unpublished in his lifetime (*Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels: "The Philosophy of Jesus" and "The Life and Morals of Jesus,"* ed. Dickinson W. Adams et al., 1983).

Jefferson's "The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth" was literally a cut-and-paste compilation, produced by snipping extracts from editions of the Gospels in Greek, Latin, French and English and pasting them in a book in parallel columns. Jefferson freely cut verses in half in order to eliminate the supernatural. References to the Holy Spirit were cut out, as were narratives of *miracles and exorcisms. The *Sermon on the Mount was extensively preserved, as were *parables emphasizing social responsibility. The *Last Supper was edited so as to include the Johannine account of footwashing, while omitting the meal itself. Jesus was condemned for blasphemously claiming to be the Son of God. The narrative concluded with the burial of Jesus.

2.3.2. *Deism*. Etymologically, "deism" (Lat. *deus* = "god") indicates belief in a transcendent God, as does "theism" (Gk. *theos* = "god"). However, the terms differed in usage. Since the sixteenth century, "deist" was used to describe someone who professed belief in God the Creator but not in the deity of Christ. It became associated with "freethinking," a euphemism for atheism.

Deism is commonly dated from the Latin work, published in Paris, *De veritate* (1624) by Edward Herbert (ca. 1582–1648). *De veritate* (*On Truth*) advocated rational religion based on innate common notions in response to skepticism and institutional religion. The 1645 edition openly attacked revealed religion.

Charles Blount (1654–1693) was a private scholar whose ideas were indebted to Herbert, Hobbes and Spinoza. Blount translated *The First Two Books of Philostratus Concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus* (1680). Public outcry prevented further publication, but from then on Apollonius was invoked as a rival to Jesus, a "divine man," thought to be a familiar figure in the ancient world. An anonymous tract attributed to Blount, *Miracles No Violations of the Laws of Nature* (1683), paraphrased Spinoza with quotations from Hobbes.

A landmark in the history of deism was *Christi-*

anity Not Mysterious, by John Toland (1670–1722). Toland was an Irish self-described freethinker. He posed as a defender of Locke but argued against him. Belief above reason was untenable because assent could not be given to what was not understood. Toland warned of mysteries, pagan ideas and priestcraft, which had at first been tolerated in Christianity but later allowed to distort it. They should be stripped away to reveal Jesus as a preacher of purest morals. Toland's *Nazarenus: Or, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity* (1718) argued that the earliest Jewish Christians were Nazarenes or Ebionites. They were not the heretics depicted by Christian orthodoxy, but rather honest believers who followed the teaching of Jesus, unencumbered by later orthodoxy. The "Mohametan Gospel" could be traced to Ebionite Christianity. Toland's Jesus was the Jesus of enlightened humanism. Toland is credited with having coined the term "pantheist."

Anthony Collins (1676–1729), who, like his friend Locke, had found political refuge in Holland, and to whom Toland dedicated several writings, argued that prophecies already fulfilled in their own time had been misapplied to Jesus. Isaiah 7:14 (cf. Mt 1:22–23) was not a prediction of the miraculous conception of Jesus, but rather a sign for the prophet's generation of the birth of a child. Hosea 11:1 (cf. Mt 2:15) was not a prediction concerning the holy family's return from Egypt, but rather a saying about Israel's exodus. Collins concluded that such examples were instances of rabbinic allegorical interpretation, demonstrating that Christianity was based on irrational fantasy. Collins did not consider the alternative that they might represent intertextual identification of later events in terms of descriptions of earlier events.

Prophecy was a pillar of contemporary apologetics. The other pillar, miracles, was attacked by Thomas Woolston (1670–1731), an eccentric Cambridge scholar who had been deprived of his fellowship. Woolston published a series of six *Discourses on the Miracles of Our Saviour in View of the Present Controversy Between Infidels and Apostates* (1717–1729), examining fifteen miracle stories and pronouncing them absurd, incredible and immoral. With an eye on the claim that the Gospel miracle stories were moral and elevating, Woolston observed that if Apollonius of Tyana had turned water into wine (cf. Jn 2:1–10), we would have reproached his memory. The star of Bethlehem was a "Will-a-Whisp." The resurrection of Jesus was "the most self-evident imposture that was ever put upon the World."

The last major work by a deist writer was *Christianity as Old as the Creation: Or the Gospel, a Repub-*

lication of the Religion of Nature (1730), by Oxford scholar Matthew Tindal (1655–1733). It has been variously described as “the Bible of deism” and “devoid of originality.” It was a rambling tirade, littered with comments on OT morality, by a writer who described himself as a “Christian Deist.”

English deism was well known in Germany, and the ground was well prepared for Reimarus, whom Schweitzer credited with originating the quest of the historical Jesus. Learned periodicals published reports of debates. Writings by English deists and replies by opponents were published in translation. Lecture courses and biographies treated leading personalities. Reimarus himself visited England and Holland in 1720–1721. His library was well stocked with deistic writings, which were cited in the full text of his *Apology or Defense of the Rational Worshippers of God* (first published in 1772). Today Reimarus is regarded as the leading German deist of his time. In one major respect Reimarus advanced beyond English deism. The deists were preoccupied with subverting orthodoxy; Reimarus built on their work a theory of a Jewish political Jesus who died vainly trying to establish the kingdom of God on earth.

3. Schweitzer's Quest in Context.

The study by Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) known in English as *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1911; German original, 1906) has acquired near-canonical status as the definitive history of the quest. This is understandable in view of Schweitzer's awesome grasp of the literature, especially in the second German edition (1913), which in English was published as the “First Complete Edition” (2001). Because of limitations of space, this section will focus on Schweitzer's assessment of Reimarus as the inaugurator of the quest, and on his view of the three defining stages of the subsequent quest.

3.1. The Origin of Schweitzer's Quest. In order to appreciate Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, three background facts are relevant. First, as an undergraduate at the University of Strassburg, Schweitzer studied theology and philosophy. Upon graduation, he proceeded to a doctorate in philosophy with a dissertation on *Kant's Philosophy of Religion* (1899). His research included Kant's *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793), which treated the figure of Jesus as “the personified idea of the good principle.” Although Schweitzer regarded Jesus as a historical figure, Kant's influence was such that Schweitzer's research methods and conclusions about Jesus could be said to have been conducted within the limits of reason alone.

Second, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* was actually Schweitzer's second attempt to deal with the historical Jesus. To complete his habilitation in theology (the qualification for teaching at university level), Schweitzer wrote a two-part dissertation with the overall title *The Lord's Supper in Relationship to the Life of Jesus and the History of the Early Church* (1901). Part 1 was *The Problem of the Lord's Supper According to the Scholarly Research of the Nineteenth Century and the Historical Accounts* (ET, 1982), and part 2 was *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God: The Secret of Jesus' Messiahship and Passion* (ET, 1914). It described events that led up to the *Last Supper. Initially, Jesus believed that he was called to be the herald of the *Son of Man. In that expectation, he sent out his *disciples on a mission, expecting the messianic woes—the tribulation preceding the end-time conflict with the powers of evil—to befall them. Jesus assured the Twelve that they would not have gone through all the towns of Israel before the Son of Man would come (Mt 10:23). When the disciples returned unscathed, Jesus realized that the Son of Man was not someone else. Rather, he himself was called be the one who would unleash the tribulation and give his life a ransom for many (Mt 20:28; Mk 10:45). At first, Jesus revealed the mystery of the kingdom to Peter, James and John. Later, Peter told it to the Twelve, and Judas told it to the high *priest. Caiaphas secured Jesus' conviction by the *Sanhedrin from Jesus' own mouth. Jesus was convicted of blasphemy by his prophetic claim to be the messianic Son of Man, who would come on the clouds of heaven (Mt 26:53–56 par.).

Third, Schweitzer began forming his ideas as early as 1894 on the basis of Johannes Weiss's *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God* (1892; ET, 1971). What Schweitzer was not to know was that on the day his dissertation was published, another book on the same subject was published by William Wrede (1859–1907), *The Messianic Secret in the Gospels*. Wrede had studied under the liberal theologian A. B. Ritschl at Göttingen, where he had also come under the influence of the history-of-religions school. The German titles of both Schweitzer's book and Wrede's contained the word *Geheimnis*, but it was translated differently in English. In Schweitzer's book it became “mystery”; in Wrede's it meant “secret.” Wrede's work not only eclipsed Schweitzer's, but actually undermined it by arguing that the so-called messianic secret could not be traced earlier than Mark and his community, and that it belonged to dogma, not history. The scholarly world followed Wrede rather than the rela-

tively unknown Schweitzer.

This led Schweitzer to write the book that we know as *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, which would vindicate him by forcing readers to decide between Wrede's "thoroughgoing skepticism" and Schweitzer's "thoroughgoing eschatology." It was not that Schweitzer himself believed in eschatology; he believed only that he could demonstrate historically that Jesus' belief in eschatology was the key to his teaching and actions. In retrospect, it could be said that Schweitzer's final alternative offered two different forms of "thoroughgoing skepticism" with regard to the historical Jesus.

3.2. Reimarus and the Inauguration of the Quest. Schweitzer dated the quest from the publication in 1778 of an anonymous piece, "On the Intention of Jesus and His Disciples." It was taken from a manuscript by Hamburg scholar Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768), whose *Apology or Defense of the Rational Worshippers of God* had been withheld from publication on account of its dangerous ideas and the threat of censorship. Among the circle permitted to see it was the dramatist Gotthold Ephraïm Lessing (1729–1781), who was living in Hamburg at the time. Upon his appointment as librarian to the Duke of Brunswick, Lessing took up residence in Wolfenbüttel. Between 1774 and 1778 Lessing published extracts from Reimarus's manuscript under the title *Fragments from an Unnamed Author*, which he had ostensibly found in the duke's library. The extracts came to be known as the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* and were subsequently published in German editions of Lessing's collected works. Confirmation of the author's true identity came long after Reimarus's death.

Reimarus's *Fragments* (ET, 1970) included an attack on the historicity of the *resurrection narratives. The notoriety of this article was surpassed by that of the fragment "On the Intention of Jesus and His Disciples." Jesus was a pious Jew, dedicated to calling Israel to repentance in order to establish the kingdom of God on earth. He did not intend to introduce novel teaching or found a new religion. As time went on, Jesus made the fatal mistake of embracing political messianism. He miscalculated popular support, and his belief in divine intervention proved misplaced. He died disillusioned with the God who had forsaken him (Mk 15:34).

Christianity might well have ended then but for the ingenuity and duplicity of Jesus' disciples. When it became clear that there would be no general persecution, they emerged from hiding. They proclaimed that Jesus had been raised from the dead and would

return to establish the promised kingdom. Eschatology was thus the key to understanding both Jesus and the disciples, but in both cases it was mistaken. Jesus wrongly believed that God would establish his kingdom on earth through him; the disciples were guilty of encouraging false expectations of the coming kingdom.

The *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* provoked numerous replies, the weightiest from the founder of "liberal theology," J. S. Semler (1725–1791). Semler's *Answer to the Fragments* (1791) was virtually a line-by-line refutation, written from the standpoint of moderate orthodoxy. In the meantime, Lessing protested that although he did not fully agree with the *Fragments*, they did raise important questions. His standpoint expressed the Age of Enlightenment's confidence in reason and sought to detach religion from history by claiming that nothing in history could be demonstrated beyond doubt. In *On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power* (1777) Lessing wrote, "If no historical truth can be demonstrated, then nothing can be demonstrated by means of historical truths. That is: *accidental truths of history can never become the proof of necessary truths of reason*" (Lessing, 53). History might exemplify rational truth, but such truth was not dependent on history. To Lessing, Jesus was one of the great educators of the human race, being "the first reliable, practical teacher of the immortality of the soul" (*The Education of the Human Race* [1780]) (Lessing, 92).

For Schweitzer, Reimarus was like a bolt from the blue, without predecessors or immediate successors. In fact, the history of theology down to Johannes Weiss appeared retrograde. But every sentence of Weiss's *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God* (1892; ET, 1971), which Schweitzer pronounced equally important as David Friedrich Strauss's first *Life of Jesus*, was "a vindication, a rehabilitation of Reimarus as a historical thinker." However, Reimarus's relationship to the English deists puts a question mark against the place assigned to him by Schweitzer as the inaugurator of the quest of the historical Jesus.

3.3. The Three Stages of Schweitzer's Quest. Schweitzer identified three defining moments in the subsequent quest of the historical Jesus (Schweitzer 2001, 198). The first was Strauss's victory over the question of whether an account of the historical Jesus should be "either purely historical or purely supernatural." The second, which was worked out by the Tübingen school and later by Schweitzer's mentor, H. J. Holtzmann, was whether it should be "either Synoptic or Johannine." The third defining mo-

ment was whether it should be “either eschatological” (Johannes Weiss) or “noneschatological” (German liberal theology). However, this defining moment morphed into the ultimate choice between “thoroughgoing skepticism” (William Wrede) and “thoroughgoing eschatology” (Schweitzer himself). The view that Schweitzer put forward was a restatement of the view that he had argued in *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*.

For Schweitzer, the outcome of these issues was cumulative. Any reconstruction of the historical Jesus must satisfy three criteria: it must be (1) “purely historical,” with the supernatural eliminated; (2) based solely on the Synoptic tradition, with John discounted as late and unhistorical; (3) thoroughly “eschatological,” in the sense that Jesus’ life and teaching were determined by Jesus’ conviction that his martyrdom would inaugurate the kingdom of God on earth.

3.3.1. *Stage 1: Strauss and the “Purely Historical” Jesus.* Schweitzer identified David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874) as the scholar who forced the question of either a purely historical or a purely supernatural Jesus. In order to appreciate Strauss, it is important to see him in relation to the scholarship of his time. We need not dwell on the authors of fictitious lives of Jesus, such as K. F. Bahrtdt and K. H. Venturini, to whom Schweitzer devoted ample discussion. More significant for understanding Strauss are the rationalist theologian at the University of Heidelberg, H. E. G. Paulus (1761–1851), and the founding faculty member of the University of Berlin who was also the most creative theologian of the century, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834).

Paulus was the author of a two-volume *Life of Jesus* (1828), which Schweitzer described as “fully developed rationalism.” It undertook to explain the events depicted in the Gospels in a rational way, including the resurrection, which was a case of resuscitation from a coma. The truly miraculous aspect of Jesus was his “pure and serenely holy disposition.”

Schleiermacher’s account of Jesus was more complex. Schleiermacher rejected the scholastic doctrine of the Trinity as three separate-but-related divine individuals, and the incarnation as what happened when one of them assumed flesh. Instead, he saw the Redeemer’s consciousness of God as an existence of God in his own person (*The Christian Faith*, §94). In his posthumously published lectures (*The Life of Jesus* [1864; ET, 1975]) he drew attention to the role of the Spirit in the life of Jesus. Jesus’ intimate relationship with the Father through the indwelling of the Spirit enabled him to claim to be the Son of God.

“According to the creedal conception he would have had to say, I have the Son of God in me” (Schleiermacher, 95).

Strauss studied theology at the University of Tübingen, where F. C. Baur was his mentor. On completing his doctorate, Strauss went to Berlin to study under the leading philosopher of the day, G. W. F. Hegel. However, Strauss had hardly settled in when Hegel died. Strauss remained in Berlin, hoping to hear Schleiermacher’s lectures on the life of Jesus. However, Schleiermacher was not offering the course, and Strauss had to make do by borrowing lecture notes. He returned to Tübingen, resolved to write his own life of Jesus, avoiding the “supernaturalism” of Schleiermacher and the “vulgar rationalism” of Paulus. The outcome was *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined* (1835–1836; ET, 1846; repr., 1972).

Strauss accepted a basic historical framework for the life of Jesus: he had grown up at Nazareth; he was baptized by John the Baptist; he made disciples; he went about teaching, opposing Pharisaism and summoning people to the messianic kingdom; he fell victim to the hostility of the *Pharisees and died on the cross. However, this outline was overlaid by the creative imagination of the church, which interpreted these events as the fulfillment of OT beliefs and institutions. Messianic expectation predetermined that the Messiah should perform miracles and act like a new *Moses and a Davidic king (see Christ; Son of David). Once Jesus acquired the reputation of being the Messiah, popular belief created myths about him. This was in line with the general myth-making tendencies of religion. The historical Jesus was turned into the mythical Messiah. Strauss sought to rescue the underlying truth of Christian faith by appealing to the philosophy of Hegel, who had taught that reality was the manifestation of the Absolute Spirit. The incarnation was the mythological symbol of the divine manifestation in humankind in general.

Strauss’s work provoked great outcry. Within five years some sixty replies appeared. A widely respected conservative response was August Neander’s *Life of Jesus Christ* (1837; ET, 1851). Strauss published three series of replies to critics and made revisions to his work. But his radical views cost him his academic career, and he turned to literature and politics.

In later life Strauss returned to theology, writing a rehabilitation of Reimarus (1862) and a bitter critique of Schleiermacher on the posthumous publication of lectures on the life of Jesus, *The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History* (1865; ET, 1977). His

Life of Jesus Adapted for the German People (1864; ET, 1865) was prompted by the popularity of J. E. Renan's *Life of Jesus* (1863) in France. It retained Strauss's earlier mythical explanation but dropped the Hegelian philosophy. The desupernaturalized Jesus depicted by Strauss emerged as one of the great improvers of the ideal of humanity. As a schoolboy, Friedrich Nietzsche had been turned against Christianity by Strauss's *Life of Jesus*. However, Nietzsche subjected Strauss's *The Old and the New Faith* (1872) to remorseless criticism in the first of his *Untimely Meditations* (1873) on account of Strauss's bourgeois outlook.

In retrospect, Schweitzer was mistaken in seeing Strauss's antisupernaturalism as the first defining moment in the quest of the historical Jesus. It may have been the turning point for Schweitzer himself, but for scholarship and the churchgoing public it proved not to be so. In any case, the desupernaturalism of Jesus was initiated by the deists. At the same time, Strauss's demythologizing of Jesus left an indelible mark on Schweitzer himself, whose Jesus was demythologized in all but name.

3.3.2. *Stage 2: The Synoptic Jesus as the Historical Jesus.* Schweitzer's second defining moment raised the question of whether reconstructions of the historical Jesus should be based on the Synoptic Gospels or John (*see* Synoptics and John). It took place in two stages: first, through the Tübingen school of F. C. Baur, then through Schweitzer's own mentor, H. J. Holtzmann.

The priority of Matthew was widely accepted in the early nineteenth century. Among those who did so was Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860), leader of the Tübingen school. Baur insisted upon a purely historical approach that avoided supernatural explanations. For him, the key to NT study was tendency criticism (*Tendenzkritik*), which sought to identify and evaluate sources by discovering their basic tendencies. Baur believed that Matthew was the earliest Gospel, because of its Jewish character. Historically, John was remote from the time of Jesus. But since Matthew was written around A.D. 130, it was only relatively more historically reliable. Baur's view of Jesus was akin to that of Schleiermacher. Jesus had a unique consciousness of God. As the highest emissary of God, he mediated divine knowledge. Baur repudiated his former student, Strauss, on the grounds that he practiced criticism without undertaking adequate critical account of the Gospels. The Tübingen school enjoyed great notoriety, but membership was limited to Baur himself and a handful of disciples. Their views were too extreme for most scholars.

In the meantime, the traditional view of the priority of Matthew began to be overturned. The year that saw the appearance of Strauss's *Life of Jesus Critically Examined* (1835) also witnessed publication in Latin of an article by Karl Lachmann, "On the Order of Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels." Lachmann's article was the first to treat seriously the order of events as the key to understanding Synoptic relationships. Lachmann saw Mark as the middle term between Matthew and Luke. It told the same basic story; Matthew and Luke deviated from Mark by adding new material, each in his own way. Lachmann's work led to the growing popularity of the view that Matthew and Luke were dependent on Mark for their common account of events.

The leading proponent of the theory of two sources behind the Synoptic tradition was Heinrich Julius Holtzmann (1832–1910). *Die Synoptischen Evangelien* (1863) argued that oral tradition regarding Jesus crystallized into two sources behind the Synoptic Gospels. Holtzmann called the narrative behind Matthew and Luke the "A" source, which was designated in German as *Urmakus* ("early Mark"). It had a primitive style of narrative and language, and it may have been based on the memories of Peter as narrated by John Mark. Later Holtzmann made Mark one of the two primary sources. The other source (now called "Q," short for *Quelle* ["source"]) was identified by Holtzmann as "L" (short for *Logia* ["sayings"]). It provided the basis of Jesus' teaching, which was free from the eschatological fanaticism that Schweitzer saw as the key to understanding Jesus. Holtzmann saw Jesus as a religious genius who in his lifetime established the kingdom of God on earth. John was not a reliable source for reconstructing Jesus' life. Like Baur, Holtzmann thought that John was shaped by later Hellenistic philosophical influences.

By the end of the nineteenth century, traditional views of the apostolic authorship and priority of Matthew and the apostolic authorship of John were supplanted by the two-source theory (Mark and Q) as the substratum for recovering the historical Jesus. This tendency was linked with discounting the miraculous and supernatural. The result was a portrait of Jesus that followed Mark's general outline while embodying moral teaching from Q.

Perhaps the most widely translated and notorious life of Jesus was the *Vie de Jésus* (1863), by former Catholic seminarian and rising Semitic scholar J. E. Renan (1823–1892). However, Renan's career as a professor at the Collège de France was terminated as a result of his remark that Jesus was such an incom-

parable human that he would not contradict those who called him God. His biography of Jesus was inspired by the ambiance of the Holy Land, which he visited in the course of an expedition to Phoenicia. It eschewed critical discussion of sources and method, seeking instead to retell the Gospel stories in a way that was credible to the modern French reader. Renan added imaginative splashes of local color to the scenes that he described, writing with the assurance of a man who had got to the bottom of things. What made Jesus the Son of God was his realization that true worship depended not upon places and ritual, but rather upon spirit and truth (Jn 4:23). Renan claimed that his Christ was rooted in "genuine history." His method was to follow closely the original narratives, discard impossibilities, sow seeds of doubt, and suggest conjectures about how events might have happened.

Strasbourg Protestant scholar T. Colani complained that Renan's Christ was not the Jesus of history, but that of the Fourth Gospel without a metaphysical halo. He set out his own views in *Jesus Christ and the Messianic Beliefs of His Time* (1864). Colani believed that there was no connection between the historical Jesus and Jewish messianic beliefs. The eschatological teaching attributed to Jesus in the Gospels (Mt 24; Mk 13; Lk 17; 21) was not authentic. Jesus had predicted the destruction of the temple, and the disciples had asked when it would occur (Mt 24:3; Mk 13:4; Lk 21:7). Jesus replied that he did not know (Mt 24:36; Mk 13:32; Lk 21:33). The so-called Little Apocalypse that comes between the question and answer was the work of overzealous, eschatologically minded Jewish Christians who could not accept Jesus' confession of ignorance. The views of neither Renan nor Colani commended themselves to Schweitzer as credible accounts of the historical Jesus.

3.3.3. *Stage 3: Johannes Weiss and the Eschatological Jesus.* There is something deeply paradoxical about Schweitzer's third defining moment in the course of the quest of the historical Jesus with regard to Johannes Weiss, the protagonist of the eschatological Jesus, and Schweitzer himself as his advocate. Both believed that eschatology was the key to Jesus' self-understanding, but neither actually believed in eschatology.

Johannes Weiss (1863–1914) was a member of the "History of Religions" school. The term was originally applied to a group of younger researchers at the University of Göttingen in 1890s. Theologically, they were heirs of A. B. Ritschl (1822–1889), the leading liberal theologian of his day. Methodologically,

their research focused on the ancient world as the context for locating the study of Judaism and Christianity. Weiss was the son-in-law of Ritschl, and so long as Ritschl was alive, he did not publish his findings. Weiss's *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God* (1892; ET, 1971) was totally at variance with Ritschl's view of the kingdom as God's ethical lordship over humankind. According to Weiss, the kingdom that Jesus proclaimed was transcendent and superworldly. It belonged to the future. Jesus was a rabbi or prophet who believed that the kingdom would come after his death. He would be installed as Son of Man in the coming kingdom.

Schweitzer called his own version "thoroughgoing eschatology" (*konsequente Eschatologie*), insofar as he believed that Jesus proactively sought to establish the kingdom, whereas Weiss saw Jesus as more the prophet of the kingdom. It enabled him to offer the sole alternative to Wrede's skepticism, which made it possible to understand the motives and actions of the historical Jesus. It did so at the price of making the historical Jesus alien to the modern world.

3.4. *Schweitzer's Jesus.* Schweitzer confessed, "There is nothing more negative than the result of the critical study of the Life of Jesus" (Schweitzer 2001, 478). Critical research had totally demolished the orthodox picture of Jesus the founder of the kingdom of God who died for the sin of the world. It had also destroyed the rationalistic liberal Jesus, the preacher of the ethical kingdom of God on earth. In the knowledge that he was the coming Son of Man, Jesus laid hold of the wheel of the world. When it finally turned, it crushed him. Instead of realizing the eschatological dream, he destroyed it. However, what mattered was not the Jesus of critical research, but rather the immeasurable greatness of one who was strong enough to think of himself as "the spiritual ruler of mankind and to bend history to His purpose" (Schweitzer 2001, 369).

Terms such as "Messiah," "Son of Man" and "Son of God" survive merely as "historical parables." It is "the spirit which goes forth from Him and in the spirits of men strives for new influence and rule" that "overcomes the world." He comes to us as one unknown, without a name. But those who follow his commands for their generation will experience "Who He is." Schweitzer was in some ways the forerunner of twentieth-century demythologization: it was not Jesus' mythological program of eschatology that was important, but rather the spirit that imbued it.

Schweitzer's work did not meet with universal approval. The leading authority on the parables of Jesus, Adolf Jülicher, complained that Schweitzer was prac-

ting subjective, dogmatic criticism. The leading British authority on eschatology, R. H. Charles, refused to consider Schweitzer in the second edition of his *Eschatology* (1913), because he showed no first-hand knowledge of the sources and made no fresh contribution. More recently, James M. Robinson accused Schweitzer of using Matthew in a way that could be justified only by the precritical view of Matthew as an eyewitness. Schweitzer seems to have been eclectic in drawing alternately from Matthew and Mark but suppressing parts of both that did not fit his narrative, especially moral teaching that he jettisoned as an interim ethic that would be superseded in the coming kingdom.

The original ending of Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus* offered a choice between the "thoroughgoing skepticism" of Wrede and Schweitzer's "thoroughgoing eschatology." In 1913 it became a choice between liberals like his mentor, Holtzmann, and Schweitzer himself. Holtzmann claimed that the historical Jesus was still relevant; Schweitzer insisted that the Jesus-cult must be replaced by Jesus-mysticism. In words that might have been taken from Lessing, Schweitzer laid down the prior essential assumption "that religion is by nature independent of any sort of history" (Schweitzer 2001, 406).

4. From Harnack to Grundmann.

This section traces developments from the liberalism of Harnack, through the great era of investigation into Jesus' world, to constructs of Jesus and Christianity under the Third Reich.

4.1. Harnack and His Critics. A bestselling book on Jesus in the early twentieth century was based on a series of public lectures at the University of Berlin on the essence of Christianity. They were delivered extempore by the great church historian Adolf Harnack (1851–1930). In English the book was entitled *What Is Christianity?* (1901). It eclipsed Schweitzer's book published in the same year, though this did not diminish the friendship between the two, which endured until Harnack's death.

Harnack maintained the Ritschlian tradition, depicting Jesus as a teacher whose message was summed up under three headings: the kingdom of God and its coming; God the Father and the infinite value of the soul; the higher righteousness and the commandment to love. Jesus was the appointed way to the Father. In a study of the *Sayings of Jesus* (ET, 1908) Harnack argued that Q conveyed the best "portrait" of Jesus, though Mark must remain "in power."

Among Harnack's severest critics were the Cath-

olic modernists Alfred Loisy (1857–1940) and George Tyrrell (1861–1909). Harnack was the target of Loisy's book *The Gospel and the Church* (1902; ET, 1903). Loisy agreed that Jesus' preaching centered on the kingdom of God. "Jesus announced the kingdom of God, and what came was the church." Loisy's remark is frequently taken to imply that the church was an anticlimax. It meant, in fact, the opposite. The way for Jesus' teaching to be realized on earth was through the church. Harnack's mistake was defining the essence of Christianity in terms of returning to the Gospels. For Loisy, the procedure was like identifying a grown man by making him return to the cradle.

In *Christianity at the Cross-Roads* (1909) Tyrrell summed up Loisy's argument: "The Christ that Harnack sees, looking back through nineteen centuries of Catholic darkness, is only the reflection of a Liberal Protestant face, seen at the bottom of a deep well." The jibe has often been applied to attempts in general to recover the historical Jesus. However, it could be applied to any reconstruction of Jesus, including Loisy's, since every act of understanding requires the interplay of the "horizons" of the interpreter and those of the interpreter's object. What matters is sensitive, informed, critical interplay.

The most thoroughly researched and influential book on Jesus by a Jewish scholar was *Jesus of Nazareth: His Life, Times, and Teachings* (1922; ET, 1925), by Joseph Klausner (1874–1960). He accused Harnack of making Jesus, the historical Jew, disappear in much the same way as the early heretic Marcion had done. Klausner acknowledged Julius Wellhausen's claim that "Jesus was not a Christian but a Jew." In some respects, Jesus was "the most Jewish of the Jews." There was nothing in his teaching that could not be paralleled in the OT, the Apocrypha, and talmudic and midrashic literature. Jesus even surpassed Hillel in his positive statement of the Golden Rule. However, Judaism could not embrace Jesus, because of his indifference to the needs of Jewish national life.

4.2. The Recovery of Jesus' World. Serious attempts to recover the world of Jesus began with Emil Schürer (1844–1910). His textbook on NT background evolved into the multivolume *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (ET, 1890–1891). In time, Schürer's account of the Pharisees and his reduction of Jewish piety to two themes—life under the law and messianic hope—were seen to reflect liberal Protestant bias. Inevitably, the work became dated, though it was given new life in the form of *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus*

Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135) (4 vols., ed. G. Vermes, F. Miller and M. Goodman, 1973–1987).

Gustaf Dalman (1855–1941) is best known for his study of Aramaic and his research into Jesus in the context of Second Temple Judaism. *The Words of Jesus* (1898; ET, 1902; 2nd ed., 1930) sought to ascertain the meaning of Jesus' words as heard by Aramaic-speaking hearers. The title of *Jesus-Yeshua* (1922; ET, 1929) is a reminder that Jesus was not known as "Jesus" by his contemporaries, but rather as "Yeshua." Dalman claimed that Jesus knew three languages: Aramaic, his mother tongue; Greek, the language of government and trade; and Hebrew, the language of Scripture and theological discourse. An appendix contained parallels in Jewish literature to Jesus' sayings, showing their thoroughly Jewish character (see *Languages of Palestine*).

The Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch ("Handbook to the New Testament from Talmud and Midrash") was conceived and managed by Hermann L. Strack (1848–1922). Compilation of the material for the first four volumes was the work of Paul Billerbeck (1853–1932). The editing of further volumes was entrusted to Joachim Jeremias. The work was not strictly a commentary, but rather a compilation of more than forty thousand annotations. Jeremias maintained that the work opened up the Jewish world for nonspecialists. Critics argued that the alleged parallels could be misleading in the absence of expertise in evaluating contexts and sources. Perhaps the biggest problem was the assumption that rabbinic Judaism represented normative Judaism, in contrast to *Hellenism, Diaspora Judaism and sectarian Judaism. A project intended to replace Strack-Billerbeck has been initiated by *A Comparative Handbook to the Gospel of Mark* (2010), first in the series *The New Testament Gospels in Their Judaic Contexts*.

Most of the works noted in this section could be described as background without a portrait, since the figure of Jesus was conspicuously absent. Nevertheless, they contributed significantly to the quest of the historical Jesus. The alternative was to reconstruct a Jesus without historical religious and cultural context.

4.3. *The Shadow of the Third Reich.* Reconstruction of the impact of National Socialism on German theology has been largely pioneered by Jewish scholars and historians of the Holocaust (see Susannah Heschel, *The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany* [2008]). It involves scholars who were committed members of the Nazi party and others who deplored it.

Adolf Schlatter (1852–1938) belonged to the tradition of evangelical scholarship from Luther onwards that held the Jewish nation responsible for the *death of Jesus (see *Anti-Semitism*). He also openly criticized Jews for the malaise that afflicted German society and the church. On the other hand, Schlatter was a passionate advocate for understanding the Jewishness of Jesus. He possessed an unrivaled command of biblical and rabbinic literature.

For Schlatter, the historical Jesus was the Christ of faith, who was to be found in the world of the text of the NT. In the preface to his commentary on Matthew (1929) he made a statement that encapsulated his understanding of the knowledge of Jesus: "It is right and proper that we read the Gospel for the sake of Jesus, for it was written for his sake. To reach Jesus we must listen to the evangelist. Were he to disappear from us, we would be severed from the course of history and left to our own imaginations. Jesus speaks to humanity through his disciples."

The scholar who merits the dubious title "the Jesus specialist of National Socialism" is Walter Grundmann (1906–1976). However, in order to see Grundmann in perspective, it is necessary to examine the work of Rudolf Otto, to whom Grundmann was indebted. Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) is remembered chiefly for his work on *Das Heilige* (1917; ET, *The Idea of the Holy*, 1923). Otto regarded the holy as a unique category, the numinous, which was a *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*, a mystery that inspires fear and awe and also attracts and exalts. Jesus was the embodiment of the holy. As such, he was more than a prophet; he was the Son.

In later life Otto wrote *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man* (1934; 2nd ed., 1940; ET, 1938). Jesus was a Galilean itinerant charismatic preacher, healer and exorcist. Otto followed Walter Bauer in stressing the distinctive Galilean freedom from Judean attachment to the law and to Pharisaism. Instead of proclaiming judgment, Jesus preached the new age of the kingdom, which would follow the messianic woes. Jesus himself lived in the miracle of the new age, mediating through speech and parable its charismatic power. Initially he believed that the Son of Man was distinct from himself (Lk 12:8), but later he came to think that he as Son of Man must suffer to bring about the kingdom. The Last Supper was a prophetic sign of his willingness to accept this messianic obligation.

The claim that Jesus was not Jewish had numerous nineteenth-century protagonists, including the philosopher J. G. Fichte, and the biblical scholars J. E. Renan and Friedrich Delitzsch. In the Nazi pe-

riod Walter Grundmann made the theory a cornerstone of his account of Jesus. Grundmann joined the National Socialists in 1930. He obtained his doctorate under Gerhard Kittel, whom he assisted in preparing his *Theologisches Wörterbuch*. Although he lacked the customary habilitation, he was preferred over the more qualified Günther Bornkamm for the chair of NT and *völkische Theologie* at Jena in 1936. Hitler himself subsequently signed his tenure. Grundmann was appointed director of research of the Institute for Investigation into Jewish Influence on German Church Life and Its Eradication, located in neighboring Eisenach.

In 1940 Grundmann published *Jesus der Galiläer und das Judentum* ("Jesus the Galilean and Judaism") with a view to giving an answer based on "scientific scholarship" to "inquiring Germans" on the burning question of Jesus' relationship to Judaism. Following Otto, Grundmann described Jesus as a "charismatic" who possessed an inner vision, which gave him absolute authority in his teaching and deeds. Inevitably, it brought him into conflict with the Jews. However, Jesus threw back at them their charges of impurity and of leading the people astray. It was they who opposed God and led people astray, adopting the cynical ploy of handing Jesus over to the Romans, representing him as a dangerous political messiah.

Grundmann claimed that for centuries Galilee had been separate politically and ethnically from Judea. The Galilean origin of Jesus was beyond doubt. It followed "with the greatest probability" that Jesus belonged to one of the ethnic streams that existed in Galilee. Grundmann discounted the strands in the Gospels linking Jesus' birth to Bethlehem and suggesting childhood visits to Jerusalem. He ascribed to the Palestinian Judean Christian community passages that linked Jesus with David's line. Jesus was not an earthly ruler, but rather the proclaimer of a spiritual kingdom, which was welcomed by the Hellenistic world.

In 1943 Grundmann was conscripted and served on the Russian front. At the end of the war he was released from prison camp and returned to Jena, but he was not reinstated in his chair. Eventually, he was made head of the *Predigerseminar* at Eisenach, and he became a leading churchman and scholar in the German Democratic Republic. His numerous writings included *Die Geschichte Jesu Christi* (1956; 3rd ed., 1961). This massive work introduced current scholarship to postwar readers. It avoided discussion of Grundmann's earlier book, but the conflict between the Galilean Jesus and the Judeans remained. It took the form of a clash between "the

innermost concern of religion" and "the defect of late Jewish official religion," with its exaggerated demand for "cultic purity."

5. From Bousset to Bultmann and the "New Quest."

Radical German thought about the historical Jesus may be seen as a development of the History of Religions school, with Wilhelm Bousset setting the critical agenda, and Rudolf Bultmann being its last great representative. In two respects Bultmann differed from Bousset. Bultmann embraced *form criticism as he interpreted the Gospels within Bousset's history-of-religions framework. Bousset belonged to the world of liberal cultural Protestantism, whereas Bultmann combined the history of religions with dialectical theology.

5.1. Bousset. Wilhelm Bousset (1865–1920) taught at Göttingen—the birthplace of the History of Religions school—before moving to Giessen in 1916. Seminal studies on Hellenistic Judaism and gnosticism laid the foundations of Bousset's later work and that of Bultmann.

Bousset's most influential work was *Kyrios Christos* (1913; ET, 1970). In a foreword to the 1965 reprint Bultmann declared that its central theme was also that of NT theology: the history of belief in Christ. This evolutionary process began with the primitive Palestinian community, which venerated Jesus as the apocalyptic Son of Man. The canonical Gospels were characterized by the dogma of the Messiah, miracle stories, the messianic secret and Jesus' sacrificial death. At a later stage the title *Kyrios* ("Lord"), derived from the mystery cults, was bestowed on Jesus, turning him into a cult hero (see Lord).

Paul introduced Christ mysticism, which turned Jesus into a "supraterrestrial" power. Baptism became a rite of initiation into the deity. Paul's Christ-Adam typology put Christ's bestowal of the Spirit at its center. These "perilous" speculations were derived from Jewish *apocalyptic, Babylonian and Egyptian myths of the dying and rising god, and gnosticism. The Johannine circle completed the estrangement from the human Jesus of Nazareth by adopting thoroughgoing docetism. As the eternal Son of God, Jesus dispensed divine secrets and bestowed eternal life. Paul's stress on the Spirit faded from view.

5.2. Bultmann. The theology of Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976) combined the tradition of the History of Religions school with the dialectical theology associated with Karl Barth.

The History of the Synoptic Tradition (1921; ET,

1963) adapted Bousset's historical stratification of the NT to the oral history of Gospel material before and after it received written form. Bultmann drew on the form criticism that Hermann Gunkel had applied to the OT, and the pioneering work of Martin Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (1919), and K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (1919). Together, these writings shaped radical German scholarship for the next half-century. Instead of treating Mark as a historical portrait of Jesus, form criticism posited that Mark consisted of disconnected units of oral tradition shaped by (and sometimes created by) the "life setting" (*Sitz im Leben*) of the early communities.

Bultmann saw Mark as a random collector of stories, "not sufficiently master of his material to venture on a systematic construction himself." His Gospel was the first of a new literary genre, which depicted "the Christ myth" as a book of secret epiphanies. Matthew and Luke strengthened "the mythical side" by adding infancy narratives and Easter stories from sources inaccessible to Mark.

A characteristic of the Bultmann school was the criterion of double dissimilarity. Bultmann gave the following definition: "We can only count on possessing a genuine similitude of Jesus where, on the one hand, expression is given to the contrast between Jewish morality and piety and the distinctive eschatological temper which characterized the preaching of Jesus; and where on the other hand we find no specifically Christian features" (Bultmann 1963, 205). The criterion was not only an outcome of Bultmann's critical study of history; it was also the expression of his theological conviction about divine transcendence, which was linked to his dialectical theology.

Bultmann described this "distinctive eschatological temper" in *Jesus* (1926; ET, *Jesus and the Word* [1934]). Jesus was "the bearer of the word" that assures forgiveness by God. The word implies a relationship between speaker and hearer. Human beings are constrained to decision by the word, which brings a new element into their situation. The word therefore becomes to them an event; for it to become an event, the hearer is essential. This event brings eschatology into the present.

Bultmann maintained a lifelong friendship with Karl Barth. Bultmann's theology was characterized by *Sachkritik* ("subject criticism," or "theological criticism"), which sought to identify the *Sache*—the matter or essential meaning—as distinct from its form. (Barth's view may be characterized as *Sachexegese* ["theological exegesis"], which sought theo-

logical themes, unhampered by Bultmann's radical criticism.) Bultmann's *Sachkritik* "distinguishes what is said by what is meant and measures what is said by its meaning" (Bultmann 1968, 241). This understanding of the *Sache* of the NT formed the basis of Bultmann's identification of the cross and resurrection as the core of NT kerygma and of his program of demythologization.

Bultmann's *Sachkritik* was graphically outlined in his epoch-making paper on "New Testament and Mythology." The paper dates from 1941 and was published in the first volume of the series *Kerygma und Mythos* (1948; ET, Bartsch, 1:1-44). Bultmann was restating the view of mythology held by the History of Religions school for over half a century but drawing on dialectical theology and the categories of Heidegger's existentialist philosophy. The thought world of the NT—the three-decker universe of heaven, earth and hell, angels and demons, supernatural interventions, cosmic catastrophe, resurrection, judgment, eternal salvation and damnation—was mythological. As such, it needed to be demythologized so as to make way for the true scandal of Christianity: the message of the cross and resurrection, which alone could liberate humankind and lies beyond objectification.

Bultmann's commentary *The Gospel of John* (1941; ET, 1971) was a tour de force of Johannine reinterpretation. The dualism of the discourses—light and darkness, truth and falsehood, above and below, freedom and bondage—derived from gnosticism. However, John the consummate theologian (an honor that he shared with Paul) deployed these contrasts against gnosticism. The coming of the Son in judgment was not a dramatic event in the future; rather, the Son's mission was complete in the present (Jn 3:18). Bultmann's multivolume *Theology of the New Testament* (1948-1953; ET, 1951-1955) laid down the premise: "The message of Jesus is a presupposition for the theology of the New Testament rather than a part of that theology itself. . . . Christian faith did not exist until there was a Christian kerygma; i.e., a kerygma proclaiming Jesus Christ—specifically Jesus Christ the Crucified and Risen One—to be God's eschatological act of salvation. He was first so proclaimed in the kerygma of the earliest Church, not in the message of the historical Jesus" (Bultmann 1951-1955, 1:3).

The theme of how Jesus the proclaimer became the proclaimed dates from Bultmann's 1933 essay "The Christology of the New Testament" (ET, Bultmann 1966, 262-85). Bultmann restated his overall view in *Primitive Christianity in Its Contemporary*

Setting (1949; ET, 1956). In his lectures at Yale and Vanderbilt Bultmann explained how the task of demythologizing and detaching faith from history was comparable to Paul's and Luther's insistence on justification by faith alone apart from works of the law (Bultmann 1960, 84).

5.3. The "New Quest." The "New Quest" of the historical Jesus was largely confined to Bultmann's former students and followers in Germany and the United States. Signs of unrest appeared in 1953 at the meeting of "Old Marburgers," when Ernst Käsemann (1906–1998) presented a paper on "The Problem of the Historical Jesus" (ET, Käsemann, 15–47). Like others who followed him in the New Quest, Käsemann protested fidelity to Bultmannian methodology and disavowed any attempt to write a biography of Jesus. Nevertheless, Käsemann feared relapse into docetism if the exalted Lord of the kerygma was detached from the humiliated Lord in history. The way forward was to discover the earthly Jesus through the kerygma.

Jesus of Nazareth (1956; ET, 1960), by Günther Bornkamm (1905–1990), was the first book on Jesus in the Bultmann school since Bultmann's study thirty years earlier. Whereas Bultmann had stressed the eschatological transcendent kerygma, Bornkamm focused on the new age already dawning through Jesus' words and actions. Although the Gospels did not provide enough information "to paint a biographical picture of Jesus," Bornkamm valued more than did Bultmann the substratum of history in the Gospels. "Quite clearly what the Gospels report concerning the message, the deeds and the history of Jesus is still distinguished by an authenticity, a freshness, and a distinctiveness not in any way effaced by the Church's Easter faith. These features point us directly to the earthly figure of Jesus" (Bornkamm, 24). On the other hand, Jesus stood out from the world of Judaism, which was like "a soil hardened and barren through its age-long history and tradition" (Bornkamm, 55–56).

The most concise, and perhaps the most negative, overview of Jesus produced in the New Quest came from Hans Conzelmann (1915–1989). It took the form of a 1959 encyclopedia article, later expanded into a booklet. Conzelmann's "Jesus Christus" was firmly based on the criterion of double dissimilarity: "Whatever fits neither into Jewish thought nor the views of the later church can be regarded as authentic" (Conzelmann, 16). Jesus moved almost exclusively within the framework of Palestinian Judaism. The oldest stratum of the Synoptic tradition showed no influence from Hellenistic ideas (Conzel-

mann, 17). True to Bultmann, Conzelmann affirmed that at the heart of Jesus' teaching was "the absolute promise of salvation," which because of its unconditional nature was "the crisis of all security" (Conzelmann, 42).

Reginald H. Fuller (1915–2007) was a British scholar who came to America in the 1950s. At this stage in his career he was an enthusiastic follower of Bultmann, though the perspective of Fuller's *Foundations of New Testament Theology* (1965) was perhaps closer to Bousset. Fuller's method was determined by the criterion of double dissimilarity. He traced the kerygma to Jesus' self-understanding. "Jesus understood his mission in terms of eschatological prophecy and was confident of its vindication by the Son of man at the End. As eschatological prophet he was not merely announcing the future coming of salvation and judgment, but actually initiating it in his words and works" (Fuller, 130).

The most enthusiastic advocate of the New Quest was also its historian, James M. Robinson (1924–). Robinson saw his contribution as a development of Bultmann's *Jesus*. The Old Quest was impossible and illegitimate because Jesus of Nazareth cannot be reached by "reconstruction of his biography by means of objective historical method" (Robinson 1959, 29). Wrede had demonstrated that Mark was not writing objective history, and K. L. Schmidt had shown that the order of events in the Gospels was not based on historical memory. The tradition about Jesus "survived only in so far as it served some function in the life and worship of the primitive Church. History survived only as *kerygma*" (Robinson 1959, 37). On the other hand, the quest for meaningful existence gave impetus and direction for "a serious quest of the historical Jesus" (Robinson 1959, 75). Such a quest must not "dodge the call of the *kerygma* for existential faith in the saving event, by the attempt to provide an objectively verified proof of his historicity" (Robinson 1959, 76). Robinson expanded the argument of his original book in a reprint, *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus and Other Essays* (1983).

In July 1959 Bultmann responded to the New Quest in an address to the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences on "The Primitive Christian Kerygma and the Historical Jesus" (ET, Bultmann 1964). Bultmann observed that Old Quest sought to get behind the kerygma in order to discover the historical Jesus. Today the situation was reversed. "The emphasis lies on elaborating the unity of the historical Jesus and the Christ of the kerygma" (Bultmann 1964, 15). Without the historical Jesus, there would be no kerygma. However, as Wellhausen had observed, Je-

Jesus was a Jew and not a Christian. Jesus did not demand faith in himself. The historical Jesus was the presupposition of the kerygma—the “that,” but not the “what.”

Toward the end of his address Bultmann lined up his former students and rebuked them one by one for their lack of rigor in maintaining that Jesus the proclaimer must now be the Christ who is proclaimed. Even Robinson’s efforts to demonstrate the continuity between Jesus and the kerygma blurred the difference between them so that (as R. H. Fuller clearly saw in his review of Robinson’s book) the kerygma was made unnecessary (Bultmann 1964, 39). What Bultmann faulted in the New Quest was not defective critical scholarship, but rather inconsistency regarding the dialectical significance of the kerygma of the cross and resurrection.

Bultmann’s Heidelberg address had the effect of taking the wind out of the sails of the New Quest, and the crew abandoned ship. James M. Robinson threw his prodigious energies into two enterprises. The first was his role in editing and translating the Coptic codices discovered at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt in 1945 (*The Nag Hammadi Library in English* [1977; 4th ed., 1996]). The other was the International Q Project, which culminated in *The Critical Edition of Q* (2000), edited by Robinson and others. Robinson wrote a substantial number of studies collectively published in *The Sayings Gospel Q* (2005). Not only was it possible to reconstruct a Q community; it was also possible to reconstruct a Jesus behind it. “Jesus himself made no claims to lofty titles or even to divinity. Indeed to him, a devout Jew, claiming to be God would have seemed blasphemous! He claimed ‘only’ that God spoke and acted through him” (Robinson 2005, xi).

6. European Alternatives.

In the hindsight of contemporary scholarship, the criterion of double dissimilarity looks absurdly restrictive. But to those of Bultmann’s generation, who had experienced the horrors of the twentieth century, dialectical theology offered hope. It seemed not unreasonable to see institutional religion—both pre-Christian Judaism and incipient Catholic Christianity—as the product of human religiosity and to view the kerygma of the cross and resurrection in terms of the Wholly Other. To use Barth’s analogy, God’s word was like a vertical line intersecting a horizontal plane at a single point. In the meantime, alternative approaches to the historical Jesus challenged the Bultmann tradition. Among the most notable were those of Joachim Jeremias and Oscar Cullmann.

6.1. Jeremias. The most concerted attempt by a Christian scholar to locate Jesus within Judaism was made by Joachim Jeremias (1900–1979), who spent most of his career at Göttingen. Jeremias’s lecture “The Present State of the Debate about the Problem of the Historical Jesus” (1956) set out his case against Bultmann (repr., Jeremias, 1–17). Bultmann came close to surrendering the message of “the Word became flesh” to docetism and dissolving *Heilsgeschichte* (salvation history) into preaching. Rabbinic literature must be studied to help recover Jesus’ opposition to “the religiosity of his time.” Aramaic should be used to help identify what lies behind the Greek of the NT. The message of Jesus flowed from his conviction that God’s kingdom was about to break into history. These issues constituted Jeremias’s agenda.

Though it might not be possible to recover Jesus’ actual words, it was possible to hear his *ipsissima vox*, the voice of Jesus with its distinctive manner of speaking. It was characterized by (1) “Truly I say to you,” an idiom used to emphasize Jesus’ pronouncements; (2) the use of the theological passive (e.g., “Your sins are forgiven”) as a circumlocution for God’s activity through Jesus; and (3) a predilection for similitudes and parables.

The nature of Jesus’ distinctive voice occupied Jeremias in a series of pivotal works. *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (1935; 3rd ed., 1960; ET, 1966) was a major investigation of the Last Supper, which Jeremias saw as a Passover meal, in which the words of Jesus related Jesus’ death to salvation history. *The Parables of Jesus* (1947; 6th ed., 1962; ET, 1963) urged that the purpose of the parables was to compel hearers to come to a decision about Jesus’ person and eschatological mission. In *The Prayers of Jesus* (ET, 1967), Jeremias explained Jesus’ use of *Abba* (“Father”) as an Aramaic term of intimacy and submission, and the Lord’s Prayer as an eschatological prayer for the coming of God’s kingdom.

Issues raised by Jeremias continue to be discussed and specific interpretations challenged. However, his main contribution still stands. In an age in which dissimilarity from Judaism was regarded as a test of authenticity, Jeremias boldly reversed it, maintaining that Jesus could not be understood apart from his Jewish historical context.

6.2. Cullmann. Oscar Cullmann (1902–1999) was the last of his generation of European scholars who shaped the scholarship of his day. In *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr* (ET, 2nd ed., 1962) Cullmann rejected the Bultmann school’s argument that the idea of the church was incompatible with Jesus’ eschatol-

ogy. *The Christology of the New Testament* (1957; ET, 1959) developed a functional *Christology based on the titles of Jesus, using form criticism to “arrive at Jesus’ self-consciousness.” Cullmann’s Christology was bound up with his linear view of time, outlined in *Christ and Time* (1946; ET, 1951; rev. ed., 1964). In opposition to Greek cyclical views and the eschatologies of Schweitzer, Bultmann and Barth, Cullmann claimed that the Hebrew view of time was linear—past, present, future. In so doing, he revived salvation history, which had been propounded by J. C. K. Hofmann in the nineteenth century. Cullmann’s last major book, *Salvation in History* (1965; ET, 1967), enlarged upon these views.

7. The English-Speaking World.

7.1. British Scholarship. In comparison with European scholars, British scholarship was more restrained. It was virtually ignored by Schweitzer in the first edition of his *Quest of the Historical Jesus*.

Inspired by a visit to the Holy Land, F. W. Farrer’s *Life of Christ* (1874) set the model for the rest of the century. It was filled with imaginative descriptions of places and events, but it did not tamper with orthodoxy. The most erudite British life of Jesus, written by a Viennese Jewish convert to Christianity, Alfred Edersheim, was *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (1883). Edersheim’s standpoint was pre-critical orthodoxy. British critical scholarship was largely a conservative and constructive response to impulses from Europe. It was led by William Sanday (1843–1920) at Oxford and F. C. Burkitt (1864–1935) at Cambridge.

Sanday’s years at Oxford were dedicated to reconciling modern scholarship with orthodox tradition. His knowledge of German enabled him to become the leading interpreter of European scholarship of his day. His *Outlines of the Life of Christ* (1905) was a reprint of an encyclopedia article. A second edition (1906) contained updates on the state of scholarship. *The Life of Christ in Recent Research* (1907) introduced Wrede and Schweitzer to English readers. Sanday confessed that, as far as he knew, no one accepted Wrede’s reconstruction. But Schweitzer’s book was “the most striking work of its kind.” However, it was as great a mistake to explain everything in terms of eschatology as it was to treat eschatology as “a mere appendage.”

Sanday’s enthusiasm for Schweitzer waned after hearing the lectures of Ernst von Dobschütz. Meanwhile, Burkitt’s enthusiasm grew. Schweitzer’s *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* was translated by his former student William Montgomery, and Burkitt himself sup-

plied an introduction. In 1910 Sanday published *Christologies Ancient and Modern* as a prelude to his life of Jesus. He suggested that the work of William James on the unconscious mind might provide an analogy for understanding divine immanence. Sanday returned to the topic in a brief study of *Personality in Christ and in Ourselves*, which he republished with *Christologies Ancient and Modern* in a single volume under the title *Christology and Personality* (1911). The “high-water mark” of human language—Paul’s words “Nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me” (Gal 2:20)—suggested an analogy of how divinity could be present in humanity. Toward the end of his life, Sanday pondered the significance for Christology of the descent of the Spirit on Jesus.

Sanday pioneered faculty seminars on the Gospels. An outcome was *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (1911), the first major British treatment of the subject (see Synoptic Problem). Among writings by members of the seminar were John Hawkins’s linguistic study *Horae Synopticae* (1899; 2nd ed., 1909) and B. H. Streeter’s *The Four Gospels* (1924). The latter expanded the two-documentary source favored by most European scholars to Mark, Q, M (material in Matthew indicating a “Judaistic tendency”) and L (Lukan material combined with Q to form Proto-Luke). Streeter believed that his four-document hypothesis helped to explain a range of issues, including Luke’s reference to “many” predecessors (Lk 1:1). It broadened the basis of evidence for the “authentic teaching of Jesus.” Streeter’s book replaced Burkitt’s *The Gospel History and Its Transmission* (1906) as the standard British textbook.

Burkitt contended that the apocalyptic vision was “no mere embroidery of Christianity.” Eschatology challenged the world and its priorities. However, Burkitt’s Jesus was not the Jesus of Schweitzer’s “thoroughgoing eschatology.” Jesus could not wholly be explained. In *Jesus Christ: An Historical Outline* (1932) Burkitt urged that the burden of Mark 13 was to watch and wait. The resurrection of Jesus was “a well-attested fact” in the sense that those who shared Peter’s experience were convinced that Jesus was alive again. In his last years, Burkitt brushed aside form criticism. He had no time for the theory of Jesus’ words and deeds as the product of communal imagination. Tradition rested upon historical reminiscence going back to Peter, Mark and Q.

C. H. Dodd (1884–1972) began his academic career at Oxford, where he also spent his retirement. Dodd taught at Mansfield College, Oxford, before becoming Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism at Manchester (1930). He succeeded Burkitt at Cam-

bridge (1935), retiring in 1949. His book *The Parables of the Kingdom* (1935; revised, 1961) proposed “realized eschatology” in reply to Schweitzer’s “thoroughgoing eschatology.” While Jesus employed apocalyptic symbolism to express the divine dimension, his parables show that the kingdom—the reign of God—had already become a reality. Subsequently, Dodd redefined his position: the eschaton had dawned with Jesus, but it was also “in process of realization.”

In *History and the Gospel* (1938; rev. ed., 1964) Dodd responded to the negative form criticism of the Bultmann school. He drew attention to the fact that singly attested material taken from different forms and genres portrayed Jesus as “an historical personality distinguished from other historical personalities of His time by His friendly attitude to outcasts and sinners” (Dodd 1964, 66). This convergence of strands anticipated what Gerd Theissen would call “cross-section evidence.”

In retirement Dodd published two major works on John. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953) explored John against its background and discussed main themes. *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (1963) argued that the tradition underlying John was ancient and independent of the Synoptic tradition. Dodd’s final book, *The Founder of Christianity* (1970), challenged the skepticism of the New Quest and urged renewed study of the historical Jesus. The Gospels included remembered and interpreted facts. The resurrection faith of the church was based on genuine memory of the empty tomb.

T. W. Manson (1893–1958) followed in the footsteps of Dodd but by no means was overshadowed by him. He succeeded Dodd at Mansfield College and later at Manchester University, when Dodd went to Cambridge. In *The Teaching of Jesus* (1931) Manson proposed an interpretation of the Son of Man that radically challenged the German tradition. The Son of Man was the final term in an OT series including the remnant of Isaiah, the *Servant of Yahweh in Deutero-Isaiah, the “I” of the psalmists, and the Son of Man in Daniel 7, all of which were collective embodiments of “the Remnant idea.” Unlike German scholars who identified the Son of Man as an apocalyptic figure based on eschatological expectation (1 En. 37–41), Manson saw no difficulty in tracing the concept to Jesus’ application of Daniel 7:13. Manson recognized that in some instances the term could simply mean “that man,” “a certain man,” or “I.” However, some passages, such as Luke 9:58 and Matthew 8:20, suggested a more specific meaning. This sense was indicated in sayings after Peter’s

confession. Just as the Son of Man in Daniel 7 indicated corporate identity, so the passion predication about the Son of Man carried the implication that, together, Jesus and his followers were called to service and self-sacrifice in the redemptive purposes of God (Mk 10:45). Initially the disciples embraced this calling. But at the Last Supper Judas deserted. In Gethsemane the remaining disciples fell away (Mk 14:26–31, 50; Lk 22:31–34). Jesus was left alone to suffer as the Son of Man.

In response to form criticism, Manson remarked that a story that could have a *Sitz im Leben* in the life of the church should not automatically be excluded from also having a *Sitz im Leben* in the life of Jesus. His response to Bultmann and Schweitzer was summarized in “The Life of Jesus: Some Tendencies in Present-Day Research” (Manson 1964), his contribution to a *Festschrift* for Dodd.

Form criticism, as the study of units of narrative and teaching, was in itself “interesting but not epoch-making.” But it got mixed up with two dubious assumptions. One was that the first generation of Christians were not interested in the life of Jesus, and only some thirty years later did they become suddenly fascinated. Then the life of Jesus had to be created out of nothing. The other assumption was that Gospel incidents and sayings were remembered in detail apart from their original context. Manson contended that episodes are typically remembered in conjunction with their historical context.

Schweitzer’s reconstruction exhibited two flaws: his interpretation, especially of Matthew, was uncritical; and his Jesus was “a deluded fanatic.” Manson endorsed Burkitt’s view that Jesus changed eschatology, not by “spiritualizing” it but rather by transforming it through his own ministry as a “prologue.”

In some respects, Manson anticipated the criterion of double similarity and double dissimilarity. Terms such as “messiah” and “kingdom” were used in ways that were similar to but dissimilar from their meaning in Judaism. Their use in the Gospels was not identical with subsequent Christian use but served to explain the origin of the church. This meant that there was no escape from historical enquiry, but also that there was no need to be despondent about its prospects.

Vincent Taylor (1887–1968) devoted his career to the dual role of training ministers for the Methodist Church and explaining scholarship to the wider public. *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (1933; 2nd ed., 1935) remains one of the best and balanced introductions to form criticism. It showed that it need not follow the negative direction taken by Bult-

mann, and it introduced other form critics besides Bultmann and Dibelius. Taylor wrote two trilogies relating to the historical Jesus. The first considered his death: *Jesus and His Sacrifice* (1937); *The Atonement in New Testament Teaching* (1940; 3rd ed., 1958); *Forgiveness and Reconciliation* (1941). The second trilogy was devoted to his life: *The Names of Jesus* (1953); *The Life and Ministry of Jesus* (1954); *The Person of Christ in New Testament Teaching* (1958). Both trilogies were works of survey and synthesis. Taylor's crowning achievement was his commentary on *Mark* (1952; 2nd ed., 1966), which remains unmatched as an encyclopedic resource.

The traditions of British NT scholarship initiated by Sanday and Burkitt, and carried forward by Dodd and Manson, were carried further by C. F. D. Moule, A. E. Harvey, John A. T. Robinson and, somewhat idiosyncratically, Austin Farrer. C. F. D. Moule (1908–2007) was educated at Cambridge, where he spent his academic life. Moule's *The Origin of Christology* (1970) rejected the tradition of Bousset and Bultmann that insisted on evolutionary Christology, culminating in the deification of Jesus. Moule proposed a developmental process beginning with "four well-known descriptions of Jesus": Son of Man, Son of God, Christ, and *Kyrios*. In his Bampton Lectures at Oxford A. E. Harvey approached the Jesus of the Gospels from the standpoint of the historical constraints imposed upon him (*Jesus and the Constraints of History* [1982]). The NT studies done by John A. T. Robinson (1919–1983) revealed an inquiring mind that was not afraid to adopt radical conclusions, even if they happened to be unfashionably conservative. *Redating the New Testament* (1976) argued that no hard data precluded the composition of the NT before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, whereas *The Priority of John* claimed that, historically and theologically, John was first among equals.

7.2. North American Scholarship. The history of theological scholarship in America mirrored that of America at large. For a long time it lagged behind Europe, to which it looked for leadership. In the field of Jesus studies it was not until well into the twentieth century that America began to gain independence.

B. B. Warfield (1851–1921) taught systematic theology at Princeton Theological Seminary from 1887 until his death. At the time, the seminary was a bastion of Calvinistic orthodoxy. Like his predecessors, Warfield went to Germany to complete his education. Many of his writings were reprinted posthumously in ten volumes (1927–1932). *Christology and Criticism* (1929) and *Critical Reviews* (1932) kept readers abreast of European scholarship. They gave

the impression that every new critical idea contained something profoundly wrong. At the heart of Warfield's criticism was his steadfast belief in the "two natures" formula of Chalcedon as the key to the complicated locks of the NT. It authenticated the "Great Reality" of Christology.

For Warfield's contemporary B. W. Bacon (1860–1932), at Yale, the key was higher criticism. Bacon was an early exponent of the two-source theory of the Synoptic Gospels. His *Studies in Matthew* (1930) saw Jesus as a new Moses, the giver of a new law, modeled after the five books of Moses. To Bacon, Matthew was a legalist who missed the essential point of Jesus' sympathy with prophetic protests against the law.

At the University of Chicago Shailer Mathews (1863–1941) advocated sociological interpretation in *The Social Teachings of Jesus* (1897) and *Jesus and Social Institutions* (1928). Mathews credited his revolutionary portrait of Jesus not to the study of Second Temple Judaism, but rather to his work on the French Revolution.

Whereas Mathews progressed from conservatism to liberalism, Shirley Jackson Case (1872–1947) described himself as "born a liberal." Case's first book, *The Historicity of Jesus* (1912), anticipated what was later called the "criterion of double similarity and double dissimilarity." Jesus fitted into the Jewish world, but his message of God's saving presence made him distinct. Contemporary Christian faith could not be detached from the historical Jesus. *Jesus: A New Biography* (1927) paid attention to literary criticism, social orientation and form criticism. Other members of the Chicago school included Clyde Weber Votaw (1864–1940), who identified the Gospels as forms of ancient biography. Edgar J. Goodspeed (1871–1962) is remembered for his translation work and his *Life of Jesus* (1950). Goodspeed did for American readers what Renan did for French readers nearly a century earlier, only without the offensive agnostic overtones. He retold the familiar story, without critical apparatus, using imagination to fill in the gaps.

Chester C. McCown (1877–1958) was a product of the Chicago school who spent his professional career at the Pacific School of Religion. *The Search for the Real Jesus* (1940) followed in the footsteps of Schweitzer, but beginning with Strauss and Baur, and telling the story from the standpoint of the social gospel. The kingdom of God was not merely an internal state of moral goodness and spiritual happiness, but rather "a society ruled by the divine will."

The most respected NT scholar at Harvard was

Henry J. Cadbury (1883–1974), who wrote three books on Jesus. The best known of the three was *The Peril of Modernizing Jesus* (1937). Today modernization is sometimes called “contextualization,” but to Cadbury, the more Jesus was depicted in terms of another culture, the more removed he was from his own. The process of modernizing Jesus began in the early church. The Gospels give at best a selection of sayings and events. Modern predilections were prone to dismiss elements such as apocalyptic language and miracles, even though they were embedded in historical tradition. Interpreters were also apt to fill in gaps by attributing to Jesus their own outlook. *Jesus: What Manner of Man?* (1947) was intended as a “more positive” book, focusing on Jesus’ “habits of thought and argument.” It addressed questions such as wisdom, parables and authority. In the end, Jesus was, like every personality, “an enigma.” *The Eclipse of the Historical Jesus* (1964) contains reflections on the quest of the historical Jesus. Much of the quest was “wishful thinking,” assuming that Jesus shared a modern mindset. Cadbury’s own contribution remained like sketches prepared for a portrait that was never painted.

Leander E. Keck (1928–) devoted an entire book to the question of *A Future for the Historical Jesus* (1971). In the 1970s he edited a series, largely reedited reprints, of lives of Jesus. His aim was to encourage fresh discovery and lively debate with classic tradition, in order to enrich and make more precise the contemporary debate. The series ranged widely with editions of Reimarus, Strauss, Schleiermacher, Strauss’s critique of Schleiermacher, Weiss, Loisy, Herrmann and Mathews. In his running debate with Bornkamm, Keck urged that Bornkamm needed not praise but reappraisal (cf. Dieter Lührmann, “Bornkamm’s Response to Keck Revisited”). The historical Jesus was “the parable of God.” The future should begin with the past—Jesus’ Jewish past, as Keck explained in *Who Is Jesus? History in Perfect Tense* (2001).

8. The Ongoing Quest.

The closing quarter of the twentieth century saw increasing globalization of Jesus research. Among the factors were jet travel, multinational publishing, the Internet, academic guilds—notably the Society of Biblical Literature and the Society for New Testament Studies—and focus on specialized topics that transcended national boundaries. In previous ages the quest of the historical Jesus was more or less a Protestant pursuit. Starting in the 1970s, Jewish and Catholic perspectives came increasingly to the fore.

8.1. Wright and the “Third Quest.” The scholar

most closely linked with the Third Quest is N. T. Wright (1948–). Wright’s prodigious writings include shorter books on the historical Jesus and a monumental series (still in progress), *Christian Origins and the Question of God*. The series includes *The New Testament and the People of God* (1992), *Jesus and the Victory of God* (1996) and *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (2003). Helpful roadmaps and responses include essays collected in *Jesus and the Restoration of Israel* (1999 [edited by C. Newman]) and in *Jesus, Paul and the People of God* (2011 [edited by N. Perrin and R. B. Hayes]). Wright described his approach as “critical realism”—a process of knowing that acknowledges “the reality of the thing known, as something other than the knower” and gains access to this reality along “the spiralling path of appropriate dialogue or conversation between the knower and the thing known” (Wright 1992, 135).

In contrast to the Bultmann school’s criterion of double dissimilarity, which insisted that the authentic Jesus was dissimilar to both the religion of Judaism and post-Easter Christian expressions of faith, Wright proposed a criterion of double dissimilarity and double similarity. “Along with the much-discussed ‘criterion of dissimilarity’ must go a criterion of double similarity: when something can be seen to be credible (though perhaps deeply subversive) within first-century Judaism, and credible as the implied starting-point (though not the exact replica) of something in later Christianity, there is a strong possibility of our being in touch with the genuine history of Jesus” (Wright 1996, 132).

Wright’s reconstruction identified the overarching theme of biblical history as *exile and restoration. Although Judeans had returned from exile in Babylon, and the Jerusalem temple had been rebuilt, many felt that Israel’s God had not returned. The hope of the prophets remained unfulfilled. Israel was in a state of continuing exile (Wright 1992, 268–72). Hope centered on a new exodus and the establishment of God’s kingdom on earth (Wright 1996, 202–14). Within this framework Jesus assumed the “profile of a prophet” who announced the advent of God’s kingdom, with Jesus’ life and teaching understood as the reenactment of “the central drama” of Israel. “The real return from exile, including the real resurrection from the dead, is taking place, in an extremely paradoxical fashion, in Jesus’ own ministry” (Wright 1996, 127).

Despite Wright’s wide learning, his strongest critics suspect that F. C. Baur’s verdict on his former pupil Strauss might also apply to Wright: he has undertaken a critique of Gospel history, without critique

of the Gospels. They see *Jesus and the Victory of God* as a vast precritical harmonization of the Gospels, based largely on an eclectic reading of the Synoptic Gospels to the neglect of John, without due examination of the narrative features of Matthew, Mark and Luke.

8.2. Crossan and the Jesus Seminar. The Jesus Seminar in America was broadly contemporary with N. T. Wright and the Third Quest in Britain. It was launched in California by Robert Funk's Weststar Institute in 1985. Whereas Wright proposed new methodology stressing Jesus as the climax of Jewish history, the Jesus Seminar applied traditional critical methodologies with renewed vigor.

The leading members of the Jesus Seminar were its cochair, Robert W. Funk (1926–2005) and John Dominic Crossan (1934–). From the outset, the Jesus Seminar assumed major discrepancies between the historical figure of Jesus and representations of him in American religion and the canonical Gospels. The Jesus Seminar's quest was a search for reliable, recoverable data as a basis for understanding Jesus as he really was (Funk 2001).

The Jesus Seminar published papers and interim reports through its academic journal, *Forum: Foundations & Facets*, culminating in *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus* (1993 [edited by R. W. Funk and R. W. Hoover]) and *The Acts of Jesus: The Search for the Authentic Deeds of Jesus* (1998 [edited by R. W. Funk]). In speaking of five Gospels, the Jesus Seminar deliberately included the *Gospel of Thomas* alongside the NT Gospels, thereby relativizing the concept of canonicity (see Canon). Borrowing from the old practice of printing Bibles with the words of Jesus in red, the Jesus Seminar followed a color scheme used in casting votes for identifying degrees of authenticity: red (Jesus very probably said or did this); pink (Jesus probably said or did this); gray (Jesus probably did not say or do this, or at least no firm judgment was possible); black (Jesus very probably did not say or do this).

The portrait of Jesus that emerged was that of an itinerant sage and healer who broke with dogma and convention. His conception was a normal human one. Jesus preached not apocalyptic eschatology about the end of the world, but rather social-political liberation through subversive parables, aphorisms and praxis.

The publication of his book *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (1991) coincided with Crossan's tenure at the Jesus Seminar and laid the foundation for subsequent writings. He described his approach as a triple process that moved

from the general to the particular. It was like a military operation that involved campaign, strategy and tactics. The campaign consisted of an analysis of the socioeconomic world in which Jesus lived—life in a remote Mediterranean corner of the Roman Empire under the *Pax Romana*. Strategy involved compiling an inventory of canonical and extracanonical texts, arranged according to chronology and independent attestation. Finally, tactics involved interpretation of the Roman colonization of the Mediterranean world. Jesus was a Mediterranean peasant philosopher, dedicated to subverting Roman subjugation through his itinerancy—"a symbolic representation of unbrokered egalitarianism."

Crossan's Jesus turned out to be a composite figure that combined the aphoristic teaching and lifestyle of Hellenistic Cynicism with Jewish magic. But Cynics do not appear to have practiced magic, and Jewish magicians do not seem to have been attracted to Cynicism. Current research has not uncovered conclusive evidence of Cynic activity in Galilee in Jesus' day. Moreover, Crossan paid scant attention to what orthodox Jews thought that they should do to magicians and those who led the people astray.

Methodologically, Crossan's databases represent a sophisticated form of source criticism in which multiple attestation and chronological stratification determine the value of sources. However, it has not stood up to close scrutiny. Gerd Theissen and Dagmar Winter draw attention to methodological flaws in Crossan's insistence upon the criterion of multiple attestation (Theissen and Winter, 238–39). On the one hand, Crossan's insistence on the inclusion of noncanonical texts (see *Gospels: Apocryphal*), in which primacy was allocated to the noneschatological, virtually ensures that he ends up with a non-eschatological Jesus. On the other hand, multiple attestation is a weaker criterion than cross-section evidence and resistance to tendencies of the tradition in singly attested material in diverse traditions, which preserve comparable and converging pictures of Jesus. Inevitably, Crossan's source-critical method ignored the tendencies of texts and thereby made little or no use of literary criticism in discerning their character. It paid scant attention to the religious and social aspects of texts and their explanatory power to illuminate incidents and sayings, which in turn might suggest conceivable historical contexts in the world of Second Temple Judaism.

The most probing critique of the Jesus Seminar, and by extension of its cochair Crossan, was written by Birger Pearson: "The Gospel According to the 'Jesus Seminar': On Some Recent Trends in Gospel Re-

search" (reprinted in the 1997 collection of his essays, *The Emergence of the Christian Religion*). Pearson concluded, "The Jesus of the Jesus Seminar is a non-Jewish Jesus. To put it metaphorically, the seminar has performed a sneak epispasm on the historical Jesus, the surgical procedure removing the marks of circumcision. . . . The ideology driving the Jesus Seminar is, I would argue, one of 'secularization'" (Pearson, 56-57).

Crossan's later writings seem no longer to depend on the elaborate methodology of *The Historical Jesus*. The portrait of Jesus as a homespun Galilean Cynic philosopher appears to have faded. What remains is a Jesus pitted against Rome (*God and Empire*, 2007).

8.3. The Quest for the Political Jesus. Interest in Jewish life in the Second Temple period gained impetus through the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the late 1940s. Focus on the political struggle against Roman oppression received indirect stimulus from the climate of the post-World War II situation: growing awareness of the Holocaust, tensions of the Cold War, liberation movements in the Third World, and the creation of Israel as an independent state in 1948. Israeli struggle for independent nationhood invited comparison with previous liberation movements. The Masada excavations of the 1960s drew attention to anti-Roman freedom fighters and martyrs. This section focuses on two issues: (1) Zealots; (2) Jesus and politics.

8.3.1. The Zealots. The dissertation of William R. Farmer on *Maccabees, Zealots, and Josephus* (1956) pioneered investigation into Jewish nationalism and raised the question of Jesus' links with it. Subsequent debate about the Zealot movement centered on the 1961 dissertation by Martin Hengel (1926-2009), the foremost European authority on Christian origins in the context of Judaism and Hellenism: *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I Until 70 A.D.* (1961; ET, 1989).

*Josephus described as "so-called zealots" a faction that committed gross atrocities as it seized power during the winter of A.D. 66-67 (*J.W.* 2.651; 4.161; 7.268-270) (see Hengel 1989, xiii-xv, 380-404) (see *Revolutionary Movements*). Josephus's phraseology raised the question of whether they were a new group of freedom fighters known as Zealots, or whether their roots reached back to the Maccabees. A tradition of scholarship in America from Kirsopp Lake to Morton Smith and Richard A. Horsley took Josephus's statements to mean that the Zealots were of recent origin (see Horsley 1986). Horsley went on to reconceive Jewish history from Jesus to the war

with Rome as a mounting spiral of violence resulting from exploitation of the masses, popular protest, and severe repression leading to open revolt when the situation became intolerable. Horsley formulated a reply to Hengel in *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence* (1987).

Accordingly, the Zealots should be seen not as a "foil" for Jesus' activity, but rather as a violent faction in the war's final stages. Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom called for peaceful social revolution in village life: egalitarian family relations, cancellation of debts, reconciliation with enemies. It was intended to prepare for the kingdom of God, which would break the spiral of violence and end the established order.

European scholarship tended to side with Hengel in seeing violence and the Zealot movement as related factors, which periodically surfaced from the Maccabees to the war with Rome. They grew out of the religious tradition regarding the sacredness of the land, which belonged to Yahweh, who granted Israel the sovereign right to inhabit it as sojourners (Lev 25:33). This conviction lay at the heart of *Jubilee Year theology. The land of Israel was not to be profaned. The violent priest Phinehas was honored as the prototype of zeal for Yahweh (Num 25:6-13; 1 Chron 9:20; Ps 106:2-30; 1 Macc 2:24-26) (see Hengel 1989, 146-228).

The Zealot motif and the role of politics was taken further by G. S. F. Brandon (1901-1971) in *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church* (1951), *Jesus and the Zealots* (1967) and *The Trial of Jesus* (1968). He argued that although Jesus himself may not have been a Zealot, he was far more political than Christian tradition made him out to be. The connections of Simon with the Zealot movement and the political context of Jesus' death were indisputable. Moreover, early Christians were like Josephus in their desire to dissociate themselves from extreme Jewish nationalism. Mark transferred responsibility for the crucifixion from the Roman to the Jewish authorities. Mark's portrait of an apolitical Jesus was changed by Matthew and Luke into a "pacific Christ" for their respective churches. John portrayed Jesus as "insulated from the political unrest" that agitated Jewish society (see *Trial of Jesus*).

A sociological perspective was introduced by Gerd Theissen (1943-). Theissen's brilliant experiment in *Wirkungsgeschichte* (the study of historical effects), *The Shadow of the Galilean: The Quest of the Historical Jesus in Narrative Form* (ET, 1987; updated, 2007), took the form of a historical novel. Some of the characters, such as the narrator—a young, traveling grain merchant based in Seppho-

ris—were fictional. Others, such as Pontius Pilate and Barabbas, were historical characters woven into a fictional narrative in which Jesus himself did not actually appear. However, Theissen's endnotes meticulously document the factual basis of the story's setting.

Theissen's earlier programmatic essay *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (ET, 1978) followed a more conventional format. The Jesus movement began in Palestine as a band of "wandering charismatics" proclaiming the imminent rule of God. It met with failure within Judaism, but it achieved success in the local communities of the Hellenistic world. In *The Gospels in Context: Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition* (ET, 1991) Theissen applied sociology to form criticism in the formation of the Synoptic tradition. *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide*, by Theissen and Annette Merz (ET, 1998), is an authoritative guide to issues.

8.3.2. *Jesus and Politics*. All too often studies of this question give the impression that politics and religion in first-century A.D. Judaism could be understood in terms of the Age of Enlightenment's separation of church and state. It would be nearer the mark to say that every political issue had a religious dimension. Jesus' stance was apolitical political, insofar as he does not appear to have aligned himself to any particular movement, ideology or the bellicose sections of the Torah. Nevertheless, his teaching and praxis had political ramifications.

Modern appraisals include Oscar Cullmann's *Jesus and the Revolutionaries* (ET, 1970) and Alan Richardson's *The Political Christ* (1973). Martin Hengel supplemented his work *The Zealots* by a series of short studies that included *Was Jesus a Revolutionary?* (ET, 1971), *Victory over Violence* (ET, 1973) and *Christ and Power* (ET, 1977). Jesus' action in the temple was a token, prophetic sign. In view of the proximity of the Antonia fortress overlooking the temple, Jesus would have needed an army if he had intended to launch a political coup. If the Romans had seen it as more than a religious commotion, they could easily have intervened. In the event, it was the religious authorities that planned to arrest Jesus (Mk 12:12).

A number of scholars—most notably Mennonite theologian and Notre Dame ethics professor John Howard Yoder (1927–1997) in his book *The Politics of Jesus: Vincit Agnus Noster* (1972; 2nd ed., 1994)—have identified the Jubilee Year as the key to Jesus' program. Yoder claimed that Jesus' agenda was shaped by his resolve to implement the Jubilee Year, and that Luke in particular highlighted this interpretation.

Jesus' reading from Isaiah 61:1–2 (Lk 4:18–19) in the *synagogue at Galilee marked the inception of the Jubilee Year as "the year of the Lord's favor." Yoder saw Jesus' teaching about forgiveness, especially the petition about forgiving debts in the Lord's Prayer, as implementation of the ordinances of Leviticus 25. Captives would be released. Jesus' exhortations not to be anxious about food or clothing were encouragement to trust in a year when there would be no repayments of debt, seedtime or harvest. Yoder's interpretation was attractive but problematic. Luke does not mention the Jubilee explicitly, and Jubilee Year terminology does not appear in the NT. The proclamation of release to the captives in Luke 4:18–19, with reference to Isaiah 61, fits better the exile theology discussed in 8.1 above.

The most comprehensive review of issues and exegetical questions remains *Jesus and the Politics of His Day* (1984 [edited by Ernst Bammel and C. F. D. Moule]). However, the vigorous debate continues. Marcus J. Borg argued that the key issue was one of paradigms (*Conflict, Holiness, and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* [1984; 2nd ed., 1998]). Differences between Jesus and his adversaries centered on orthopraxis. For the Pharisees, the dominant paradigm was holiness; for Jesus, it was justice, mercy and faithfulness. Klaus Berger, in his *Novum Testamentum* article "Jesus als Pharisäer und frühe Christen als Pharisäer" (1988), traced the conflict to different concepts of purity. The Pharisees' attitude was essentially "defensive": avoiding contact with whatever was contaminated and following the prescribed rituals of the Torah when contact was unavoidable (see Clean and Unclean). For Jesus, holiness was "offensive." In virtue of his anointing by the Spirit, Jesus made the impure pure, the common holy, and the excluded included.

8.4. *The Quest for Jesus the Jew*. In an early account of the Third Quest, N. T. Wright identified as leading proponents two senior colleagues at Oxford, Geza Vermes and E. P. Sanders (Neill and Wright, 379–96). Both approached their subject as historians, and both stressed Jesus' fundamental Jewishness. Both appeared to meet Wright's criterion of double similarity and double dissimilarity. But even then, Vermes, Sanders and Wright seemed to be going in different directions. Donald A. Hagner's *The Jewish Reclamation of Jesus* (1984) remains unsurpassed as an analysis of twentieth-century Jewish scholarship. This section is devoted to highlighting the diversity of contemporary accounts of the Jewishness of Jesus in Jewish and non-Jewish scholarship.

8.4.1. *Jewish Scholarship*. Geza Vermes (1924–

2013) was born in Hungary of a Jewish family, which converted to Catholicism in the 1930s. His parents perished in the Holocaust. Vermes himself became a Catholic priest and obtained a doctorate for work on the Dead Sea Scrolls. He came to England, where he taught at the University of Newcastle, before moving to Oxford, where he became the first Professor of Jewish Studies.

In *Jesus the Jew* (1973; 2nd ed., 1981) Vermes contended that the Jesus of history was neither the Christ of the Christian church nor the apostate villain of Jewish legend. Rather, he fitted the profile of the holy man (Hasid) and “man of deed” (miracle-worker). This profile was shaped by Honi the Rain-Maker (d. 65 B.C.), who was reputed to have drawn a circle that he refused to leave until God gave rain (*m. Ta’an.* 3:8). Even more important was Jesus’ younger contemporary, the Galilean charismatic Hanina ben Dosa (58–82), whose story was modeled on the miracle-working prophets Elijah and Elisha. Tradition portrayed Hanina ben Dosa as a man of prayer, renowned for successfully interceding for the sick, even at a distance, and helping the needy. However, Jesus was “second to none in profundity of insight and grandeur of character” (Vermes 1973, 224).

Vermes’s *Jesus the Jew* was followed by *Jesus and the World of Judaism* (1983; 2nd ed., 2003, published as *Jesus in His Jewish Context*) and *The Religion of Jesus the Jew* (1993). Together, the books form a trilogy representing not a scholarly consensus or comprehensive engagement with other scholars, but rather “one man’s reading of the Synoptic Gospels.” These sources “to some extent at least, recount history” in reporting “the life and message of Jesus” and were “unaffected by accretions deriving from the creative imagination of nascent Christianity.” However, the resurrection and the parousia were attributable to the doctrinal and apologetic needs of the early church (Vermes 2003, 23).

Paula Fredriksen (1951–) is often associated with Vermes as the two foremost twentieth-century Jewish interpreters of Jesus in the English-speaking world. However, one fundamental difference is immediately apparent. Vermes’s Jesus was a Galilean charismatic on the margins of Judaism; Fredriksen’s Jesus stood in the mainstream of orthodoxy, albeit with apocalyptic expectations of the kind associated with E. P. Sanders and Albert Schweitzer.

In *From Jesus to Christ: The Origins of the New Testament Images of Jesus* (1988; 2nd ed., 2000) Fredriksen traced the evolution of Christology from Jesus’ preaching about the coming kingdom of God. Jesus went to Jerusalem to celebrate Passover. The

enthusiastic crowds may have hailed him as “the messiah.” “Proceeding to the Temple, Jesus then pronounced the nearness of the End through a prophetic gesture. Overturning tables in the outer court, he symbolically enacted the impending destruction of Herod’s temple, soon to be replaced by the eschatological Temple of God. . . . What Jesus hoped would be the final Passover of the world turned out, instead, to be the last for him” (Fredriksen 1988, 129–30).

Fredriksen enlarged this sketch in *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews: A Jewish Life and the Emergence of Christianity* (1999). Most contemporary scholars are guarded in their use of the Fourth Gospel as a historical source and follow Mark in placing Jesus’ action in the temple at the climax of his activity. However, Fredriksen felt free to give equal weight to John, who indicated that much of Jesus’ activity took place in Jerusalem (cf. Jn 2:13, 23; 4:45; 5:1–2; 7:25; 10:22; 11:18, 55; 12:18) (Fredriksen 2000, 237–41). Pontius Pilate must have known that Jesus was harmless. However, Pilate’s politics allowed him to sanction Jesus’ death. But why?

Fredriksen operated on the principle “where the evidence thins, we must speculate” (Fredriksen 2000, 254). “Perhaps Caiaphas said something to Pilate like, ‘You know about the rumor spreading this week that Jesus of Nazareth is messiah. Some people actually expect him to reveal himself this Passover. The crowd seems restless’” (Fredriksen 2000, 254). Pilate knew what to do. He arrested Jesus by stealth at night, reasoning, “Let them wake up to their messiah already on a cross the next morning. Killing Jesus publicly, by crucifixion, would go a long way toward disabusing the crowd. Let him hang indicted by their own belief: KING OF THE JEWS. A nice touch—an insult to the idea itself as well as to their convictions” (Fredriksen 2000, 254). Alternatively, perhaps it was Caiaphas himself who decided that Jesus’ death was the only way to put an end to the wild hopes growing among the city’s pilgrims.

In retrospect, Fredriksen’s speculations belong more to the realm of the historical novel than critical history, especially regarding the personalities involved in the death of Jesus. She glossed over the deep divisions between Jesus and the Judeans in both the Synoptic Gospels and John (see C. Brown 2011d).

David Flusser (1917–2000) was preeminent in the world of Second Temple scholarship. Flusser’s thoughts about the historical Jesus were distilled in a short book that underwent revision over the years. *Jesus* first appeared in German (ET, 1968; reissued as *The Sage from Galilee: Rediscovering Jesus’ Genius*

[2007]). Flusser viewed Jesus as a Pharisee in the broad sense, somewhat close to the school of Hillel, but also as a charismatic who clashed with the Pharisees over their attachment to institutional Judaism. It was not the Pharisees, but rather the *Sadducees, led by Caiaphas the Sadducean high priest, who handed Jesus over to Pilate for execution. As a rule, Jesus did not heal non-Jews; in fact, the Synoptic picture shows Jesus as a Jew who worked only among Jews.

8.4.2. *Non-Jewish Scholarship.* One of the most bracing and provocative twentieth-century attempts to situate Jesus in his historical context was E. P. Sanders's *Jesus and Judaism* (1985).

In *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (1977) Sanders laid out the direction of his future thought. He broke with the traditional Protestant view that Paul's theology was essentially a condemnation of Pharisaic legalism. Jewish belief could be described as covenantal nomism: membership of the people of God was constituted by the covenant with Abraham and maintained by keeping the law. Paul taught participationist eschatology: "In Christ one dies to the power of sin, and does not just have trespasses atoned for" (Sanders 1977, 465). Christ was the means of entering God's covenant people.

Sanders's *Jesus and Judaism* depicted Jesus as an observant Jew whose action in the temple was a prophetic sign of a new temple and the restoration of Israel. If Jesus occasionally seemed to relativize the law, it was because of his sense of living at the turn of the ages, which suggested that the Mosaic law was not final and absolute (Sanders 1985, 261). *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (1990) defended Sanders's earlier contention that Jesus' attitude toward the law on a variety of issues from Sabbath to fasting was fundamentally orthodox. The book's central themes were "common Judaism," identified by commitments ranging from the role of the temple to the future hope of Israel, and "groups and parties," which focused on Sadducees, Essenes and Pharisees. *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (1993) was a less technical book, designed for more general readers.

As with his work on Paul, Sanders saw the Gospel narratives about Jesus as solutions, which posed the problem of identifying the questions. Again the result was covenantal nomism and restoration eschatology (Sanders 1985, 335-37). Sanders described himself as "a liberal, modern, secularized Protestant" who could no longer defend the Christology or social gospel of his upbringing (Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 334). In retrospect, Sanders's Jesus looked very much like the Jesus of Albert Schweitzer: a Je-

sus who expected the advent of God's kingdom as a result of his actions. However, Sanders protested that Schweitzer's view rested on dubious exegesis. It lacked the backing of the "restoration eschatology" that Sanders inferred from his "more or less undisputed facts" (Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 328-30). What Schweitzer and Sanders had in common was the sad conclusion that Jesus was profoundly mistaken. In neither case did the kingdom come, as expected. A new Jerusalem temple did not replace the old temple.

Bruce Chilton's work at Cambridge on the kingdom of God was published as *God in Strength: Jesus' Announcement of the Kingdom* (1979; repr., 1987). It was followed by his edition of articles in *The Kingdom of God* (1984). Study of the Targumim—oral Aramaic paraphrases of Scripture in synagogue worship—led to *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenance of the Isaiah Targum* (1982), *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible: Jesus' Use of the Interpreted Scripture of His Time* (1984), *Profiles of a Rabbi: Synoptic Opportunities for Reading about Jesus* (1989) and *Judaic Approaches to the Gospels* (1994).

A new direction opened up with Chilton's *The Temple of Jesus: His Sacrificial Program within a Cultural History of Sacrifice* (1992). The discussion turned on the meaning of pure sacrifice. Chilton's interpretation was based on two convictions. The first went back to the tradition that sacrifice should be linked with offering one's own property. Laying hands on the sacrificial animal was a token of ownership. The second conviction was that in the spring of A.D. 30 Caiaphas had introduced the novel practice of allowing animals to be purchased within the temple precincts (Chilton 1992, 107-8). Jesus' action in the temple was a failed attempt to restore the practice of pure sacrifice. Jesus' failure contributed to his growing conviction that common meals were themselves the equivalent of sacrifice offered to God. "This is my body" and "This is my blood" replaced the words "This is my sacrifice"—words thought to have been uttered in the presenting of an offering in the temple. Jesus' social eating "took on a new and scandalous element: the claim that God now preferred a pure meal to impure sacrifice in the Temple" (Chilton 1992, 154).

Whereas the earlier writings meticulously documented Chilton's argumentation, his *Rabbi Jesus: An Intimate Biography* (2000) eschewed footnotes except to explain technicalities. What follows is a highly imaginative reconstruction of Jesus' life in which an early experience of the divine presence at the Jerusalem temple is followed by a marginal life

in the temple precincts, a formative visionary experience and release from sin while a disciple of John the Baptist, and a subsequent ministry of healing and forgiveness.

Chilton's interpretation of the final events in Jerusalem followed the path sketched earlier in *The Temple of Jesus*. Jesus "wanted to ensure that his Galilean followers would climb Mount Zion with their *own* offerings, not merely with *mammon* with which to buy the priests' produce" (Chilton 2000, 228). However, the elation that Jesus felt in driving out the merchants dissipated as he realized that his plan could not succeed. Jesus resorted to holding communal meals (*see* Table Fellowship) that were invested with "a revolutionary new meaning," as he spoke of sharing his "blood" and his "flesh" (Chilton 2000, 250). They became the prototype of what later Christians called the Eucharist, the Mass and Holy Communion. Jesus' interpretation of these meals as replacement for temple sacrifice provoked disaffection among followers (Jn 6:60-71) and antagonized the Sanhedrin (Chilton 2000, 254-55). By agreeing to execute Jesus, Pontius Pilate was motivated by the desire to show the power brokers in Rome that he was in control. At the same time, he ensured that Caiaphas remained forever in his debt. Chilton interpreted the resurrection narratives from the perspective of Kabbalah mysticism. "The disciples' mystical practice of the Chariot only intensified after Jesus' death, and to their own astonishment and the incredulity of many of their contemporaries, they saw him alive again" (Chilton, *Rabbi Jesus*, 272). In the end, Chilton's Jesus "entices each one of us to meet him in that dangerous place where an awareness of our own weakness and fragility shatters the self and blossoms into an image of God within us. That is the gift that his biography and death have left us, and it is what makes Rabbi Jesus the treasure of the Church and the unique possession of no institution, no person on earth" (Chilton 2000, 291).

In diametrical opposition to Chilton's reconstruction was that of British scholar Maurice Casey. Casey's massive study *Jesus of Nazareth: An Independent Historian's Account of His Life and Teaching* (2010) crowned a career of scholarship characterized by dauntingly informed research that challenged conservative and liberal assumptions alike. In *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel* (1998) Casey had argued that reconstruction of Mark's source, based on knowledge of Second Temple Aramaic made possible by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, was vital for the recovery of the historical Jesus. In *An Aramaic Approach to Q* Casey rejected

the idea that Q represented a single Greek document, and he posited an early Aramaic source that was the basis of a Greek translation that was variously edited. This research was subsequently integrated into *Jesus of Nazareth*.

Casey stressed the need for criteria that identified historical plausibility (Casey 2010, 101-41), particularly in terms of Jewish context and attention to Aramaic. He drew a distinction between memory and social memory. The latter was prone to adapt traditions and historical facts to beliefs and spiritual needs of social groups (Casey 2010, 132-41). The criterion of double dissimilarity (Casey 2010, 104-5) was useless because it posited an artificial Jesus, disconnected from the world of Judaism and from anything that the early church might have inherited. Historical plausibility is exemplified by Mark's story of people bringing the sick and possessed at sundown for healing. The Sabbath was over, and people were permitted to carry burdens, including the sick (Mk 1:32; cf. Jer 17:21-22). It fitted Jewish Sabbath observance, whereas Gentile Christians might not be so scrupulous (Casey 2010, 106-7).

God was at the center of Jesus' life and activity (Casey 2010, 199-235). Two major concepts were God's fatherhood and his kingdom/kingship. Jesus summed up his view of God in what we know as the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:9-13; Lk 11:2-4). Jesus addressed God as "Father" (Aram. *abba*), using an everyday, relatively intimate term as the natural way in which one should approach God. His call to repentance was a call to return to God and to follow in the way taught by Jesus. It embodied the meaning of the Aramaic word *tub* ("return") and is illustrated by the parable of the prodigal's return to his father (Lk 15:11-32). Repentance implied a once-and-for-all return rather than repeated actions, which explains the relatively rare occurrence of the term in the teaching of Jesus.

Jesus went deliberately to Jerusalem to die his atoning death for the redemption of Israel (Casey 2010, 401-53). His first major action there was to take control of the court of the Gentiles (Mk 11:11, 15-17; cf. Mt 21:10-17; Lk 19:45-46), where he threw out those who were selling and buying in the temple. The effect of Jesus' action was to turn the court into a place of prayer (Is 56:7). In stopping anything from being carried through the court, Jesus effectively stopped the carrying of small animals and birds for sacrifice, and coins brought for the purchase of sacrificial animals. Casey interpreted Jesus' action not as an attack on the sacrificial system as such, but rather as a recall to the true function of the temple.

In the meantime, Jesus continued to preach in the temple. He celebrated the Passover with his closest followers, among whom were the women who accompanied him. During the meal he predicted his betrayal by one of the Twelve, in accordance with the Scriptures. He interpreted the bread and wine with reference to his atoning death and the impending establishment of the kingdom. Following his arrest, Jesus was taken to Pilate, who had him executed as an insurrectionist—"The King of the Jews" (Mt 27:37; Mk 15:26; Lk 23:38; Jn 19:19)—along with two other insurrectionists. Among modern scholars who have stressed the Jewishness of Jesus, Maurice Casey was unique in his dedication to the importance of the Aramaic sources that he posited behind Mark and Q. Yet the fact remains that among the myriads of texts and fragments that have been discovered, no such Aramaic sources have been found. Casey's conclusions rested upon his personal reconstruction of them.

8.4.3. Postscript. The foregoing account has examined only a cross-section of scholars who merit attention. Selection has been determined by a desire to include both Jewish and non-Jewish scholars, focusing on those who have caught the public eye. If a "blind sampling" were taken, it might be difficult to determine which authors were Jewish and which were not. The Jewish-Christian dialogue described here is a model of mutual appreciation and understanding. At the same time, it gives the impression of passing over lightly issues that were once matters of deep division (see, e.g., 1.1 above).

8.5. Exorcism and Healing. The work that came closest to reopening the question of the Beelzebul charge was *Jesus the Magician* (1978), by Morton Smith (1915–1991), who contended that magic was the key to explaining the Christian "official portrait" of Jesus and also Jewish and pagan rejection of him. Celsus and other sources claimed that Jesus learned magic in Egypt (cf. Origen, *Cels.* 1.28.38; *b. Šabb.* 104b). Smith was inclined to see Matthew's account of the flight of the holy family to Egypt (Mt 2:13–23) as an implausible cover-up designed to counter them. He linked the charge that Jesus was possessed by a demon to Gospel accounts of the descent of the Spirit on him. Smith found further confirmation in the use of Jesus' name in Greek magical papyri (collection edited by K. Preisendanz; a subsequent English edition, dedicated to Smith, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* [2nd ed., 1992], was edited by H. D. Betz). The Christian Eucharist was essentially a magical rite.

Jesus the Magician has the appearance of being a

counterpart to the "Secret Gospel of Mark," which Smith claimed to have discovered in the course of his researches in the monastery of Mar Saba, near Bethlehem, in 1958. Morton Smith's claims were based on photographs of a copy of a letter attributed to Clement of Alexandria, which no one else was permitted to see.

Initially, Smith's discovery was hailed as being equally important as the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi library. But enthusiasm waned, as parallels were drawn with a popular novel by James H. Hunter entitled *The Mystery of Mar Saba* (1940). Scholars continued to treat Smith's work with respect, and some pronounced it to be earlier than canonical Mark. It was included with hesitation by its editor, Helmut Merkel, in the first volume of *New Testament Apocrypha* (ET, 2nd ed., 1991 [edited by W. Schneemelcher]). The text purports to relate the encounter with the risen Christ by a naked young man who sought initiation into the mysteries of the kingdom of God. Merkel noted that each sentence in the brief text corresponded to parts of verses from the canonical Gospels. Smith's discovery was judged a forgery by Stephen C. Carlson (*The Gospel Hoax* [2005]) and by Peter Jeffery (*The Secret Gospel of Mark Unveiled* [2006]). Although Smith has his defenders, others regard his Secret Gospel of Mark as a hoax that tested the credulity of the academic world.

Throughout history the exorcism and miracle narratives have been subjected to intense scrutiny (see C. Brown 1984; 2011a). A meticulous study of their relation to magic is David E. Aune's 1980 essay "Magic in Early Christianity" in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Aune concluded that magic was a characteristic of early Christianity from its inception. However, he warned that magic was a characteristic of all religions, and that he used the term without pejorative connotations.

Among the issues that received attention in the twentieth century was whether Jesus fitted the profile of the "divine man" (*theios anēr*), the itinerant holy miracle worker who was thought to be a common feature of the Greco-Roman world. It attracted attention in the Bultmann school through the researches of Ludwig Bieler published in his two-volume *Theios Aner: Das Bild des "Göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (1935–1936; repr., 1976). More recent scholarship has determined that *theios anēr* was an imprecise concept, not particularly associated with miracle working.

The most famous rival to Jesus was the first-century itinerant wonder-working holy man Apollonius of

Tyana, whose memory was preserved by Philostratus in a biography commissioned by Julia Domna, wife of the emperor Septimius Severus. Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* relates numerous bizarre tales, such as a plague being averted at Ephesus by stoning a demon disguised as a beggar. When the stones were removed, the beggar had been transformed into a dog (*Vit. Apoll.* 4.10). Of the various wonders linked with Apollonius, the one that comes closest to the Gospel narratives is the account of a funeral procession in Rome of a young girl who apparently died on her wedding day (*Vit. Apoll.* 4.45). She was revived by Apollonius, though Philostratus leaves readers to judge whether or not there were natural causes. The episode seems to conflate two Gospel stories, both recorded by Luke: the raising of the widow of Nain's son (Lk 7:11-17) and the raising of Jairus's daughter (Lk 8:40-56 [// Mt 9:18-25; Mk 5:21-43]).

A consideration that may help bring closure is comparison of Philostratus's work with Luke-Acts. Their prefaces contain truth claims employing similar style and language (Lk 1:1-4; Acts 1:1-2; *Vit. Apoll.* 1.2-3). While various incidents suggest comparison with the Synoptic Gospels generally, Luke remains a constant factor. Some suggested parallels occur only in Luke. Among them are the youthful wisdom showed by Jesus and Apollonius (Lk 2:48; *Vit. Apoll.* 1.7-8). Other incidents reflect stories that belong to Acts. Examples are the gift of languages (Acts 2:8; *Vit. Apoll.* 1.19); encounters with consuls (Acts 13:4-12; *Vit. Apoll.* 7.11-12); perilous sea voyages and welcome by followers (Acts 26:27-28:30; *Vit. Apoll.* 8:14-15).

Howard Clark Kee surveyed the question in two major monographs: *Miracle in the Early Christian World* (1983) and *Medicine, Miracle, and Magic in New Testament Times* (1986). He concluded the latter by observing, "What remains central in the New Testament . . . is the conviction that God is alone in control of human destiny, even though the powers of Satan have for a time seized control or sought to thwart the divine plan. That plan is being accomplished through an agent whom God has chosen and empowered. . . . The divine redemptive purpose and instrument of the accomplishment are . . . epitomized in the Q saying of Jesus, 'If, indeed, it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you' (Lk 11:20)" (Kee, 126-27).

It should be noted that in biblical times healers were considered to be agents of Yahweh (Ex 15:25-26; Deut 32:39). The practice of medicine was associated

with magic and pagan religion, and it was through a radical shift in the Diaspora that physicians came to be seen as God's agents in healing (Sir 38:1-15) (see Kee, 19). The healer (*iatros* [Mk 2:17; Lk 4:23; 8:43]) was not a qualified physician in the modern sense, but rather one who practiced healing. Certain contexts imply remuneration. Priests were not healers, but they functioned as public health inspectors in the case of skin diseases (Mk 1:44; cf. Lev 14:1-4). In Luke 4:23 sickness and healing are metaphors for sin and restoration.

In *Jesus the Exorcist* (1993) Graham H. Twelftree compared the exorcisms of Jesus with exorcisms in first-century A.D. Palestine. His detailed examination of NT data led him to conclude that exorcism was an integral part of the activity of the historical Jesus. Jesus' exorcisms marked the first stage of the defeat of Satan, which showed Jesus empowered by "the eschatological Spirit of God" (Twelftree, 228) (cf. Mt 12:28; Lk 11:20). The final defeat of Satan would take place in the judgment. Exorcisms were "the focus of the coming kingdom."

More recently, Amanda Witmer pursued a theme of her mentor, Richard Horsley, in arguing that spirit possession reflected and contributed to "a broader discourse of the problematic nature of living under foreign rule and the effects of this on all levels of life, including societal, village, family and individual" (Witmer, 205). Jesus' exorcisms were perceived by the Jewish and Roman ruling elite as a dangerous political threat. Witmer brings to the fore a conflict of viewpoints regarding interpretation of the demonic. A number of scholars hold that "demons" were real. However, they were not beings, like humans, but rather a dimension of oppressive socioeconomic conditions. The root problem was the systemic structure of societies, which resulted in "possession" as the sole means of coping.

8.6. Catholic Contributions. Catholic attitudes toward biblical studies may be divided into two phases. The first was characterized by hostility to modernism. The second was marked by growing awareness of the value of critical study.

8.6.1. The Modernist Crisis. The early years of the twentieth century saw the Roman Catholic Church engulfed in controversy over modernism (see 4.1 above). Pope Leo XIII is remembered today for his social teaching and concern to define the Church's relationship to modern thinking, while remaining true to its past. His encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* (1893) asserted the inerrancy of the original texts and warned against exegesis that disregarded the norms and authority of the Church. The "analogy of

faith” and Catholic teaching as received from the authority of the Church should be followed “as the supreme norm.”

Toward the end of his pontificate Leo XIII established the Pontifical Biblical Commission (1902), chiefly to answer questions of authorship, date and historical truth of the Gospels, and other parts of Scripture. Between 1905 and 1915 it issued fourteen brief *responsa* defining the Church’s teaching. In more recent times the nature of its pronouncements changed from “decrees” to “letters” and “instructions.” One of the great biblical scholars of the age was the Dominican Marie-Joseph Lagrange (1855–1938), who welcomed Leo XIII’s encouragement of scholarship. Although Lagrange was an OT scholar, accusations of German rationalism inhibited further work in the OT, and he applied his labors to magisterial commentaries on Mark (1911), Luke (1920), Matthew (1923) and John (1925).

Leo’s successor, Pius X, formally condemned modernism. His decree *Lamentabili* (1907) identified sixty-five errors drawn largely from the writings of Alfred Loisy and his “school.” At issue was the critical approach to Scripture, the person of Jesus and the authority of the Church. The decree was followed by the encyclical *Pascendi Domini Gregis* (1907) and the oath against modernism, *Sacrorum Antistitum* (1910), which remained in force until 1967.

8.6.2. Current Scholarship. A major turning point came in 1943 with Pius XII’s encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. It marked the fiftieth anniversary of *Providentissimus Deus* and urged that its directives be followed. While honoring the Latin Vulgate, the encyclical granted permission for translations of Scripture to be made from the original languages. The study of textual criticism was encouraged, as was that of authorship, written and oral sources, and literary types. Priests were exhorted to study Scripture and support their teaching by drawing on “sacred history.”

This development was carried further by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), which defined revelation as a divine unfolding through words and deeds of the history of salvation. “In the process of the composition of the sacred books God chose and employed human agents, using their own powers and faculties in such a way that they wrote as authors in the true sense, and yet God acted through them and solely as he willed” (*Dei Verbum* §11) (see further C. Brown 1991). Among the leading post-Vatican II NT scholars in America are the Jesuit Joseph A. Fitzmyer (1920–), who taught in various schools prior to his appointment at the

Catholic University of America (1976–1986), and Raymond E. Brown.

Raymond E. Brown (1928–1998) was a priest and member of the Society of Saint-Sulpice. He was the first Catholic to hold a tenured professorship at Union Theological Seminary, New York, where he taught from 1970 until retirement in 1990. Brown rose to prominence for his two-volume Anchor Bible commentary *The Gospel According to John* (1966–1971), which identified layers of development before the Gospel reached its final canonical form. In his later years he devoted attention to the Gospel narratives of the birth and death of Jesus. *The Virginal Conception and Bodily Resurrection of Jesus* (1973) was a preliminary investigation of biblical data, in contrast with doctrinal developments. It was followed by massive commentaries on Gospel narratives of Jesus’ birth and death, *The Birth of the Messiah* (1973; 2nd ed., 1993) and the two-volume *The Death of the Messiah* (1994).

The most ambitious and comprehensive account of the historical Jesus by any scholar in the English-speaking world is that of John P. Meier (1942–), who taught at the Catholic University of America and Notre Dame. His book *A Marginal Jew* had its origin in Raymond Brown’s invitation to write an article on the historical Jesus for the second edition of the *Jerome Biblical Commentary* (1990). Meier reflected that it was perhaps symptomatic of the state of Catholic biblical studies in the 1960s that the original edition contained no such article. Meier’s early articles, which included reflections on contemporary theologians, were collected in his book *The Mission of Christ and His Church* (1990). To date, four volumes of Meier’s *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* have been published. The first volume, *The Roots of the Problem and the Person* (1991), deals with method, sources and Jesus’ background and early life. The second volume, *Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (1994), discusses John the Baptist, the kingdom of God, and the healing and nature miracles. The third volume, *Companions and Competitors* (2001), deals with disciples, Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes and other groups. The fourth volume, *Law and Love* (2009), explores Jesus’ ethical teaching. A projected fifth volume will discuss Jesus’ last days and death.

Meier distinguished between “the real Jesus” and the “historical Jesus” (Meier, 1:21–31). The “real Jesus” is Jesus as he was in the totality of his person and existence, but much of his life is now irretrievably lost. “We cannot know the ‘real’ Jesus through historical research, whether we mean his total reality or

just a reasonably complete biographical portrait. We can, however, know the “historical Jesus” (Meier, 1:24). “The historical Jesus is not the real Jesus, but only a fragmentary hypothetical reconstruction of him by modern means of research” (Meier, 1:31). The “theological Jesus” is the Christ of Christian theology. As a Catholic critical historian, Meier felt able to hand over to the theologians the investigation of this domain “according to their own proper methods and criteria.” Meier’s task was to pursue a historical, as distinct from a theological, investigation of Jesus. Jesus was “a marginal Jew” in the sense that he was mentioned only in passing at the margins of Jewish and Greco-Roman accounts of history.

At the opposite end of the spectrum is former Benedictine monk and priest, subsequently professor of NT at Emory University, Luke Timothy Johnson (1943–), who launched a series of salvos against the current quest of the historical Jesus. His main target in *The Real Jesus: The Misguided Quest of the Historical Jesus and the Truth of the Traditional Gospels* (1996) was the Jesus Seminar. Johnson welcomed Meier’s critique of modern skepticism, but Meier’s separation of fact and meaning was misguided (Johnson 1996, 133). Indeed, “abandoning the frame of meaning given to the story of Jesus by the four canonical Gospels is to abandon the frame of meaning given to the story of Jesus and of Christian discipleship by the rest of the New Testament as well” (Johnson 1996, 166) (see also Johnson 1999).

Johnson was well aware of the slippery character of the word “real” (Johnson 1996, 127–33, 143–46, 166), and the fact that “real” does not imply unmediated access to Jesus. What historical scholarship achieves is the creation of models. Johnson used the word *model* “to mean an imaginative construal of the subject being studied, as well as a structured picture of both process and product: a model is a paradigm within which the data pertinent to a discipline makes sense” (Johnson 1996, 172). Here it may be observed that the alternative to the historian’s constructed models is not a direct, unmediated access to the “real” Jesus by prayer and faith. This is because prayer and faith use their own models, constructed by the community of faith as it develops its belief system, which incorporates testimonies to past experience, inspirational songs, patterns of worship, examples drawn from biblical narratives, and so on. Without models of some sort, we cannot think about Jesus or God.

Last, but by no means least, mention must be made of the personal contribution of Pope Benedict XVI, his three-volumes on *Jesus of Nazareth*:

From the Baptism in the Jordan to the Transfiguration (ET, 2007), *Holy Week: From Entrance into Jerusalem to the Resurrection* (ET, 2011) and *The Infancy Narratives* (ET, 2012). Previous popes had issued directives in the form of encyclicals regarding the study of Scripture. Benedict drew on his years of scholarship to deal with academic integrity and pastoral sensitivity issues of the gap between the “historical Jesus” and the “Christ of faith.” He set out his “methodology” in the first of the three volumes. His work made no claims to be “an exercise of the magisterium, but is solely an expression of my personal search ‘for the face of the Lord’ . . . Everyone is free, then, to contradict me. I would only ask my readers for that initial goodwill without which there can be no understanding” (Benedict XVI, xxiii–xxiv).

8.7. Methodology. The purpose of this section is to draw attention to the variety of methodologies and dynamics of argument in contemporary debate about the historical Jesus.

8.7.1. Data Beliefs, Data-Background Beliefs and Control Beliefs. In the academic world foundationalism is widely regarded as an illusion and failure. Knowledge and theorizing are not in practice based on a foundation of indubitables. No one has succeeded in stating how theories that are warranted are related to a set of indubitable propositions or demonstrating a general logic of the sciences and history. Hence, there is no general rule for a warranted theory of acceptance or rejection. Nicholas Wolterstorff, in *Reason Within the Bounds of Religion* (1976; 2nd ed., 1984) has made a case for distinguishing between data beliefs, data-background beliefs and control beliefs in weighing theories. In investigating an issue, the main focus is whether a thesis is supported by data beliefs and data-background beliefs. Control beliefs remain in the background, providing the general framework in which the inquiry is conducted. However, the cumulative weight of evidence may warrant modification of a control belief. In special cases, paradigm shifts occur involving major changes in control beliefs. Examples of paradigm shifts in the sciences are Newtonian physics, evolution, relativity and the discovery of DNA. In this context, “belief” does not necessarily imply doubt, of course, but rather an unavoidable reliance on the work of others of good standing, past and present. It should also be noted that a data belief in one investigation may become a data-background belief in another investigation, and vice versa.

Wolterstorff’s examples were drawn from the natural sciences, but his method seems applicable in other fields. For example, we may ask about the evi-

dence for Jesus saying or behaving in a particular way. If the answer is that it is based on passages in Scripture or some other source, we are talking about data beliefs. If we are asking about their authorship and dating and the accuracy of the source, we are talking about data-background beliefs. If we ask about how it fits a particular theory about Jesus or its theological meaning, we are in the area of control beliefs.

8.7.2. *Criteria for Assessing Data Beliefs.* The most comprehensive and incisive discussion of criteria is *The Quest for the Plausible Jesus: The Question of Criteria*, by Gerd Theissen and Dagmar Winter (1997; ET, 2002) (on Theissen's work, see 8.3.1 above). Although Theissen succeeded to the chair at Heidelberg formerly held by Martin Dibelius and Günther Bornkamm, he broke with them and traditional German scholarship at significant points, not least in rejecting the criterion of dissimilarity. He corrected it by proposing the criterion of historical plausibility, which was linked to the plausibility of effects (*Wirkungsplausibilität*). "It is the responsibility of historical research to interpret texts so that they can be seen as the effects of the history they report. . . . This means that in Jesus research we must explain and interpret the historical effect of Jesus as presented to us in the form of the sources generated by him" (Theissen and Winter, 231) (see *Criteria of Authenticity*).

Historical plausibility had various subcriteria. They included opposition to traditional bias (*Tendenzwidrigkeit*), which recognized historical credibility in "unintentional evidence that is not influenced by the tendency of source" (Theissen and Winter, 174). The latter seems close to what has traditionally been called the "criterion of embarrassment." However, one must recognize that the author may have deliberately included such evidence, with a view to refuting it.

In addition, Theissen recognized the importance of coherence of sources (*Quellenkohärenz*): "When sources independently of each other testify to the same event, the prospect that we are dealing with authentic material is enhanced" (Theissen and Winter, 177). Coherence of sources was recognizable through two further subcriteria: cross-section evidence (*Querschnittsbeweis*) refers to "recurring items of content, of formal motifs and structures in different streams of tradition" (Theissen and Winter, 178); genre constancy (*Gattungsimvarianz*) is found in "features and motifs that have maintained themselves in different genres" (Theissen and Winter, 178).

Furthermore, authentic material must satisfy the criterion of Jewish contextual plausibility, which had

two aspects: contextual appropriateness and contextual distinctiveness. "What Jesus intended and said must be compatible with the Judaism in the first half of the first century in Galilee. . . . What Jesus intended and did must be recognizable as that of an individual figure within the framework of Judaism of that time" (Theissen and Winter, 211 [italics removed]).

8.7.3. *The Changing Role of Data-Background Beliefs.* Through the importance that they attached to noncanonical Gospels and early fragments, John Dominic Crossan and the Jesus Seminar brought fresh awareness to what typically had been assigned to the realm of data-background beliefs. By treating the *Gospel of Thomas* on a par with the canonical Gospels and the now largely discredited Secret Gospel of Mark as prior to canonical Mark, they elevated what was previously been thought of as background to data of prime importance. The variety of non-canonical gospels raises the question of the existence of a variety of early Christian communities.

8.7.4. *From Data Beliefs to Control Beliefs.* In some cases cumulative data may reach a critical mass in which they achieve the status of a control belief. In other cases, control beliefs may be imposed on data as an arbitrary controlling principle. It would be an interesting exercise to retrace our steps and examine the quest of the historical Jesus in the light of the dynamic of the three categories. However, space permits noting only one case from the recent past and two examples of the role of control beliefs in the ongoing debate. The past case is Crossan's *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (see 8.2 above). The two examples, taken from the ongoing debate, concern the roles of apocalyptic and of memory and oral tradition.

8.7.4.1. *John Dominic Crossan.* In the entire history of the quest no other book comes close to Crossan's *The Historical Jesus* in its determination to follow a rigorous methodology. The book was divided into three parts. Part 1 was devoted to the "Brokered Empire," a lengthy analysis of political, social and economic conditions under the *Pax Romana*. Part 2 zeroed in on the "Embattled Brokerage," Jewish life and Jewish figures under Roman rule. Only in part 3, on the "Brokerless Kingdom," did Jesus appear, assuming the role that was open to him in the socio-economic situation: a peasant Jewish Cynic who sought to subvert the system by "magic and meal." The historical basis for the reconstruction of Jesus was provided by an elaborate inventory of stratified sources, arranged in accordance with chronology and attestation. From first to last, control beliefs determined the outcome. In his autobiographical

memoir, *A Long Way from Tipperary* (2000), Crossan could not help wondering how far his outlook was shaped by growing up in the postcolonial enclave of the Irish Republic after centuries of oppressive British rule.

8.7.4.2. *Apocalyptic*. From Albert Schweitzer onwards, apocalyptic eschatology has been a control belief that has divided scholars. Bart D. Ehrman fundamentally disagreed with Schweitzer on many critical points but thought that “he was essentially right that Jesus was an apocalypticist” (Ehrman, 128). Similar views were shared by Dale C. Allison Jr. (e.g., *Jesus of Nazareth: Millenarian Prophet* [1998]; *Constructing Jesus: Memory, Imagination, and History* [2010]).

Other scholars regard the messianic woes as largely Schweitzer’s invention. N. T. Wright considers apocalyptic language as a way of speaking about the transcendent in history, and therefore it should not be taken literally as a programmatic guide to future events (Wright 1992, 392–93; cf. 280–338). Wright sees the parousia not as Jesus’ second coming back to earth after a period of absence, but rather, as in Daniel 7:13, as the coming of the Son of Man to the Ancient of Days to receive “enthronement” and dominion (Wright 1996, 341).

A solid body of scholarship has argued that the so-called apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13 and its parallels embody intertextual allusions to prophetic metaphorical language with regard to events in history (e.g., C. Brown, *NIDNTT* 2:915–17). The cosmic language about the heavenly bodies is not to be taken as prediction of unprecedented astronomical events; rather, it is the prophetic language of judgment used to denote the divine dimension of this-worldly events. In the end, contemporary interpretation is divided not only on exegesis of particular texts, but also more broadly on hermeneutical questions such as this.

8.7.4.3. *Memory and Oral Tradition*. The contemporary debate about memory and oral tradition is less about the exegesis of particular texts than their role in the creation of written texts. As such, it belongs chiefly to the realm of control beliefs. It is perhaps best described as a work in progress. In part, it is an alternative to the Bultmann tradition. Bultmann held that prior to the creation of the canonical Gospels there was a period in which traditions were freely created by prophets speaking in the name of Jesus within the life of the church. Scandinavian scholarship pioneered by Harald Riesenfeld’s *The Gospel Tradition* (1970) and developed by his pupil Birger Gerhardsson argued that rabbinic

tradition, with its emphasis on memorization, could illuminate early Christian practice. Gerhardsson’s *Memory and Manuscript* (1961) argued that rabbinic practice suggested that Jesus required his followers to memorize his teaching. In *The Reliability of the Gospel Tradition* (2001) Gerhardsson envisaged a period in which oral tradition continued alongside the written Gospels until the four canonical Gospels achieved the status of Holy Scripture and became the primary sources of the Christian message. Samuel Byrskog’s *Story as History—History as Story* (2000) stressed that for Greek and Roman historians, the ideal witness was not the dispassionate observer but rather “the eyewitness who was socially involved or, even better, had been actively participating in the events” (Byrskog, 167). The subject was taken up by Richard Bauckham in *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses* (Bauckham, 8–11), which challenged the assumption that the Gospels were the product of anonymous community tradition. Much of the discussion belongs to data-background beliefs. However, it is strategic for building the control belief that determines Bauckham’s perspective on Christian origins in the Jesus of testimony.

Bauckham’s argument is that “the Gospels put us in close touch with the eyewitness of the history of Jesus” (Bauckham, 472). Testimony is “as basic a means of knowledge as perception, memory, and inference” (Bauckham, 477). Bauckham follows Byrskog’s argument that “the Gospels, though in some ways a very distinctive form of historiography, share broadly the attitude to eyewitness testimony that was common among historians in the Greco-Roman period” (Bauckham, 479) (*see* *Historicisms and Historiography*). Moreover, the category of testimony “is the one that does most justice to the Gospels both as history and as theology” (Bauckham, 505). “In summary, if the interests of Christian faith and theology in the Jesus who really lived are to recognize the disclosure of God in the history of Jesus, then testimony is the theologically appropriate, indeed the theologically necessary way of access to the historical Jesus, just as testimony is also the historically appropriate, indeed historically necessary way of access to this ‘uniquely unique’ historical event. It is in the Jesus of testimony that history and theology meet” (Bauckham, 508).

In his later career James D. G. Dunn has focused increasingly on Jesus as he was remembered. The first part of Dunn’s *Jesus Remembered* (2003) is devoted to a survey of the quest of the historical Jesus and its shortcomings. Perhaps the greatest shortcoming was that the various portraits of Jesus inevi-

tably were constructs, which were then used to critique the Gospel tradition (Dunn 2003, 125-26). Like N. T. Wright (see 8.1 above), Dunn saw himself as a critical realist in the tradition of Bernard Lonergan (Dunn 2003, 111). However, Wright's work seemed to be more interested in constructing metanarratives of "exile theology" and Jesus as "the climax of the covenant" (Dunn 2003, 120, 470-77), whereas Dunn concerned himself with a hermeneutic of encounter with the remembered Jesus as interpreted by the tradition of testimony in the texts of the Gospels (Dunn 2003, 111-25). This involved reappraisal of the writings of Kenneth Bailey, who suggested degrees of informal controlled tradition as a corrective to the "informal uncontrolled tradition" of Bultmann and the "formal controlled tradition" of Gerhardsson (Dunn 2003, 206).

Dunn summed up his argument in four propositions: "(1) The only realistic objective for any 'quest of the historical Jesus' is Jesus remembered. (2) The Jesus tradition of the Gospels confirms that there was a concern within earliest Christianity to remember Jesus. (3) The Jesus tradition shows us *how* Jesus was remembered; its character suggests again and again a tradition given its essential shape by regular use and reuse in oral mode. (4) This suggests in turn that that essential shape was given by the original and immediate impact made by Jesus as that was first put into words by and among those involved or eyewitnesses of what Jesus said and did. In that key sense, the Jesus tradition *is* Jesus remembered. And Jesus thus remembered *is* Jesus, or as close as we will ever be able to reach back to him" (Dunn 2003, 335). Accordingly, Dunn proposed that "the quest should start from the recognition that Jesus evoked faith from the outset of his mission and that this faith is the surest indication of the historical reality and effect of his mission" (Dunn 2009, 203 [italics removed]). In contrast to "the blinkeredness" of the literary paradigm, Dunn proposed "the necessity of taking the oral phase of the history of Jesus with all seriousness" (Dunn 2009, 211 [italics removed]). In contrast to the liberal tradition, Dunn proposed that "we should look first of all for the Jewish Jesus rather than a non-Jewish Jesus," in the belief that "the characteristic emphases and motifs of the Jesus tradition give us a broad, clear and compelling picture of the characteristic Jesus" (Dunn 2009, 219, 223 [italics removed]).

My own reading of the literature suggests a perhaps unconscious stress on selective memory that focused on the positive while passing over negative items that actually might strengthen its case.

9. Concluding Reflections.

There are many issues that this article has not been able to explore, since they would take us beyond the "quest of the historical Jesus" in the strict sense of the term. Some belong to NT Christology or even Christology at large. Among them are the variety of socially oriented theologies, such as feminism, liberation Christology, and black, Hispanic and Asian Christologies, which are concerned with biblical hermeneutics and contemporary praxis.

With regard to how many quests there are of the historical Jesus, this survey has demonstrated that there is no clear answer. There is much to be said for Stanley E. Porter's reply that it is best to think of "a single multi-faceted quest of the historical Jesus, with modifications and adjustments in approach, some of them perhaps influenced with method and others perhaps by personality or nationality" (Porter 2000, 56). But it would be a mistake to think that the judgment implies a conscious concerted enterprise leading to the same destination. Alternatively, it is tempting to think of a forest fire, which makes unpredictable leaps.

Critics of the quest often assert that the quest of the historical Jesus brings no positive results. However the alternative of a quest of "the unhistorical Jesus" has its own problems. This quest, whether recognized or not, takes two main forms. On the one hand, there is Jesus the cultural icon who functions as a kind of talisman in life's situations. On the other hand, the history of Christian theology is replete with attempts like that of Anselm of Canterbury (ca. 1033-1109) to prove the rational necessity of the incarnation "apart from Christ, as if there was never anything about him" (*Cur Deus Homo*, preface).

In fact, the quest of the unhistorical Jesus does not have a better, more immediate access to Jesus than does the quest of the historical Jesus. It is equally a construct conditioned by sources, religious and cultural belief systems, and the personality of those who undertake the construction. As in the case of all constructs, they are prone to the risk described by George Tyrrell of peering down a deep well and seeing one's own face. The admission of limitations on the part of those engaged in the quest of the historical Jesus is not a confession of the futility of the enterprise. Rather, to engage in the quest of the historical Jesus is to assert the importance of apprehending Jesus historically. It gives recognition to the fact that historical knowledge is an essential component of knowing Jesus at all.

A term that appears with increasing frequency in discussions of the historical Jesus is *hermeneutics*.

Sometimes it is used in the limited sense of linguistic interpretation. A modern, more comprehensive definition is offered by Anthony C. Thiselton: "Hermeneutics explores how we read, understand, and handle texts, especially those written in another time or in a context of life different from our own. Biblical hermeneutics investigates more specifically how we read, understand, apply, and respond to biblical texts" (Thiselton, 1). The answer to the question of how many quests there are of the historical Jesus may well turn on the number of different hermeneutical approaches there are. If we look back at Schweitzer's narrative of the quest, we see that each of his main turning points involves major hermeneutical shifts: the decision to follow Strauss in rejecting supernaturalism, the decision to reject John in favor of the Synoptic Jesus, the adoption of "consistent eschatology." These three shifts may not have applied to theological scholarship as a whole, but certainly they determined Schweitzer's outlook.

In retrospect, hermeneutical factors shaped Jesus' activity and fate in ways that Schweitzer did not envisage. It is instructive to read the Gospels from opposing perspectives, which may be called "with the grain" and "against the grain" (see Brown 2011d). By "with the grain," I mean attempting to see what the authors of the Gospels wanted readers to see. By "against the grain," I refer to the standpoint of opponents and outsiders, which may be reconstructed from the narratives. The exercise is relevant to understanding both the content of the Gospels and their form.

With regard to content, I refer to material that traditionally has been regarded as embarrassing, but preserved because it was regarded as part of authentic memory. As such, its preservation has been treated as more or less fortuitous. It seems to me that the material preserved "against the grain," was preserved because Christian tradition deemed that it required an answer—for example, charges that Jesus was a blasphemer, a Sabbath breaker, a prophet possessed by Beelzebul who led astray, a *mamzēr* (a term usually denoting the offspring of an adulterous or incestuous union [Deut 23:2], which Chilton applied to Jesus because of the stigma attached to his birth [cf. Mk 6:3; Jn 8:41]) and a stubborn and rebellious son. All this sets Jesus firmly in a Second Temple Jewish context. It is also germane to the central question of the quest of the historical Jesus: his identity.

Although the content of the Gospels addressed Jewish concerns, their format, especially that of Mark, was adapted to the Greco-Roman world. Biography seems to lie outside the rabbinic tradi-

tion. Jacob Neusner made the following observation about stories of the sages in the Talmud: "*Sage-stories turn out not to tell about sages at all; they are about the Torah personified. Sage-stories cannot yield a gospel because they are not about sages anyway. They are about the Torah. . . . The gospel does just the opposite, with its focus on the uniqueness of the hero*" (Neusner 1988, 52-53) (see also Neusner 1984).

It now seems clear that the canonical Gospels belong to the genre of Greco-Roman biography (see Gospel: Genre). They also seem to square with Jonathan Z. Smith's observation that the major religious biographies of the ancient world were characterized by "a double defense against the charge of magic—against the calumny of outsiders and the sincere misunderstanding of admirers" (Smith, 25). It also seems to me that more attention should be paid to reading the Gospels as literary narratives instead of searching them to find lowest common denominators. There are many questions that we may put to the Gospels, but the most searching questions are those that the Gospels put to us.

See also CANONICAL CRITICISM; CHRISTOLOGY; CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY; FEMINIST AND WOMANIST CRITICISMS; FORM CRITICISM; GOSPELS: HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION; HISTORICISMS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY; JESUS IN NON-CHRISTIAN SOURCES; LATINO/LATINA CRITICISMS; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; POSTCOLONIAL CRITICISM; Q; REDACTION CRITICISM; SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC CRITICISMS; SYNOPTIC PROBLEM; TEXTUAL CRITICISM; THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPELS.

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QUMRAN. See DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

QUOTATIONS OF OLD TESTAMENT. See OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS.

QUR'AN. See JESUS IN NON-CHRISTIAN SOURCES.

R

RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS

The surviving collections of rabbinic literature are potentially the most rewarding source of information about Jewish life in first century A.D., especially in Judea and to a lesser extent in *Galilee. Although the earliest material consists primarily of legal arguments with very little theology, it tells us a great deal about ordinary life and how Jewish scholars understood the OT. However, the material in these collections spans the first to fifth centuries A.D., and the key to usefully using this material lies in dating individual traditions.

On an initial assessment, the rabbinic material does not appear to be very useful for historical information, but with careful use, it is a valuable resource. All of the surviving rabbinic literature was written after A.D. 200, and those portions that deal with history and theology are the least likely to be accurate. However, the legal debates often can be dated fairly reliably, and they give indications about practices and beliefs in all areas of lifestyle. There is evidence internally and from archeology that this religious lifestyle was widely accepted, and even poor families attempted to follow all but the more onerous rules.

1. Transmission of Rabbinic Traditions
2. Major Rabbinic Collections
3. Dating Early Traditions
4. Insights from Rabbinic Traditions

1. Transmission of Rabbinic Traditions.

Rabbinic literature divides itself into halakah (legal material) and haggadah (everything else). Halakic works (such as Mishnah and Talmud) are organized by legal subject areas such as purity and festivals. Haggadic works (such as Sipra and other midrashim) usually are organized like a commentary on Scripture. Halakic works include haggadic material— anecdotes, expositions of Scripture and sometimes discussions of theology—which are interwoven into

the legal discussions. Similarly, haggadic works contain halakic material, especially when discussing books such as Leviticus.

The distinction is important because halakic material is much more reliable for the historian, due to the different ways in which these two types of material have been transmitted. Halakic material originates in the courtroom and academy, so it was learned and transmitted in a very controlled way. Haggadic material probably originated in sermons and table talk, and although its authors may have been the same scholars who crafted the halakic traditions, it was not treated with such seriousness or transmitted with such care. Haggadic material includes stories about rabbis that are particularly unreliable, especially for the first century A.D. It is unlikely that any of these existed, even in oral form, before the middle of the second century A.D., and their tone is so honorific that they should be treated with the same skepticism as Christian hagiography.

Legal traditions, in contrast, were preserved carefully, even when the editors disagreed with their conclusions. Rabbinic law functions like case law, where legal principles depend on previous rulings and debates about them. If a ruling is based on a disagreement with a previous ruling or on an exception to it, then it is important to preserve precise details of that previous ruling in order to understand later arguments.

1.1. Editing of Rabbinic Traditions. Later editing of legal traditions means that we can never be sure that the wording of a tradition is identical to the original. However, there are indications that it was normal to preserve the original wording even when this was in a different language. In early collections such as Mishnah and Tosefta, most of the material is written in mishnaic Hebrew, with occasional quotes of older material in Aramaic. Later collections (such as the Babylonian Talmud) are written in Aramaic, but when they quote the Bible or Mishnah or some other tradition, they preserve the language of the

original. For example, when Rabbi Judah b. Illai (A.D. 140-165) quoted the wording for a divorce certificate (*m. Git.* 9:3), the introduction is in mishnaic Hebrew, but the quotation itself is in Aramaic, and this same Aramaic wording is found in a first-century A.D. divorce certificate preserved at Masada, dated A.D. 72 (Mur. 20).

A large body of early halakic material is found in a series of disputes between the “houses” or “schools” of Hillel and of Shammai, which probably spanned the century before the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70. These are often referred to as the “school disputes” or “house disputes.” For some reason, they were recorded in a relatively nonpartisan way that gave equal weight to the decisions of both schools. We assume that these two groups of Pharisees had a close, though perhaps volatile and competitive, relationship, which caused them to preserve these records as a joint venture. The Shammaites were virtually wiped out during the catastrophe of A.D. 70, and the few surviving rabbis were Hillelites. Therefore, subsequent Judaism was founded on the Hillelite rulings, and these formed the basis of almost all subsequent legal discussions. However, they still preserved both sides of each dispute, and later collections often added the reasoning behind the decisions of both sides. Even these additions are likely to be based on genuine memories of the actual dispute, since the Shammaite reasoning often is stronger than the Hillelite.

The purpose of editing earlier traditions was not to change, but rather to preserve, the original. Legal rulings were abbreviated (as in modern volumes of case law) and given a form that was easy to memorize. It is likely that most of them were transformed into a memorizable form by originators themselves because the legal cases that they won would later become the basis of teaching material for their students, and rabbinic students were expected to memorize their lessons. However, later editing added expansions to these abbreviated versions in order to record both explanations and later developments. Where possible, these expansions were added to the end of traditions, but often they were inserted next to the actual words being expanded.

1.2. An Example of Editing. *M. Sheb'it* 4:2 concerns the seventh year, when fields could not be cultivated, and any food that happened to grow could be eaten by anyone. The schools of Hillel and Shammai debated about whether one could eat food from a field that someone had illegally improved by plowing it or removing stones during the start of the seventh year. The house dispute has been expanded, but based on the standard form, we can extract the original as follows:

A field that was improved:

The school of Shammai says: They do not eat.

And the school of Hillel says: They do eat.

The school of Shammai says: They do not eat by favor.

And the school of Hillel says: They do eat by favor.

The first three lines show the typical form of a house dispute. It is inscrutable to someone who is new to the subject, and many vital details are missing, including the main subject under discussion, but for a rabbinic pupil, this is a perfect summary. The pupil will already know about the laws of the Sabbath Year in general, and this tells him that if a field had been illegally improved, only the Hillelites allowed you to eat from it; and if the owner illegally harvested the field, the Hillelites allowed you to eat from that harvest, but only so long as the farmer gave it to you as a favor—that is, as a gift. But the Shammaites did not allow you to eat anything from an illegally improved field.

The form of these disputes is fixed and predictable. The schools are always named in the same order in rabbinic literature (first Shammai, then Hillel), so the text that required memorizing was very short. In this case, the ruling was made easier to remember by a play on words between “improved” and “favor,” both of which come from the same root (*ṭob*). So all they had to memorize was this:

A field that was improved (*niṭṭaybâ*):

They do not eat.

They do eat.

By favor (*bēṭōbâ*):

They do not eat.

They do eat.

But the editors of Mishnah obscured this simplicity by expanding it in order to make it more understandable.

A field that was improved:

The school of Shammai says: They do not eat *its produce in the seventh year*.

And the school of Hillel says: They do eat.

The school of Shammai says: They do not eat *produce of the seventh year* by favor.

And the school of Hillel says: They do eat by favor *and which is not by favor*.

The expansions clear up ambiguities. The ruling had been placed next to another one that concerned the year “following the seventh year,” so it became

necessary to add the fact that this one concerned the seventh year. There was a potential contradiction between the second ruling and the first, because it might mean that you can *only* eat by favor (i.e., only what the farmer gives you), while the first ruling implied that you have the right to eat *anything* from the field. Therefore the phrase “and which is not by favor” was added to confirm that you can eat anything.

Although most editing was designed to make the meaning clear, later editing could also develop new details based on the original. For example, some later rabbis used the word “favor” or “gift” in the Hillelite ruling to justify buying and selling food during the seventh year by saying, “You make me a gift of your produce, and I will make you a gift of this money” (*m. Shev.* 8:3). Later scholars likewise changed the meaning of “improving a field” from “plowing” to “plowing more than normal” (*t. Shev.* 3:10). Even though they effectively overturned the earlier law, their later laws relied on the existence of the older law to provide an authoritative foundation, so they had to preserve the older law carefully.

1.3. Oral Transmission. The earliest written collection of rabbinic traditions is the Mishnah, which is dated at about A.D. 200, based on the dates of the latest contributions. Before this time, halakah was transmitted as oral law; *mishnah* is “that which is repeated”—that is, “oral teaching.” This appears to have been a deliberate choice made in order to distinguish it from the written law of scripture, and from the Sadducees, who recorded their legal traditions in writing (though these have not survived). *Oral transmission was taken very seriously, and it is likely that this was an accurate method of recording material without allowing change. A written text can be edited easily, every time it is rewritten, but it is very difficult to change a memorized text, especially in a community that repeated the text and where people were keen to correct each other.

On many occasions there are debates about the precise wording of a tradition that had been handed down in slightly different forms. For example, there was a dispute about the ruling examined above on the Sabbath Year. Rabbi Judah b. Illai (who taught in the mid-second century A.D.) said that the rulings were the wrong way around.

R. Judah [b. Illai, T4] says: Swap the statements. This [is] from the lenient [rulings] of the school of Shammai
and from the severe rulings of the school of Hillel.

The Shammaites normally were more strict, while the Hillelites were known for making laws that were practical and reasonable. So, someone who had guessed which rulings belonged to which school would assume that the way the Mishnah recorded it was correct. But Rabbi Judah says that this is one of the rare situations where the Hillelites were stricter (other such rulings are listed at *m. Ed.* 4:1–5:5). The fact that such disagreements were recorded tells us that differences did creep in, but it also indicates that these differences were regarded as rare and important, and that the rabbis were keen to preserve the ancient rulings as carefully as possible.

1.4. Early Traditions in Later Collections. In later collections such as the Talmuds there are many supposedly ancient traditions that are not found in any older source. These may be invented either “innocently” as a misremembered tradition or deliberately in order to justify common practice, or they may represent genuinely old traditions. An early halakic tradition in Talmud that dates from Mishnaic times is known as a *baraita* (“outside”), and these may be attributed to a named individual or, more often, to an anonymous saying introduced by “It was taught” or “Our rabbis taught,” where “taught” is from *tanna*, the Aramiac equivalent of *mishnah*, “oral teaching.”

When a tradition was very important, and the origin was lost, there was a lot of pressure to attribute it to an authority venerable enough to justify its introduction and enforcement. Some rulings were attributed to very ancient authorities, such as King Solomon, or to an oral law that had been given to Moses at Sinai. Usually it could be tied to a Scripture text, but when it could not, another authority sometimes was found (e.g., *m. Pe'ah* 2:6). However, this kind of attribution is rare, and there is evidence that rabbinic attributions were not often invented.

This can be deduced by comparing the supposedly pre-A.D. 70 traditions that were passed on by rabbis in the Yavnian period (A.D. 70–130) with those passed on by rabbis in the Ushan period (A.D. 140–170). The subject areas covered by both sets of traditions are the same, even though these groups had different interests. The rabbis of the first century A.D. were concerned with little more than *table fellowship and cultic purity in home life, and this narrow set of interests is mirrored in the accounts in the Gospels (see Clean and Unclean). (Josephus's portrayal of the *Pharisees as political leaders and manipulators mirrors the time before 25 B.C., after which the Pharisees lost all political influence.) However, by the second century A.D. the rabbis had

become the guiding force for the whole nation and were expected to provide answers to questions also about the public life and worship. It would have been very tempting to invent sayings by early respected authorities that answered difficult questions about statecraft and financial matters, but they resisted this (see Neusner 2007).

2. Major Rabbinic Collections.

Most rabbinic literature falls into two classes: legal collections, such as the Mishnah and the Talmuds, which contain mainly halakic (legal) material, and preaching material collected in various midrashim, which contains mainly haggadic (nonlegal) material (for the significance of “halakic” and “haggadic,” see 1 above). The *midrashim are collections of unrelated sayings and sermons arranged usually by the order of the main Scripture text that they deal with, and the collections do not attempt to deal with each verse. The earliest midrashim are called “halakic” because they deal mainly with the books of Exodus through Deuteronomy and especially with the legal material in these books. The Targumim (see Targums) may also come from the same stable as rabbinic material, though probably they have a much broader base. They will not be dealt with here.

There are now good English translations of most of this material: Mishnah by H. Danby (in flowing English) and by J. Neusner (a more literal translation); Tosefta by J. Neusner; Babylonian Talmud by I. Epstein (for Soncino) and by J. Neusner; Jerusalem Talmud by J. Neusner and H. Guggenheimer (incomplete); Midrash Rabbah by H. Freedman and M. Simon (for Soncino); and J. Neusner has translated all the earliest midrashic literature (Neusner 1997-1998). All the halakic collections can be seen in English and Hebrew at <http://RabbinicTraditions.com>.

2.1. Midrashic Collections. A listing of early halakic midrashim, some later haggadic midrashim and some collections of haggadic midrashim may be viewed in Tables 1.

2.2. Halakic Collections. The legal discussions have been preserved in the Talmuds. The Babylonian Talmud and the Palestinian or Jerusalem Talmud preserve debates by rabbis in Babylon and Palestine respectively. Both are edited as commentaries on the Mishnah, which is a collection of rulings made in Palestine before about A.D. 200. The Tosefta is a collection similar to Mishnah, which includes most of the Mishnah traditions (though often in a slightly different form) plus many more details and other rulings. It is edited later than Mishnah, but sometimes it preserves early material that was not included in

Mishnah, hence the name, which means something like “supplement.” The purpose of the Tosefta and its relationship to Mishnah are still uncertain.

All of these legal collections are based on the same structure of about sixty tractates collected into six orders, a structure that predates the editing of Mishnah (see Table 3). Not all tractates are covered by all collections, as seen in Table 4.

2.3. Rabbinic Reference Systems. References to halakic rabbinic literature use the abbreviations for tractates with a prefix for the collection referred to. Thus, “*m. Ber.*” refers to the tractate *Berakhot* in the Mishnah. Mishnah and Tosefta are referred to by a chapter-and-verse system, though a verse in Mishnah is properly called a “mishnah.” Thus, “*m. Ber. 2:1*” indicates chapter 2, mishnah 1. The Talmuds also have chapters that usually follow the chapters of Mishnah, but references to the Babylonian Talmud use the folio page numbers, which have remained standard since the first printed edition in the sixteenth century. Thus, “*b. Ber. 2a*” indicates Babylonian Talmud sheet 2, side A. The Palestinian Talmud is also referred to by folio page numbers, though the standard edition has two columns per side, and these are indicated by A, B, C, D. Additionally, the chapter and verse numbers are cited, which conforms more or less to the corresponding reference in Mishnah (though a “verse” in Jerusalem Talmud and Tosefta is called a “halakah”). Thus, “*y. Ber. 1:1, 2a*” indicates Palestinian Talmud chapter 1, halakah 1, on sheet 2, column A. Some common variations exist: the letter *j* is often used instead of *y* for Jerusalem Talmud; the letters *m* and *b* are often omitted from references to Mishnah or Babylonian Talmud, in which case they are distinguished merely by the presence or absence of the folio page number; and the Palestinian Talmud may be cited only by page reference or only chapter plus halakah reference.

References to haggadic collections are more varied. Midrash Rabbah is often indicated simply by the letter *R*. Thus, “*Gen. R. 20:1*” refers to Genesis in Midrash Rabbah at the point where Genesis 20:1 is being interpreted. Similarly “*Sif.*” may be used to indicate Sifra or Sifre, so that “*Sif. Lev. 9:1*” refers to Sifra where Leviticus 9:1 is discussed. However, midrashim are also referenced by traditional named sections, or with traditional Parashah (chapter) numbers; thus, “*Gen. R. 20:1*” could also be referenced as “*Gen. R. LII*,” and “*Sif. Lev. 6:1*” could be Sifra *Shemim* I or Sifra XI. These divisions in midrashim, and also in the Talmuds, often are too large to be useful, and J. Neusner has helpfully defined further logical subdivisions in his translations.

Table 1. Midrashic Collections

Early Halakic Midrashim:		(Traditions from 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. though finally edited much later)
<i>Mekilta (de R. Ishmael)</i>	Commentary on Exodus	I
<i>Mekilta de R. Shimeon b. Yohai</i>	Commentary on Exodus (reconstructed from fragments)	A
<i>Sipra</i>	Commentary on Leviticus	A
<i>Sipre</i>	Commentary on Numbers & Commentary on Deuteronomy	I A
<i>Sipre Zuta</i>	Commentary on Numbers	A
<i>Midrash Tanna'im</i>	=Mek.Deut compiled from MHG	I
<i>Megillat Ta'anit</i>	Pre-A.D. 70 list of Fast Days, with a post-Talmudic commentary.	
(I = School of Ishmael; A = School of Akiba)		
Some Later Haggadic Midrashim:		(All edited after about A.D. 450)
<i>Bereshit Rabbah</i>	Sermonic comments on Genesis	
<i>Eykh Rabbah</i>	Sermonic comments on Lamentations	
<i>Wayyiqra Rabbah</i>	Sermonic comments on Leviticus	
<i>Midrash Rabbah</i>	The above three plus later books covering the rest of the OT.	
<i>Pesiqta de Rab Kahana</i>	Sermons for Holy days	
<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>	Sermons for Holy days	
<i>Tanhuma Yelammedenu</i>	Sermons on the Pentateuch	
<i>Haggadat Bereshit</i>	Sermons on Genesis	
<i>Midrash Tehillim (Shoher Tov)</i>	Sermons on Psalms	
<i>Midrash Mishle</i>	Sermonic comments on Proverbs	
Some Collections of Haggadic Midrashim:		(Edited after ca. A.D. 1100, including older traditions)
<i>Midrash Hagadol</i>	Large collection of older Midrashim Covering the Pentateuch & 5 Scrolls (Song, Ruth, Lam., Eccl., Esther)	
<i>Midrash Leqah Tov</i>	Covering the Pentateuch & 5 Scrolls	
<i>Yalqut Hamakiri</i>	Covers much of Prophets & Writings	
<i>Yalqut (Shimeon)</i>	Collection of comments on whole OT	

Table 2. Early Halakic Works

m	<i>Mishnah</i>	edited about A.D. 200
t	<i>Tosefta</i>	edited about A.D. 300
y	<i>Talmud Yerushalmi</i> or Jerusalem Talmud	edited about A.D. 400
b	<i>Talmud Babli</i> or Babylonian Talmud	edited about A.D. 500

Table 3. The Six Orders of Tractates

I	Zera'im	Seeds, i.e. agriculture	found in
<i>Ber.</i>	<i>Berakhot</i>	"Blessings" - Prayers	m t b y
<i>Pe'ah</i>	<i>Pe'ah</i>	"Corner" of the field and other poor tax	m t y
<i>Demai</i>	<i>Demai</i>	"Doubtful" tithe, and how to tithe	m t y
<i>Kil.</i>	<i>Kil'ayim</i>	"Mixtures" which are unlawful	m t y
<i>Shev.</i>	<i>Shevi'it</i>	"Seventh Year" rest for farm land	m t y
<i>Ter.</i>	<i>Terumat</i>	"Elevation Offerings" for priests to eat	m t y
<i>Ma'as.</i>	<i>Ma'aserot</i> (<i>Ma'aser Rishon</i>)	"Tithes" (<i>"First Tithe"</i> – in Tosepta)	m t y
<i>Ma'as. Sh.</i>	<i>Ma'asher Sheni</i>	"Second Tithe" spent in Jerusalem	m t y
<i>Hal.</i>	<i>Hallah</i>	"Cake" of Dough Offering	m t y
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orlah</i>	Forefruit (lit. "foreskin") of young trees	m t y
<i>Bik.</i>	<i>Bikkurim</i>	"Firstfruits"	m t y
II	Mo'ed	Festivals	found in
<i>Shabb.</i>	<i>Shabbat</i>	"Sabbath" Day rest from work	m t b y
<i>Eruv.</i>	<i>Eruvin</i>	"Communities" marked for Sabbath limit	m t b y
<i>Pesah.</i>	<i>Pesahim</i> (<i>Pisahim</i>)	"Passover" (different vowels in Tosepta)	m t b y
<i>Sheqal.</i>	<i>Sheqalim</i>	Half "Shekels" for temple tax	m t y
<i>Yoma</i>	<i>Yoma</i> (<i>Yom Hakippurim</i>)	"The Day" of Atonement (<i>"The Day of Atonement"</i> – in Tosepta)	m t b y
<i>Sukkah</i>	<i>Sukkah</i>	"Booths" (i.e., Festival of Tabernacles)	m t b y
<i>Betzah</i>	<i>Betzah</i> (<i>Yom Tov</i>)	"Egg" and other Holy Day regulations (<i>"Holy Day"</i> – in Tosephta)	m t b y
<i>Rosh Hash.</i>	<i>Rosh HaShanah</i>	"New Year"	m t b y
<i>Ta'an.</i>	<i>Ta'anit</i>	"Fasting"	m t b y
<i>Meg.</i>	<i>Megillah</i>	"Scroll" of Esther at Purim	m t b y
<i>Mo'ed Qat.</i>	<i>Mo'ed Qatan</i>	"Lesser Festivals"	m t b y
<i>Hag.</i>	<i>Hagigah</i> (<i>Ri'iyah</i>)	"Festival Offering" (<i>"Appearance"</i> – in Tosepta)	m t b y
III	Nashim	Women	found in
<i>Yevam.</i>	<i>Yevamot</i>	"Sisters-in-law" in Levirate marriage	m t b y
<i>Ketub.</i>	<i>Ketubbot</i>	"Marriage contracts"	m t b y
<i>Ned.</i>	<i>Nedarim</i>	"Vows"	m t b y
<i>Naz.</i>	<i>Nazir</i> (<i>Nezirut</i>)	"Nazirite" vow (Abstinence – in Tosephta)	m t b y
<i>Sot.</i>	<i>Sotah</i>	"Suspected adulteress"	m t b y
<i>Git.</i>	<i>Gittin</i>	"Divorce Certificates"	m t b y
<i>Qidd.</i>	<i>Qiddushin</i>	"Betrothal"	m t b y

IV	<i>Neziqin</i>	Damages, i.e. litigation	found in
B. Qam.	<i>Bava Qamma</i>	"First gate" - Damages & compensation	m t b y
B. Mesi'a	<i>Bava Metzi'a</i>	"Middle gate" - Profits and wages	m t b y
B. Bat.	<i>Baba Batra</i>	"Last gate" - Property and inheritance	m t b y
Sanh.	<i>Sanhedrin</i>	"Sanhedrin" court	m t b y
Mak.	<i>Makkot</i>	"Stripes" and other punishment	m t b y
Shev.	<i>Shevu'ot</i>	"Oaths"	m t b y
Ed.	<i>Eduyyot</i>	"Testimonies" about early teaching	m t
Avod.	<i>Avodah</i>	"Idolatry"	m t b y
Zar.	<i>Zarah</i>		
Avot	<i>[Pirqe] Avot</i>	"[Sayings of] the Fathers"	m
Hor.	<i>Horayot</i>	Erroneous "Decisions"	m t b y
V	<i>Qodashim</i>	Holy Things, i.e. Offerings	found in
Zevah.	<i>Zevahim</i>	"Sacrificial Victims"	m t b
Menah.	<i>Menahot</i>	"Meal Offerings"	m t b
Hul.	<i>Hullin</i>	"Profane things"	m t b
Bekh.	<i>Bekhorot</i>	"Firstborn"	m t b
Arakh.	<i>Arakhin</i>	"Assessments" of value for vows	m t b
Tem.	<i>Temurah</i>	"Exchange" for offerings	m t b
Ker.	<i>Keritot</i>	"Extirpations" from Israel	m t b
Me'il.	<i>Me'ilah</i>	"Misuse" of consecrated things	m t b
Tamid	<i>Tamid</i>	"Daily Burnt Offering"	m b
Mid.	<i>Middot</i>	"Measures" of Temple and furnishings	m
Qinnim	<i>Qinnim</i>	"Birds Nests" bird offerings	m
VI	<i>Teharot</i>	Purities	found in
Kel.	<i>Kelim</i>	"Utensils"	m t
(Divided into three in Tosepta, like the start of <i>Neziqin</i> : t.KBQ, t.KBB & t.KBM)			
Ohal.	<i>Ohalot</i>	Under "roofs" with a corpse.	m t
Neg.	<i>Nega'im</i>	"Plagues" of leprosy	m t
Parah	<i>Parah</i>	Red "Heifer"	m t
Tehar.	<i>Teharot</i>	Im-"purities"	m t
Miqw.	<i>Miqwa'ot</i>	"Immersion pools"	m t
Nid.	<i>Niddah</i>	Menstrual "Isolation"	m t b y
Makhsh.	<i>Makhshirin</i>	"Predisposition" to defilement	m t
Zav.	<i>Zavim</i>	Impure "Discharges"	m t
T.Yom.	<i>Tevul Yom</i>	"Bathed same day" for cleansing	m t
Yad.	<i>Yadayim</i>	Washing of "Hands"	m t
Uq.	<i>Uqtzin</i>	Impurity from plant "Stalks"	m t

3. Dating Early Traditions.

Traditions before A.D. 70 have largely been lost, other than the school disputes of Hillelites and Shammaites and also a serendipitous collection of traditions that have survived often by being cited by later rabbis. The rabbinic collections record legal discussions, and they are not lists of legal traditions, so we have only those traditions that happen to be cited by a later rabbi. Therefore, subjects that were not debated much are preserved more scantily. Rabbis debated opinions expressed in earlier debates and rulings that conclude earlier debates, and in the course of doing so, they quoted that opinion or ruling. When they quoted a legal opinion, it was normal to name the rabbi who first stated it, and these names help to date the debates. However, when they quoted a legal ruling that concluded a debate, they did not associate it with a named individual; rather, they left it anonymous or attributed it to “the Sages” in general because these were the decisions of a community. Later, if they dispute the conclusion, they may attribute it to a named rabbi in retrospect, so that it is no longer regarded as a decision fixed by the community.

The names of individuals occurring in a debate often make it possible to reconstruct some of the chronology of a debate. Named individuals may be those who are taking part in the debate, or they may be authors of opinions from the past that are quoted as part of the debate, or they may be later individuals who refer to the debate. These different roles have to

be unraveled in order to decide the relative values of named individuals for dating the tradition.

Clearly, this process assumes a high degree of accuracy and honesty by the contributors to the debates, and also by the editors who recorded them. In precritical days, when the Talmud was regarded as inerrant, this accuracy was simply assumed, and it was sufficient to assume that a tradition that was attributed to a particular rabbi originated during his career. J. Neusner was largely responsible for spreading the warning that it was unsafe to simply assume that later editors knew whom to attribute traditions to. His seminal article in the first volume of the *Brown Judaic Studies* (Neusner 1978) said that the only safe way to date rabbinic material was by the date of the last editor of a collection. Thus, material in *Mishnah* should not be used to illustrate anything before it was edited in about A.D. 200, and similarly for *Tosefta* in A.D. 300, *Jerusalem Talmud* in A.D. 400, and *Babylonian Talmud* in A.D. 500.

Now, after decades of painstaking work by Neusner and many other scholars, it is becoming clear that the halakic rabbinic collections are indeed accurate with regard to the named attributions. By the end of only the third of twenty-two volumes in which Neusner analysed the order Purities, he concluded, “The temporal order of attributions is generally sound.... In every instance [in the tractate *Kelim*], except that just cited [*m. Kel. 17:5*], in which we are able to establish the expectation that the substance of a given law is prior to that of another closely related rule, the ear-

Table 4. Supplementary Tractates (Later Tractates Found Only in the Babylonian Talmud)

ARN.A	<i>Avot de Rabbi Nathan A & B</i>	“The Fathers by R. Nathan” (a commentary on <i>Avot</i>)	b
ARN.B			
<i>Sof.</i>	<i>Soferim</i>	“Scribes”	b
<i>Sem.</i>	<i>Evel Rabbati</i> or <i>Semahot</i>	“Mourning” or (ironically) “Joy”	b
<i>Kall.</i>	<i>Kallah</i>	“Bride” and chastity	b
<i>Der. Er. Rab.</i>	<i>Derekh Eretz Rabbah</i>	“Conduct – Major” treatise	b
<i>Der. Er. Zut.</i>	<i>Derekh Eretz Zuta</i>	“Conduct – Minor” treatise	b
<i>PS</i>	<i>Pereq Hashalom</i>	“Chapter on Peace”	b
<i>Ger.</i>	<i>Gerim</i>	“Non-Jews”	b
<i>Kut.</i>	<i>Kutim</i>	“Kuthim” i.e. Samaritans	b
<i>Avad.</i>	<i>Avadim</i>	“Slaves”	b
<i>Sef. Torah</i>	<i>Sefer Torah</i>	“Section on Torah”	b
<i>Tef.</i>	<i>Tefillin</i>	“Phylacteries” or “Tephillin”	b
<i>Tzitz.</i>	<i>Tzitzit</i>	“Fringes”	b
<i>Mez.</i>	<i>Mezuzah</i>	“Doorposts”	b

Table 5. Chronological Periods

Approx. Dates	Generations	Period and Center	Titles and Works
200 B.C.- A.D. 10	To	Second Temple Period	The Great Assembly
A.D. 10–80	T1	Temple Destroyed	Tannaim: Mishnah Tosefta Halakic Midrashim
A.D. 80–120	T2	Yavnean Period (in Yavneh)	
A.D. 120–140	T3	Bar Kokhba Revolt	
A.D. 140–165	T4	Ushan Period (mainly in Usha)	
A.D. 165–200	T5		
A.D. 200–220	T6		
A.D. 220–250	BA1 and PA1	Palestine: Sepphoris Tiberias, Caesarea Babylon: Nehardea Pumbeditha, Sura	Amoraim: Palestinian Talmud, Babylonian Talmud, Haggadic Midrashim
A.D. 250–290	BA2 and PA2		
A.D. 290–320	BA3 and PA3		
A.D. 320–350	BA4 and PA4		
A.D. 350–375	BA5 and PA5		
A.D. 375–425	BA6		
A.D. 425–460	BA7		
A.D. 460–500	BA8		

lier rule also will be assigned to an earlier authority, the later rule to a later authority” (Neusner 1974-1977, 3:239). G. Stemmerger agreed: “The study of extensive text units (e.g. by J. Neusner) has shown that at least in Tannaitic collections these attributions are largely reliable. Even if the accuracy of the tradent’s name cannot be positively proven, the historical period connected with that name generally can” (Strack and Stemmerger, 63).

There are sometimes mistakes, such as the same saying attributed to two people, but these are rare, and the later rabbis often discussed such errors and carefully preserved both versions. Most of these mistakes involve attributing a ruling to someone else within the same generation, so the attributions are still a fairly safe guide to dating traditions.

This conclusion does not apply to haggadic collections or even to haggadic material within halakic collections. Some of the midrashim were edited relatively early (ca. A.D. 250), but not with the same strictness as legal texts. Even exegetical traditions that support someone’s ruling are suspect, because when a ruling lacked sufficient support in Scripture, later rabbis were liable to construct retrospectively some kind of exegesis to support it. This is evident from the fact that almost all the scriptural justifications for rulings are found in the later Talmuds and not in the earlier Mishnah and Tosefta, though this may be due as much to the fact that the Talmuds re-

corded debates in much more detail than did these earlier works.

The named attributions in rabbinic literature are therefore a useful guide for dating halakic material in halakic collections (i.e. Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmuds) but not so reliable for haggadic material.

3.1. Chronological Periods. Rabbinic authors are divided by major chronological periods that represent different organizational structure as well as different types of traditions in the major collections. They are traditionally divided into “generations” that represent the rough time period in which they lived. The Tannaim (“reciters”) have six generations (T1-T6), though an extra generation (To) can be used for pretannaitic authorities. The authors of the Talmuds are known as Amoraim (“speakers”), and there are more generations of Babylonian Amoraim (BA1-BA8) than Palestinian Amoraim (PA1-PA5), who were the first to make a final edition of their debates. Usually the only way that an individual can be assigned to a generation is by analyzing the recorded debates to discover who spoke to whom and who cited whom.

3.2. Dating Anonymous Traditions. Anonymous traditions are very important because they are much more numerous than attributed traditions and because they usually represent the ruling that later rabbis accepted as the “correct” one and on which they based later developments of the law. Anonymous

traditions have been traditionally attributed to an editor such as Rabbi Judah or to earlier rabbis such as Rabbi Akiba (see *b. Sanh.* 86a; *y. Yevam.* 4:11, 6b). It is much more likely that the anonymous traditions represent the decision of the majority at the time when that ruling was made (see *y. Yevam.* 4:11, 6b) or sometimes the opinion of the editor when he was drawing together and summarizing the state of the law.

The minute analyses of rabbinic traditions in the multitudinous volumes of Neusner and others have shown conclusively that there is a logic and a clear chronological structure behind rabbinic literature, especially the legal corpuses. This structure was “obvious” to medieval scholars who felt no need to verify it, but this chronological development has now been verified. This structure tells us two things: (1) later laws were based on older laws; (2) new material was added mostly on to the end of earlier material while the older material was left intact as much as possible.

This means that often it is possible to date anonymous material by finding a datable ruling that is logically dependent on it, and it is possible to find the early core of a ruling by stripping off newer layers. A large number of anonymous traditions can be dated by one means or another. Neusner even claimed, in an enthusiastic moment while he was analyzing Mishnah *Kelim*, that he could date virtually all anonymous sayings in that tractate: “Unattributed sayings are not a great problem. In *mKel* they account for 1/10 of the rulings, and most can be assigned to a time period. Of the 49 in *mKel*, 26 can be located to the Yavnean or Ushan period, and often to a particular circle of Rabbis within that period. They can be dated if they are closely tied to an attributed law, or are diametrically opposed to a tradition assigned to a specific person and so may with confidence be located in the same division as the contrary law” (Neusner 1974-1977, 4:244).

3.3. Early Rabbinic Authors. Rabbinic literature followed the normal practice of naming persons with their fathers—for example, Johanan the son of Zakkai is referred to as “Johanan ben Zakkai” (or “bar” in Aramaic), abbreviated as “Johanan b. Zakkai.” People who appear with extreme frequency occur without their patronym (e.g., “Akiva” or “Judah”) and may have an even more contracted label (e.g., “Rabbi”). Those who have an extremely common name such as “Simon/Simeon” may be named merely by their patronym—for example, “Ben Azzai” or “Ben He He.”

Not everyone has the title “Rabbi” (meaning “my master,” and contracted as “R.”). Others, such as

“Rab,” “Abba” or “Mar,” occur frequently and are applied consistently. Before A.D. 70 only six “rabbis” actually used “Rabbi” as a title, and the fact that these were priests may indicate that the term became a title first among the priesthood. Perhaps it was originally an honorific title (e.g., Mt 23:7; Mk 9:5) before it was adopted as a widespread official title, much like the modern title “Reverend,” which originally was a term of respect that could be given to anyone.

Rabbinic writings are remarkably consistent with their naming policy, but different collections sometimes use different contractions. Therefore, “R. Judah” always refers to Judah b. Illai (except in Jerusalem Talmud), and “Rabbi” by itself is always a contraction of “Rabbi Judah HaNasi.” Several names are shared by more than one individual. They normally are distinguished in modern studies as “I” or “II” (e.g., “R. Gamaliel II”), and sometimes rabbinic literature will call the first one “the Elder” or “the Great,” though often the ambiguity is left unresolved. Usually, the only way to resolve such ambiguity is to check the generations of the individuals debating with them or quoted by them. For a comprehensive list of rabbis and dates, see www.RabbinicTraditions.com/Generations.htm.

4. Insights from Rabbinic Traditions.

The systematic search for rabbinic background to the NT that started in earnest with J. Lightfoot in the seventeenth century came to a peak with H. Strack and P. Billerbeck in the early 1900s. Since then, countless individual studies have augmented and refined these works. These background insights sometimes have solved difficult details, sometimes changed the emphasis, and occasionally uncovered lost teaching.

For example, one of the difficulties faced by commentators focused on the concern that the Pharisees expressed about what the *children were doing during Jesus’ *triumphal entry, when the actions of the adults were much more worrying (Mt 21:15-16). Everyone was joining in with chants that were common at the Feast of Tabernacles and Hanukkah. The rule concerning these specific chants was that if anyone (including a child) started a chant, then everyone was obliged to join in and complete it (*y. Sukkah* 3:10, 54a; *b. Sukkah* 38b). It appears that on this occasion (as, no doubt, on many others) the children had gotten excited and kept up the chanting long after the adults might otherwise have stopped.

Several matters of emphasis can now be regarded differently in the teaching of Jesus—for ex-

ample, with regard to the Lord's Prayer. The wording of Jesus' *prayer is similar to short versions of the daily Amidah prayer, the earliest example of which is "May your will be done in the heavens *above*, and grant ease of spirit to those who fear you on earth *below*; and do what is good in your eyes. *Blessed are you, O Lord, who listens to prayer*" (*t. Ber.* 3:7; *b. Ber.* 29b). Here, words in italics indicate differences between versions, which are similar to differences between Matthew and Luke and to some manuscripts that add a final blessing. Such differences were common in early Jewish prayers because fixed wording in prayers was a mark of insincerity (*m. Ber.* 4:4).

In addition, the Lord's Prayer has some elements not found in Jewish prayers. The rabbis looked down on and even forbade any "forceful" prayer, such as relying on God's promise or an aspect of God's nature—for example, "you care for a nesting bird, therefore . . ." (cf. *Deut* 22:6-7; *m. Ma'as. Sh.* 5:13; *Exod. Rab.* 41:1), or using an intimate name such as "Abba," or acting in a childlike, importunate way (*m. Ta'an.* 3:8). Jesus used "Abba" for "Father" (*Mk* 14:36), and his words may seem "forceful" when he teaches that his disciples should say, in effect, "We have forgiven, so now you forgive." Jesus himself appealed to nesting birds (*Mt* 6:26; 10:29-31) and approved of childlike importuning (*Mt* 18:3; 19:14 // *Mk* 10:14 // *Lk* 18:16).

Lost meanings have occasionally been recovered, such as Jesus' rejection of the specific "for any cause" *divorce (*Mt* 19:3). Also, the so-called unforgivable sin mirrors the normal first-century A.D. teaching that cursing God is not forgiven immediately when one repents, or even on the Day of Atonement, but one must wait until one's death (*t. Yoma* 4:6-8, based on *Ex* 20:7). This means that Jesus' point is not that such cursing is unforgivable, but that cursing the Holy Spirit is the same as cursing God; hence, we might say that Jesus is introducing the concept that would later be formalized as the inclusion of the *Holy Spirit as part of the Trinity.

Such insights are multiplied in commentaries, though many others have been discredited because they are based on late evidence.

See also DEAD SEA SCROLLS; JUDAISM, COMMON; LAW; MIDRASH; PHARISEES; SCRIBES; TARGUMS; TEACHER.

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D. Instone-Brewer

RANSOM SAYING. See DEATH OF JESUS; SERVANT OF YAHWEH.

REALIZED ESCHATOLOGY. See ESCHATOLOGY.

REDACTION CRITICISM

Redaction criticism is the study of the way in which the evangelists molded or "redacted" their source material, with a view to discovering their literary and theological agendas. It aims to discover the evangelists' profiles and to learn more about the communities from which they came. Although there are problems with the way that redaction criticism is sometimes practiced, it has an important

role to play in the historical, literary and theological study of the Synoptic Gospels.

1. History
2. Redaction-Critical Tools
3. The Success of Redaction Criticism
4. The Limitations of Redaction Criticism
5. The Value of Redaction Criticism

1. History.

Redaction criticism (Ger. *Redaktionsgeschichte*) was pioneered in German NT scholarship of the 1950s and 1960s. The two key monographs were H. Conzelmann's *Die Mitte der Zeit*, published in 1954 (ET, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 1960), and W. Marxsen's *Der Evangelist Markus*, published in 1956 (ET, *Mark the Evangelist*, 1969). Conzelmann argued that Luke's redaction of his source material reflected a major theological shift, from the imminent *eschatology that was typical of the early years of Christianity to a salvation-historical viewpoint according to which Jesus' death and resurrection occur not in the end times but in the "middle of time." This "middle of time" was flanked by the period of Israel before it and the period of the church after it. Thus Luke, who also writes Acts of the Apostles, sees an extended present period of the church, and he does not think in terms of living in the last days, with the *kingdom coming in power and the imminent return of Jesus. Marxsen's monograph attempted to illustrate how Mark, in redacting his source material, laid great emphasis on the repeated theme of "Galilee" in the structuring of his Gospel. Other pioneering redaction critics included G. Bornkamm and N. Perrin.

Redaction criticism emerged from *form criticism, but it was also in part a reaction against it. While form critics such as R. Bultmann and M. Dibelius focused on the individual units (pericopae) that became the building blocks of each Gospel, with a view to understanding the contours and life settings of the traditions that had been passed on in the early church, redaction critics focused instead on the role played by the evangelists themselves in constructing their Gospels. The life settings that they were interested in were those of the evangelists and their communities. Since the focus was now on the evangelists rather than on the traditions, the creative role of the evangelists was stressed more clearly.

2. Redaction-Critical Tools.

2.1. Repeated Features. Redaction critics use several techniques in studying the Synoptics, including repeated features, key structuring elements and use of sources. Repeated features in a Gospel often

are taken as a sign of a redactor's fingerprint. In Mark, for example, the theme of secrecy or mystery occurs repeatedly, distributed evenly throughout the Gospel and in a range of different types of material, discourses, miracle stories, exorcisms, parable settings and narrator's summaries. This feature is therefore regarded as a key element in Mark's redaction of his source material. It was already noticed before the dawn of redaction criticism. W. Wrede's seminal 1901 book, *The Messianic Secret*, explored the theme in the Synoptics, and although Wrede himself did not attribute the feature to the evangelist Mark, he anticipated redaction criticism by several decades in underlining its importance in Mark and in attempting to find an explanation.

In Matthew's Gospel there are repeated references to the fulfillment of Scripture using similar formulas in the narrator's voice (e.g., Mt 1:22: "All this happened so that the word spoken by the Lord through the prophet was fulfilled"). This key feature of Matthew's redaction coheres with other elements in the Gospel that underline how Jesus' identity and mission are in continuity with the story and Scriptures of Israel (see Old Testament in the Gospels). The feature is often thought to cohere with the idea that the evangelist belonged to a Christian Jewish community that wished to stress its own continuity with Judaism.

2.2. Key Structural Elements. Redaction critics also look for the key structuring elements within a Gospel, paying special attention to features that occur at important points in the narrative. The secrecy theme in Mark, for example, has its defining moment at the midpoint in his Gospel, where Peter confesses that Jesus is the Messiah and is ordered to tell no one about this (Mk 8:27-30). Thus, the structural importance given to this theme suggests that it is a major redactional interest of the evangelist. Jesus has repeatedly commanded secrecy of the *demons (Mk 1:25, 34; 3:12) and of those he heals (Mk 1:44; 5:43; 7:36), and now he also commands the *disciples to secrecy about his identity.

In Matthew, Jesus gives five big teaching discourses, each marked off with the same formula (Mt 5-7; 10; 13; 18; 24-25). It is the key structuring device in his Gospel, and it therefore appears to witness to a major theological interest of Matthew. Given the pervasive and striking presence of this structuring technique, it seems that Matthew wishes to place emphasis on Jesus as teacher. Given the content of these discourses, Jesus appears to imitate and surpass the great figures of the Hebrew Scriptures, especially *Moses (see Allison).

2.3. Analysis of Sources. Undoubtedly, the most important tool within redaction criticism is the analysis of source material. The redaction critic studies the changes that each evangelist apparently made to his source material, with a view to understanding what those changes reveal about the evangelist's interests. Redaction critics have generally assumed the two-source theory in their work (see Synoptic Problem). Thus Mark, as the prior Gospel, is analyzed without recourse to Matthew and Luke, and with reference to his possible sources in oral and written traditions. This makes redaction-critical study of Mark more speculative than redaction-critical study of Matthew and Luke.

For Matthew and Luke, redaction critics look for their changes to Mark and the hypothetical source document *Q, studying omissions, additions and the rewording of this source material. The success of redaction critics in clarifying Matthew's and Luke's redactional profiles is sometimes given as an argument in favor of the two-source theory.

The utility of studying an evangelist's use of his sources in redaction criticism is straightforwardly illustrated. Conzelmann's redaction-critical study of Luke focuses largely on the way that Luke edited Mark and Q to establish the case that the evangelist's attitude to eschatology was different from that found in his sources. Thus, whereas Mark's Jesus promises that the disciples will see the kingdom of God coming "with power" in their lifetime (Mk 9:1), Luke's Jesus promises that they will see the kingdom of God but makes no mention of it coming with power (Lk 9:27). Similarly, in material unique to Luke, Jesus answers a query about the coming kingdom with the remark "The kingdom of God is in your midst" (Lk 17:20-21). Comparing Luke with his source material therefore illustrates that the imminent dawning of the kingdom is no longer a key element in the evangelist's theology, in contrast with other early Christian texts.

Similarly, G. Bornkamm's redaction-critical study of the stilling of the storm in Matthew (Mt 8:23-26) focuses on changes that the evangelist made to his Markan source (Mk 4:35-41), such as the disciples' plea to Jesus, "Lord, save us" (Mt 8:25), and Jesus' rebuke to the disciples, "You of little faith! Why are you so afraid?" (Mt 8:26), which is different in Mark. Bornkamm saw Matthew's redactional changes as reflecting the situation of Matthew's persecuted church community. The community is represented by the disciples in the boat, in a storm at sea, praying to Jesus for *salvation from the persecution that tormented them.

3. The Success of Redaction Criticism.

Redaction criticism has helped to establish the broad contours of the Synoptic Gospels, their authors and the communities from which they came. As well as looking at the theme of secrecy and mystery, redaction-critical studies of Mark have focused on the negative portrayal of the disciples and their failure to understand Jesus' identity. Although scholars differ on the explanation for Mark's enigmatic portrayal, they are agreed that it has something to do with Jesus' suffering, crucifixion and death. The Gospel builds towards a climax in the passion of Jesus (Mk 14-16), with predictions along the way (Mk 8:31-32; 9:30-32; 10:32-34). It seems clear that Mark's Gospel's central focus is on the crucified Christ. Mark's key theme is "the way" of the cross (Mk 1:2-3; 8:27; 10:32).

Similarly, redaction criticism has had some success in clarifying the profile of Matthew's Gospel. While scholars differ on the particulars of Matthew's alleged community, they are broadly agreed that the Gospel itself has a strong focus on Jesus as the teacher of a new wisdom, the proclaimer of the kingdom of heaven who is greater than the scriptural figures whom he imitates, fulfills and surpasses: Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah.

The redactional profile of the author of Luke's Gospel is in many ways the most difficult to characterize, and Conzelmann's forceful reading is sometimes thought problematic, not least because of implausible elements such as his claim that Luke depicts Jesus' ministry, from the *temptation (Lk 4:13) to the *Last Supper (Lk 22:3), as a Satan-free period. Nevertheless, it is broadly accepted that Luke does play down the imminent eschatology of his predecessors, and he opens up a fresh way of viewing the apostles' mission after Jesus' *ascension by narrating the continuation of the Gospel in his sequel, Acts of the Apostles. One of the key elements that comes through in the analysis of Luke's redaction is his stress on narrative, on the continuing story of the *gospel as the successful journey, from *Jerusalem all the way to Rome, of the relentless, powerful "word."

4. The Limitations of Redaction Criticism.

In spite of its utility for historical study of the Gospels, redaction criticism has some serious limitations. Although it is still a popular method in the study of the Synoptics, some caution is required. Difficulties include overemphasis on what is distinctive in each Gospel, the overly hasty correlation between features in the text and theories about the

evangelists, the danger of circularity, and doubts about Gospel “communities.”

4.1. Overemphasis on “Distinctive” Elements. Redaction criticism focuses on what is distinctive in each of the Gospels, but the assumption that an evangelist’s theology is best represented by what he adds to his source material may be faulty. The material that the evangelists copy verbatim from their sources may often be material with which they strongly agreed. Thus, close copying may be a sign of enthusiastic endorsement rather than docile reproduction. As in the modern use of quotation, the authors may have adhered particularly closely to their sources when they found them especially useful.

Thus, when Matthew adds Jesus’s glowing endorsement of Peter, “Blessed are you, Simon bar Jonah . . .,” after his confession at Caesarea Philippi (Mt 16:17-19), it is easy to focus solely on what Matthew has added to Mark and to imagine that Matthew’s portrait of Peter is unambiguously positive. But what Matthew takes over from Mark, where Jesus rebukes Peter, saying “Get behind me, Satan . . .,” is as important in the narrative as what Matthew adds. It is part of a pattern of behavior in Matthew’s Gospel whereby Peter shows initial enthusiasm only to stumble when talk of suffering and persecution arises. In other words, to focus solely on distinctive elements in a given Gospel can cause the interpreter to distort the theology of its author.

4.2. Correlation Between Text and Community. A related problem is the hasty correlation between features in the text and alleged parallels in the communities of the evangelists. Thus, the changes that Matthew makes to the story of the stilling of the storm (see 2.3 above) may simply reflect the evangelist’s literary characteristics without implying anything about an underlying parallel message about the Matthean community. Matthew regularly has the disciples addressing Jesus as “Lord,” for example, and the plea “Save us” makes sense as a stylistic softening of Mark’s harsher “Do you not care that we are perishing?” In other words, the evangelists sometimes simply retell Gospel stories in their own words, without prejudice to hypothetical backgrounds and imagined contexts.

4.3. Difficulties with Source Criticism. There is a further danger in the way that redaction criticism works in concert with source criticism. Redaction critics almost always assume the correctness of the two-source theory, and redaction criticism depends heavily on this theory. But although the two-source theory is popular, there are detractors, and not everyone is able to accept redaction-critical conclu-

sions that are based on this theory. Where redaction criticism offers the potential for scholars to test source theories, to compare and contrast different scenarios based on different Gospel relationships, this is an opportunity seldom taken. There is particular unease with the role played by Q in redaction criticism. Q is a hypothetical document that is reconstructed on the basis of redaction-critical analysis of Matthew and Luke. It is potentially circular, then, to use Q in order to shed light on Matthew and Luke. Moreover, the hypothetical nature of Q allows redaction critics too much freedom to project onto the unseen document the things that do not fit their profile of Matthew or Luke.

4.4. Orality and Literacy. Contemporary scholars are increasingly taking seriously the role played by *orality in the origins and development of the Gospels. Redaction criticism often appears to work with the assumption that the evangelists were rigidly “literary” figures, involved in a close, literary redaction of source texts, where variations are all a matter of the redactor’s particular interests. In an environment in which there was constant interaction between orality and literacy, models of analysis need to build in some understanding of that interaction, and to avoid proceeding as if the Gospels were solely literary products.

4.5. The Gospels for All Christians. The idea that the evangelists were addressing their Gospels to their own “communities,” a key assumption made by many redaction critics, has also come under fire. R. Bauckham argues that it is a mistake to view the Gospels on analogy with the NT Epistles, which were written to particular communities at particular times in particular locations. He suggests that the Gospels were written for “all Christians,” and that the evangelists were envisaging broad audiences over widespread locations. If Bauckham is right, much of the redaction-critical enterprise, with its attempts to reconstruct the location, the history and the theology of specific Gospel communities, is rendered useless.

5. The Value of Redaction Criticism.

In spite of the limitations of redaction criticism, it remains a useful method in the NT scholar’s repertoire. Although the overconfidence of the early redaction critics has given way to a more cautious application of the method, it is still able to shed light on the distinctive features in the Gospels and to help in locating the literary and theological interests of their authors.

See also FORM CRITICISM; GOSPELS: HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION; NARRATIVE CRITICISM; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; Q; SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

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REIGN OF GOD. See KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN.

REPENTANCE

Repentance is a term referring to remorse or regret that can also result in a change in thinking and behavior. In the Gospels repentance points both to an inner change and to a change in behavior—mainly, a turning away from an ungodly life to one reoriented toward God.

1. Linguistic Considerations
2. Jewish Background
3. Greco-Roman Background
4. The Missions of John and Jesus
5. Repentance in the Gospels

1. Linguistic Considerations.

The concept of repentance in the Gospels appears in Greek under two main semantic domains: *metanoia/metanoēō* and *epistrophē/epistrephō*. In the Synoptic Gospels (there is no reference to it in the Gospel of John), *metanoia/metanoēō* is mainly the human turning toward *God and away from ungodly behavior, the appropriate response to the preaching of the *kingdom of God (Mt 3:2, 8, 11; 4:17; Mk 1:4; 1:15; 6:12; Lk 3:3, 8; 5:32; 15:7, 10; 16:30; 24:47).

Repentance is the human response to God's initiative and *forgiveness, so that the consequence of not repenting is death (Lk 13:3, 5).

Both in Mark and Matthew *epistrephō* lacks intrinsic religious connotation, referring to a turn toward something or somebody (e.g., "the multitude" [Mk 5:30] or "the disciples" [Mk 8:33]), or simply a return (Mt 10:13; 12:44; 24:18; Mk 13:16). Only on one occasion does it mean "turning to God" (Mt 13:15; Mk 4:12; cf. Is 6:9-10). The Gospel of John only shows one reference to *epistrephō*, indicating a physical turn toward someone (Jn 21:20). It is in the Gospel of Luke that we find a greater interest in the use of *epistrephō*. Besides a nonreligious use of the term referring to turning back or returning to something or someone (Lk 2:39; 8:55; 17:4, 31; 22:32; Acts 9:40; 15:36; 16:18), it is frequently mentioned to describe a reorientation of one's life toward God (Lk 1:16, 17; Acts 3:19; 9:35; 11:21; 14:15; 15:19; 26:18; 26:20). The nominal form, *epistrophē*, is used only once, corresponding to the reception of salvation by *Gentiles (Acts 15:3; cf. Acts 15:1). There are two occasions in Acts where *metanoēō* and *epistrephō* appear together, in complementary terms; *metanoēō* suggests the negative dimension because it implies a departure from *sin, while *epistrephō* points to the positive dimension referring to the turn toward God (Acts 3:19; 26:20).

2. Jewish Background.

2.1. Old Testament. There are two terms that basically describe the concept of repentance in the OT, *šûb/yûb* and *niḥām*. The main term of interest to us here is *šûb/yûb*, which means "turning" in all sorts of contexts, but which also conveys the idea of turning to God. It is a turning from and a turning to, thus a turning away from sin and toward God. Especially in the writings of the prophets people are called to acknowledge and turn from their wrong ways (Jer 15:7; 25:5; 35:15; Ezek 14:6; 33:11; Hos 5:15; Zech 1:4), to (re)turn to the relationship with God (Hos 5:4; 6:1; Amos 4:6; Mal 3:7), which would be demonstrated by a return to obedience to the *law and the word of the prophets (Jer 26:4; cf. 2 Kings 17:13) and by a changed attitude toward one's neighbor, especially the poor and the needy (Amos 4:1-11). The response to such a call to repentance was not always positive (Jer 35:15), and the consequences of not repenting could be fatal (Jer 35:15-17). The other term, *naḥam*, means "to regret something" or "to alter one's purpose out of pity," and it is used in the OT mainly referring to God, who is moved to mercy when people repent (Jer 18:8; 26:19; Jon 3:10).

In the LXX *metanoēō* translates the Hebrew *naḥam* (1 Sam 15:29; Jer 18:10), whereas *šūb/yūb* is translated by *epistrephō*. The meaning of *metanoēō*, true to the sense of the Hebrew *naḥam* (“to be sorry, to regret, to have mercy”), reflects the root of the cause of change underlying repentance. It is a particular use of *metanoēō* in the LXX to refer to God’s change of behavior (1 Sam 15:29) or mind (Jer 4:28). There is no use of the term *metanoia* in the LXX translation of the canonical OT (cf. Ode 12:8; Wis 11:23; 12:10; 12:19; Sir 44:16), except for Proverbs 14:15, where it appears without translating a corresponding Hebrew concept.

2.2. Other Jewish Writings. Various Jewish writings reflect the main understanding of repentance as turning from sin and toward God. People who have abandoned God’s law (Pr Azar 1:6) are compelled to repent (Tob 13:6; Sir 18:21), to change their hearts toward God (Sir 17:25–26). There is no reproach for those who turn to God (Sir 8:5), whose mercy makes repentance possible (Wis 11:23; 12:10; Sir 17:24). It is expected that people return to the law as a proof of their repentance (4 Ezra 7:133; Wis 16:7). There are people who do not repent (3 Macc 2:24; Sir 5:7; 48:15), and who will suffer God’s wrath (Sir 5:7).

Special mention should be made of *Joseph and Aseneth*, where the turning of Aseneth, the daughter of an Egyptian pagan priest, from idolatry to the worship of the Hebrew God is presented. Such a turning is staged by Aseneth, who secludes herself in her tower, throws her idols out of the window (*Jos. Asen.* 10:12), dresses in sackcloth and ashes (*Jos. Asen.* 10:14), prays to the God of Joseph and confesses her sins (*Jos. Asen.* 12:1–15), and fasts (*Jos. Asen.* 10:1, 17). Aseneth even gives up her most valuable possessions, giving them to the poor (*Jos. Asen.* 10:11–12). After all this, a man from heaven, a “commander of the Lord’s house and chief captain of all the Most High” (*Jos. Asen.* 14:8), tells Aseneth that the Lord has positively heard her confession (*Jos. Asen.* 15:2) and has written her name in the book of life (*Jos. Asen.* 15:4). Whether this romantic story can be taken as an example of Jewish proselytism or of a simply welcomed proselyte is debated.

3. Greco-Roman Background.

It has been traditionally held that repentance in Greco-Roman society entailed merely having a different opinion about one’s action without implying any attempt to mend the error. In a thorough analysis, G. Nave departs from this view and shows that there is continuity between the Christian use of repentance and Greek usage, even if the latter under-

goes nuancing. Thus, Nave summarizes the common features of repentance in Greco-Roman thought: second thoughts about one’s action; change in thinking; emotional change; regret or remorse; willingness and ability to change one’s error in order to make repentance beneficial; divine and/or human chiding; a way to avoid judgment and punishment; in some cases a requirement that repentance be accompanied by proof of changed behavior; forgiveness and reconciliation as the end result of repentance.

4. The Missions of John and Jesus.

4.1. John the Baptist. Repentance first appears in the Synoptic Gospels in the preaching of *John the Baptist, who proclaims a baptism of repentance (Mt 3:2; Mk 1:4; Lk 3:3). It is a baptism that expresses repentance, bringing God’s forgiveness of sins upon the repentant, therefore a turning to a new life, preparatory for the coming of God’s Messiah. There is an eschatological urgency in the call to repentance; thus Matthew and Luke link John’s baptism to the impending eschatological *judgment, affirming that “even now the ax is lying at the root of the trees” (Mt 3:10 // Lk 3:9). However, the eschatological future will bring not only judgment but also the reality of the kingdom to those who repent (Lk 23:41–42). Thus, the summons to repentance by John the Baptist leads to the forgiveness of sin (Mk 1:4; Lk 3:3). John’s *baptism is set over against any exemption under pretext of being descendants of *Abraham (Mt 3:9; Lk 3:8). It is a once-and-for-all act demonstrated in the bearing of good fruits (Mt 3:8; Lk 3:8). Repentance has, then, an ethical dimension; it is a turning to God that has consequences for the relationship to the neighbor (Lk 3:10–14).

4.2. Jesus. The earthly ministry of Jesus is wholly described as the proclamation of the coming of the promised kingdom of God (Mt 4:17; Mk 1:14–15; Lk 4:43) inaugurated in the life and ministry of Jesus. The preaching of Jesus demands repentance, a turning toward the approaching future of God, as requirement for entering the kingdom (Mt 4:17; Mk 1:15). Thus, in the context of the NT repentance undergoes a development from its OT use, as it is correlated with the reality of the coming kingdom of God.

Highly controversial at this point has been the position of E. P. Sanders, who affirms that Jesus “offered them [his hearers] inclusion in the kingdom not only *while they were sinners* but also *without requiring repentance* as normally understood, and therefore he could have been accused of being a friend of people who indefinitely *remained sinners*” (Sanders, 206). Sanders argues that Jesus did not

preach repentance, that on the rare occasions when he appealed to it his call was individual, not collective, and that his call was extended before any sign of repentance was mentioned, much less required. Sanders also excludes matters of behavior in the preaching of Jesus. Sanders has been criticized for tendentiously ascribing repentance language to the editorial work of the evangelists. It is also noteworthy that the verbs that Jesus uses for repentance are in the plural form. Therefore, Jesus appears in the Gospels calling not just individuals to repentance, but different social groups and the whole of Israel (Mt 11:20-24 // Lk 10:13-16; Mt 12:38-42 // Lk 11:29-32; Mt 23:37-39 // Lk 13:34-35; Lk 13:1-5).

Jesus' appeal for behavioral change is well evidenced in the radically new attitude toward possessions, illustrated in the parables of the hidden treasure (Mt 13:44) and of the pearl (Mt 13:45-46) or in the contrast between the narratives of the rich ruler (Lk 18:18-30) and of Zacchaeus (Lk 19:1-10). On the one hand, Zacchaeus evidences his repentant life through his giving half of his wealth to the poor and paying back four times the amount to anyone whom he previously cheated (cf. Lk 3:10-14). By contrast, the rich ruler is saddened by Jesus' call to sell what he has, distribute the proceeds to the poor, and follow Jesus, since he is too attached to his riches (see Rich and Poor). Thus, for Jesus, repentance is not a mere acceptance of a set of beliefs but rather a turning in behavior according to the values of the kingdom.

There are other instances in which repentance is implicit in other terms, such as "the gospel" (Lk 9:6; cf. Mk 6:12), and is the expected response to Jesus' call to *discipleship (Lk 5:32; 10:13; 11:32; 13:3, 5; 15:7, 10; 16:30; 24:47). If discipleship is to be understood as a break with the past and a turning toward God, then discipleship is possible only through repentance. On some occasions Jesus refers to repentance in a way that summarizes the whole purpose of his ministry (Lk 5:32; cf. Mt 9:13 // Mk 2:17).

5. Repentance in the Gospels.

5.1. Mark. In Mark's Gospel repentance is not a frequently used term (3x), but it is referred to in key moments of the narrative, qualifying the message and ministry of those involved in the preaching of the kingdom: John the Baptist, Jesus and the Twelve as representative of all disciples. Thus, repentance is first mentioned in connection with the ministry of John as imperative for the forgiveness of sins and evidenced through baptism (Mk 1:4). The ministry of Jesus is introduced as the preaching of the kingdom of God, with a summons to repent and believe in the

gospel, since the moment of God's kingdom is near (Mk 1:14-15). The *kairos* of God has arrived in Jesus, and its eschatological fulfillment is at hand. Jesus expands the scope of his earthly ministry by sending the Twelve out two by two, with his authority, to preach repentance to the people (Mk 6:12).

5.2. Matthew. The Gospel of Matthew introduces the ministries of both John the Baptist (Mt 3:2) and Jesus (Mt 4:17) by using an identical description of their call to repentance, made urgent by the proximity of the kingdom. John the Baptist links repentance to a corresponding way of living (Mt 3:7-9) and places this demand in the context of eschatological judgment to be executed by Jesus (Mt 3:11-12). Jesus himself makes a similar prediction of eschatological condemnation on the cities that did not repent after his preaching (Mt 3:11). In his traditional material shared with the Gospel of Luke, Matthew also reflects Jesus' identification of his ministry with that of the prophet Jonah, whose preaching was better received by the people of his generation than was that of Jesus' by his, resulting in the repentance of the former and the condemnation of the latter (Mt 12:38-42). Repentance, for Matthew, is more than just remorse, as was likely the case of Judas (Mt 27:3), for it also entails believing (Mt 21:32) in the context of the proximity of the kingdom and eschatological judgment.

5.3. Luke. Developing his material in an intentional sequence or pattern, Luke emphasizes repentance as part of his central motif of God's salvific plan and initiative. Such a divine initiative is expressed in a language of necessity (Lk 2:49; 4:43; 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 19:5; 22:37; 24:7, 44) and is carried out by Jesus, who proclaims the year of the Lord's favor (Lk 4:19) and has sinners' repentance as the goal of his ministry (Lk 5:32; 7:39; 15:2; 19:7). Thus, repentance, for Luke, is both universal, since no one is without sin (Lk 13:3, 5), and inclusive of those socially despised (Lk 3:12; 5:27, 30; 7:37, 39; 15:1-2; 19:2, 7; 23:40-41). The result of people turning from their sinful lives toward God's salvific plan is made evident in Luke in a different attitude toward wealth and possessions (Lk 3:11, 13, 14; 5:28; 8:1-3; 15:12-14, 29-30; 19:2, 8), in outer visible actions evidencing inner repentance (Lk 3:8). Those who repent become now members of the new community of Jesus' followers, the kingdom community, which celebrates repentance and forgiveness at the *table (Lk 5:29-30; 7:36; 8:3; 15:23; 19:5, 7). Jesus declares forgiveness and salvation on those who repent according to God's salvific initiative (Lk 5:31-32; 7:48, 50; 15:7, 10, 32; 19:9-10; 23:43).

Another pattern of repentance is found in Acts, in the so-called household narratives, where the turning to God of a complete household is depicted. According to D. Matson, there are three basic elements defining this Lukan pattern: a house as the place where the gospel is preached; an inclusive preaching to both Jews and Gentiles, thus overcoming purity standards; and an all-inclusive table fellowship. Matson builds this pattern modeled by the story of the preaching of the seventy (Lk 10:1-16), highlighting the preaching of the kingdom from house to house, where repentance is expected as the result of the kingdom proclamation and is evidenced in table fellowship. Thus, the preaching of the disciples in Acts reaches to (well-to-do) household owners: a centurion (Acts 10:1-11:18); a dealer in purple cloth (Acts 16:11-15); a jailer (Acts 16:25-34); an official of the synagogue (Acts 18:1-11, although gathered at the house of Julius Justus). According to Acts, the message preached is positively heard and received (Acts 10:22; 16:14, 32; 18:8), which is confirmed in baptism (Acts 10:48; 16:15, 33; 18:8) and celebrated around an all-inclusive table (Acts 11:3; 16:15, 34; [18:7]), for all household owners here are of Gentile origin and God-fearers, except for Crispus, a Jew. The fact that all this is presented as the turning to God not of an individual but rather of a complete household has been referred to as the “*oikos* formula” in Acts (Acts 11:14; 16:15, 34; 18:8). The household becomes both the forming and gathering place of the Christian community (house church), where repentance is evidenced and celebrated.

5.4. John. The language of repentance is absent in John's Gospel. This has led some to question whether repentance is, after all, as relevant as the church has lately made it. However, the concept and its implications are present in the Gospel of John in different ways. Thus, using the language of belief, John comes to express the turning to God through believing in Jesus (Jn 1:7, 12; 3:15, 18, 36; 6:47; 8:24, 30; 11:25; 12:11, 36, 39-40, 46; 14:29; 20:27-31). Likewise, the metaphoric use of light and darkness (Jn 1:4-12, 19-21; 8:12; 12:35-46) reflects the traditional Jewish dualism also present in apocalyptic literature, conveying the invitation to turn from darkness to *light, from death to *life.

See also DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; ETHICS OF JESUS; FAITH; FORGIVENESS OF SINS; MERCY; RICH AND POOR; TABLE FELLOWSHIP.

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F. Méndez-Moratalla

RESTORATION OF ISRAEL. See APOSTLE; EXILE AND RESTORATION; ISRAEL.

RESURRECTION

Resurrection within the context of Israel's heritage is the concrete act of *God raising the dead from their tombs. Its theological dimensions include restoring and exalting God's covenant people, ushering in God's kingdom of *justice and *peace (or eternal life), and inaugurating God's new creation. Within this context one may understand Jesus' *miracles of raising the dead, his teaching concerning resurrection, as well as the significance of Jesus' own resurrection.

1. Resurrection in the Ancient World
2. Resurrection Miracles
3. Resurrection in Jesus' Teaching
4. The Resurrection Narratives in the Four Gospels

1. Resurrection in the Ancient World.

1.1. Resurrection in the Jewish World. Belief in resurrection belongs to the later frontiers of Israelite

faith. Prior to the Second Temple period, being interred in an ancestral tomb was central to Jewish understanding of the afterlife (Gen 50:13; Josh 24:32; 1 Kings 2:10; 11:43; 2 Kings 9:28). Death and burial were therefore commonly spoken of as being gathered to one's ancestors (Gen 49:29; Judg 2:10; 2 Kings 22:20; 2 Chron 34:28).

The dead were viewed as experiencing a shadowy existence in a subterranean realm called "Sheol" (*šē'ōl* or *šē'ōl*, "underworld, netherworld"), also equated with "Abaddon" (*ābaddōn*, "destruction" [Job 26:6, 28:22; 31:12; Ps 88:11; Prov 15:11]) or "the Pit" (*bôr* [Is 14:15; 24:22; Ezek 26:20]; *šāḥat* [Ps 55:23; Is 38:17; Ezek 28:8; Jon 2:6]). Gloomy and desolate, it was like the Akkadian "Land of No Return," or the Greek Hades described by Homer. In sixty-one of sixty-five occurrences, "Sheol" is rendered as *hadēs* in the LXX.

Sheol's inhabitants were *rēpa'im* (lit., "weak ones"): ghosts, shades or spirits of the departed who are forever cut off from the land of the living, never to "rise" again (Ps 88:10; Is 26:14). The boundary between the living and the dead was inviolable. The dead could not return (2 Sam 12:23; Job 7:8-10), and the living were prohibited from feeding (Deut 26:14; cf. Sir 30:18) or consulting with the dead (Lev 20:27; Deut 18:11; 1 Sam 28:7; 2 Kings 23:24; Is 8:19).

The origin of the belief in resurrection among the Hebrews is impossible to trace. For over a century, a common proposal has been that Israel's resurrection faith was a postexilic addition from Persian religion, Zoroastrianism (Raphael, 73; Segal, 173-202). However, our understanding of Zoroastrian eschatology is based largely on a text dating to the ninth century A.D., and Persian belief in resurrection may reach no further back than the fourth century B.C. (Yamauchi, 47-48).

Another suggested origin is Canaanite religion. Ancient fertility cults celebrated the annual death and rebirth of deities. But evidence for a direct line of development from dying and rising gods to a doctrine of resurrection is inconclusive (Mettinger, 220-21). Moreover, it is unlikely that the Hebrew prophets, who excoriated Israel and Judah for idolatry, would, in order to create the most potent image of Yahweh's promise of national restoration, borrow the signature feature of the very nature cults that seduced God's people (Wright, 127).

Even if Canaanite, Persian or Hellenistic thought influenced Hebrew perspectives on the afterlife, belief in resurrection from the dead was "etched within the logic of OT concepts" (Martin-Achard, 683). Resurrection hope was associated with the following

theological claims: Yahweh is the source of (new) creation, hence Lord over life and death; Yahweh is the covenant God of Israel, who keeps his covenant promises; and Yahweh's kingdom ultimately will triumph and will include the final exaltation/enthronement of God's covenant faithful (Anderson, 50-91).

There are only three recorded instances of the dead being raised in the OT: one in connection with Elijah (1 Kings 17:17-24) and two with Elisha (2 Kings 4:32-37; 13:21; cf. Sir 48:13-14). These miracles attest to Yahweh's power to rescue his people from death. They reveal the core truth that Yahweh "kills and brings to life" (1 Sam 2:6; cf. Deut 32:39), but they await richer theological development in the crucible of Israel's *exile, return and struggle for independence. Lacking in these OT miracles is an *apocalyptic framework that situates resurrection within the eschatological hope for Israel's national restoration and the establishment of God's righteous rule.

The *Targum on Hosea 6:1-3 interpreted the prophet's oracle as a promise of Israel's restoration at the final resurrection of the dead (*Tg. Neb. Hos* 6:2). Although a number of church fathers took the phrase "on the third day he will raise us up" (Hos 6:2) as a prophecy of Christ's resurrection, few modern scholars interpret Hosea's language as a reference to literal resurrection from the dead, seeing it instead as a covenant metaphor for Israel's return from exile (see Wijngaards). Likewise, Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 37:1-14) utilizes resurrection as a metaphor for the restoration of Israel. Yet the graphic depiction of the Lord's bringing his people up out of their graves (Ezek 37:12-13) inspired later Jewish and Christian conceptions of the general resurrection. Ezekiel also portrayed resurrection as a new creation by using imagery reminiscent of the creation of Adam from the dust of the earth (cf. Ezek 37:5-6, 8-10 with Gen 2:7).

Some scholars detect an early instance of resurrection belief in the "Apocalypse of Isaiah" (Is 24-27). A nonmetaphorical reading of Isaiah 26:19 is supported by the contrast between the general fate of the dead, "The dead do not live; shades do not rise" (Is 26:14), and the salvation of God's covenant people, "Your [Yahweh's] dead shall live, their corpses shall rise. . . . And the earth will give birth to those long dead [lit., 'shades']" (Is 26:19). This is corroborated by the promise in Isaiah 25:8 that Yahweh "will swallow up death forever."

The scholarly consensus holds that the belief in a final resurrection appeared first in Daniel 12:2, 13 during the time of the Maccabees. Daniel provides the fullest expression of resurrection hope in the OT.

The awakening of “those who sleep in the dust of the earth” (Dan 12:2) echoes the motif of new creation. God’s covenant faithful will be raised “to everlasting life,” the wicked “to shame and everlasting contempt.” “The wise” (Dan 12:3; cf. Dan 11:33, 35) and “those who lead many to righteousness” resemble the Suffering *Servant of Isaiah (cf. Is 52:13; 53:11) (see Nickelsburg, 38–41). Having been condemned to death in a human court, they will be vindicated in the divine court. Here we observe the accent on God’s execution of eschatological justice (cf. “your reward at the end of the days” [Dan 12:13]; the divine register, “the book” [Dan 12:1]). Daniel described the exaltation of the righteous in terms of shining stars (Dan 12:3). The image evokes the idea of heavenly enthronement (cf. Is 14:12–14; Pss. Sol. 1:5; T. Levi 18:3; T. Jud. 24:1).

The fourfold theological pattern of resurrection, covenant loyalty, exaltation/enthronement and new creation can be traced through a swath of Second Temple Jewish literature (2 Macc 7:1–42; 1 En. 22:13; 51:1–5; 61:5; 62:14–16; 91:10; 92:3–5; 4 Ezra 7:31–32; 2 Bar. 50:2–4; 51:1–12; *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*) (see Anderson, 61–85). This resurrection theology often fits into a sequence commonly described as “sin-exile-return.” Disobedient Israel will be delivered from the curse of exile through *repentance and covenant renewal with Yahweh. Perhaps most clearly in *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* resurrection is instrumental in bringing about the salvation and restoration of the twelve tribes of Israel (T. Sim. 6:7; T. Zeb. 10:2; T. Jud. 25:1, 3–5; T. Benj. 10:6–9). This background resembles Paul’s devotion to the hope of the twelve tribes (Acts 26:6–7; or “hope of Israel” [Acts 28:20]), the hope of the resurrection of the dead (Acts 23:6; 24:15).

Nevertheless, Jewish beliefs concerning the afterlife were not monolithic in the Second Temple period. There were those who sought consistency with classical Hebrew anthropology (cf. Eccles 3:19–21; 12:7), denying the Hellenistic idea that the soul of the deceased soared into the heavens, the habitation of the gods. Jesus ben Sira insisted that human beings were created from the earth, and they will return there when they die (Sir 16:30; 17:1; 40:1, 11; 41:10). He flatly denied both resurrection (Sir 38:21) and immortality (Sir 17:30), defining the latter in terms of the perpetuation of one’s good name or honor (Sir 37:26; 39:9; 44:8–15). Likewise, the Sadducees cleverly replaced both resurrection of the body and immortality of the soul with the belief that one lives on in one’s progeny (i.e., “raises up” children [Mk 12:19 par.]; on the Sadducees’ disbelief in resurrection, cf.

Acts 4:1–2; 23:8; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.16; *J.W.* 2.165).

Some embraced the Hellenistic idea of the immortality of the soul. The account of the martyrdom of the seven brothers in 4 Maccabees is based on 2 Maccabees 7, yet the author has systematically recast resurrection hope as belief in immortality (cf. 2 Macc 7:14 with 4 Macc 10:15; cf. 4 Macc 7:3; 9:22; 14:4–5; 16:13; 18:23). Philo assiduously avoided the use of resurrection language (*anistēmi* and its cognates; nor did he use *egeirō* in its resurrectional sense). Instead, he described the postmortem existence of the virtuous almost exclusively in terms of *athanasia*, “immortality” (*Gig.* 14, 45; *Migr.* 189; *Plant.* 37, 45; *Praem.* 110; *Prob.* 117; *Opif.* 135) (see Segal, 370).

Other voices are difficult to assess. The stress on immortality in Wisdom of Solomon has led to the conclusion that it promotes immortality of the soul as the final lot for the righteous (Wis 1:15; 3:1–4; 8:13, 17; 15:3). N. T. Wright argues that Wisdom of Solomon’s view of immortality does not necessarily exclude the idea of an embodied existence beyond death (Wright, 162–75). The view of the *Dead Sea Scrolls on resurrection has been notoriously elusive, and this has not been helped by the conflicting descriptions of *Essene belief by Josephus (*J.W.* 2.154–58) and Hippolytus (*Haer.* 9.27.1–3). Interpretation is further complicated by the fact that the sectarian scrolls focus on the community’s present participation in eternal life. However, 4Q521 explicitly affirms belief in the resurrection from the dead and relates the actions of the messiah in ways that resemble Matthew 11:2–6 // Luke 7:18–23; he will restore sight to the blind, make the dead live, and bring good news to the poor. Pseudo-Phocylides’ confusing presentation of the afterlife includes one of the most literalistic descriptions of bodily resurrection (Ps.-Phoc. 102–103) alongside expressions about the immortality of the soul (Ps.-Phoc. 105–108, 115) and the classical Hebrew idea of the afterlife in Sheol (Ps.-Phoc. 111–114).

Among Jewish texts that subscribe to belief in resurrection from the dead, many depict resurrection as concrete and bodily in nature. In 2 Maccabees the martyrs bear witness to the hope that parts of their mangled, tortured bodies will be restored to them at the resurrection (2 Macc 7:10–11; 14:46). The *Sibylline Oracles* provide explicit physical descriptions of how human bodies will be restored to their former wholeness (*Sib. Or.* 2:221–26; 4:181–82). The mature statement in 2 *Baruch* envisions the resurrection in two phases: first, the dead will be raised in the same bodily form as when they died (2 Bar. 50:2–

4); second, the wicked will be hideously deformed (2 Bar. 51:2, 5), while the righteous are gloriously exalted and transformed (2 Bar. 51:5, 10-12). Comparably, Paul wrote of resurrection involving the mortal putting on immortality (1 Cor 15:42-44, 50-53).

1.2. Resurrection in the Hellenistic World. The Jewish, and later Christian, doctrine of bodily resurrection was alien to Greco-Roman culture. Returning from the dead was regarded as impossible, forbidden and/or undesirable. Aeschylus declared, "But when the dust hath drained the blood of man, once he is slain, there is no return to life" (*Eum.* 647-48). Not even Zeus could effect it (*Eum.* 649-51). According to Pindar, when Asclepius once brought a man back from the dead, Zeus punished both of them with his thunderbolts (*Pyth.* 3:54-58). The Orphic slogan *sōma sēma* ("the body is a tomb") and belief in the immortality of the soul contributed to a sense of revulsion toward resurrection, particularly among the educated. The pagan critic Celsus wrote, "This is simply the hope of worms. For what sort of human soul would have any further desire for a body that has rotted?" (Origen, *Cels.* 5.14).

Nevertheless, the Greeks and Romans had fantastic tales about persons coming back from the dead. But their interpretations of these stories were far removed from the Judeo-Christian conceptions of resurrection. Aristophanes told a humorous tale of a corpse that sat up while being carried to the tomb. When two men asked him if he would take their luggage with him to Hades, he replied, "I'd sooner live again!" (*Ran.* 178). Euripides' play *Alcestris* was named after its heroine, who was brought back to life by Heracles. The chorus explained the resurrection as a serendipitous event allowed by the gods (*Alc.* 1159-63). Later, Plutarch interpreted the story as an illustration of love's superiority over death, as in the mythical stories of Protesilaus or Orpheus (*Mor.* 761e-762a). The ancients struggled with the social and religious implications of someone who had reputedly returned from the dead, whom they labeled *deuteropotmos* ("second-fated" [cf. Hesychius, "*deuteropotmos*"; Plutarch, *Mor.* 264d-265a]).

There were two principal explanations for persons who had died and come back to life: (1) a philosophical explanation of such stories as demonstrations for the immortality of the soul; (2) a scientific or medical explanation that describes the revival as a physical anomaly.

The first category applies to Plato's myth of Er, a warrior who was slain on the battlefield (*Resp.* 614b-621d). His body was collected ten days later and returned to his home. The corpse did not putrefy, and

it revived on the funeral pyre. Er then recounted his journey in the afterlife and how the cycle of reincarnation was revealed to him. There were also stories of philosophers who faked their death and return from Hades to convince followers of the doctrine of immortality (see Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.94-96; Diogenes Laertius, *Vit.* 1.109; 8.41; Plutarch, *Mor.* 784a). Such stories were later utilized to demonstrate the immortality of the soul (Plutarch, *Mor.* 592c-d; Lucian, *Musc. Laud.* 7), were given naturalistic explanations (Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 7.52.174), or regarded as mere myths (Origen, *Cels.* 2.55).

The most common naturalistic explanation was that of apparent death. The physician Aulus Cornelius Celsus believed that only an expert physician could reliably pronounce a patient dead (*Med.* 2.6.13-16). The motif of apparent death (Ger. *Scheintod*) became a major plot driver in ancient Greek novels (e.g., Chariton, *Chaereas and Callirhoe* [see Kany; Fullmer, 99-117]), which emerged not long after reports in Palestine concerning the resurrection of Jesus and the posting of the "Nazareth inscription," which published an official Roman ban on body snatching and tomb desecration.

2. Resurrection Miracles.

In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus raised someone from the dead before making any formal statement about resurrection. The miraculous power to raise the dead is one of the key aspects of his messianic vocation in announcing the kingdom of God. In John's Gospel the raising of *Lazarus forms a crucial part of the climax to Jesus' ministry and foreshadows his own death and resurrection. In Matthew's Gospel a mass resurrection of saints occurs in connection with Jesus' death (Mt 27:52), acting as an apocalyptic harbinger of the final resurrection.

2.1. The Widow's Son at Nain. The first resurrection miracle in Luke's narrative is of Jesus raising a widow's son at Nain (Lk 7:11-17). The account was composed with clear echoes of *Elijah's raising up the son of the widow of Zarephath. Jesus came to town and met the widow at the gate (Lk 7:12; cf. 1 Kings 17:10) and raised the dead son to life (Lk 7:14-15; cf. 1 Kings 17:22). Precisely the same words from LXX 1 Kings 17:23 appear in Luke 7:15: "and he gave him to his mother."

The crowd's twofold interpretation of the miracle fits Luke's christological portrait of Jesus: "A great prophet has risen among us" and "God has visited his people" (Lk 7:16). With regard to the first interpretation, in his inaugural appearance at Nazareth Jesus invoked the prophetic ministries of Elijah and

Elisha as a pattern (Lk 4:14-30), and he specifically referenced Elijah's dealings with the Zarephath widow (Lk 4:26). Preceding Jesus' resurrection miracle in Luke 7:11-17 is an incident that also resembles the ministry of the two OT prophets: Jesus reached beyond Israel by healing the slave of a Gentile (Lk 7:1-10). The resurrection miracle also anticipates Jesus' enumeration of acts, including raising the dead, authenticating his role as the one who ushers in the *kingdom of God (Lk 7:22). With regard to the second interpretation, the motif of divine visitation recalls Zechariah's prophecy (Lk 1:68; cf. Lk 1:78). In Luke's narrative Israel will not acknowledge God's visitation (Lk 19:44). Jesus is the definitive agent of God's salvation; as such, he is the greatest in a long line of true prophets who have been destined for rejection by their own people (Lk 4:24; 6:22-23; 11:47, 49, 50; 13:33-34).

This miracle has been compared with the account of Apollonius of Tyana's raising up of a Roman maiden. However, his biographer, Philostratus, was ambivalent in his appraisal of what happened. The girl may have only appeared to be dead, or Apollonius may have resuscitated her (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 4.45; cf. Eusebius, *Hier.* 26). In contrast, for the evangelist, Jesus was God's appointed Messiah, who truly raised the dead.

2.2. *Jairus's Daughter.* The raising of Jairus's daughter is repeated in the triple tradition (Mt 9:18-29, 23-26 // Mk 5:21-24, 35-43 // Lk 8:40-42, 49-56). All three accounts are intercalated with the healing of the hemorrhaging woman and stress the role of faith in receiving God's saving action through Jesus. Matthew varies from Mark's sequencing, placing the account within a series of ten miracles (Mt 8:1-9:35). He abridges the story to sharpen the focus on Jesus' supernatural power. Luke conforms more closely to Mark's sequencing (Mk 4:1-6:12 // Lk 8:1-9:6). Neither Matthew nor Luke includes Jesus' Aramaic phrase *talitha koura* (Mk 5:41).

Luke's version clarifies the reality of the resurrection that occurred. Jesus' pronouncement "The child is not dead but sleeping" (Mk 5:39) casts a shadow of doubt about what really happened that is not dispelled by the end of Mark's account (though it is unlikely the girl's parents would have been utterly amazed that a rabbi woke their daughter from a nap [cf. Mk 5:42; Lk 8:56]). The ambiguity serves the motif of the messianic secret (cf. Jesus' order to keep silent in Mk 5:43; Lk 8:56; contrast Mt 9:26). Luke does not abide such imprecision. In Luke 8:53 the mourners contradicted Jesus' claim, for they laughed at him, "knowing that she was dead." The verbs in

"get up" (*egeire* [Mk 5:41; Lk 8:54]) and "she got up" (*anestē* [Mk 5:42; Lk 8:55]), as well as the Hebrew/Aramaic *qûm* (Mk 5:41), are polyvalent; in this context they could connote either getting up from sleep or rising from the dead. Luke tips the scale toward the latter connotation with the added contextual pointer "her spirit returned" (Lk 8:55).

The effect of the miracle in both Mark and Luke is that those on the outside (the mourners) were led to believe that the girl was only sleeping, while those on the inside (Jesus' inner circle of disciples and the girl's parents) were sworn to secrecy. Luke, however, leaves readers in no doubt about what happened: Jairus's daughter truly was raised from the dead.

2.3. *Lazarus.* The raising of Lazarus from the dead is Jesus' most remarkable resurrection miracle (Jn 11:1-44), since Lazarus was raised four days after interment, when the corpse would have already reeked from putrefaction (Jn 11:17, 39). It constitutes the culminating event in the first half of John's Gospel.

As the last of the seven authenticating miracles, or "signs," it points to the climax of divine revelation in Christ and reveals God's glory (Jn 11:4, 40; cf. Jn 1:14). It demonstrates that Christ is the one who gives eternal life (Jn 11:25; cf. Jn 5:25). The miracle also foreshadows Jesus' own death and resurrection. The description of Lazarus's tomb and grave clothes (Jn 11:38-39, 44) parallels the details concerning Jesus' burial and empty tomb (Jn 19:40; 20:7). However, Lazarus came out of the tomb still bound in wrappings; the resurrected Jesus left his wrappings in the tomb, neatly folded.

2.4. *Many Saints.* The account of the resurrection of many saints in Matthew 27:51-53 is of a very different character than the previous resurrection miracles. It is connected not to Jesus' public ministry, but to his crucifixion and resurrection. Its form is not that of a miracle story, but an apocalyptic narrative. The narrative contains echoes from three OT resurrection texts: "the tombs were opened" (Mt 27:52a [cf. Ezek 37:12-13]); "many . . . who had fallen asleep were raised" (Mt 27:52b [cf. Dan 12:2]); and "they came out of the tombs" (Mt. 27:53 [cf. LXX Is 26:19]).

The resurrection of saints has a twofold significance. First, the apocalyptic nature of the event signals Jesus' resurrection as the inauguration of the age to come and precursor to the final resurrection (cf. Acts 3:15; 26:23; 1 Cor 15:20, 23; Col 1:18). Second, the saints' resurrection amplifies Jesus' vindication. The self-curse of the people for shedding Jesus' innocent blood (Mt 27:4, 19, 24-25) has already

gone into effect. According to Jesus' prediction, the "righteous blood" of all the prophets is testifying against the people, as the saints come out of the very tombs that their murderers built for them (cf. Mt 23:29-31) (see Heil 1991, 85-86). Whether Matthew envisions a wider "harrowing of hell" (cf. 1 Pet 4:6) is open to debate.

Questions concerning the historicity of this event are perennial in modern research. Some reject it out of hand as unhistorical (Allison, 307). M. Licona has argued that at least some of the phenomena were "special effects" or a "poetic device" (Licona, 548-53). Wright leaves open the question of historicity, suggesting that Matthew might have known a tradition about such strange occurrences (Wright, 632-36). Nevertheless, the evangelist incorporated apocalyptic imagery to convey the theological truth about the inbreaking of the new age. All of the resurrection miracles in the Gospels assume this eschatological declaration. They are signposts pointing to Jesus' resurrection, which is the beginning of the age to come and the final resurrection. Those who benefited from resurrection miracles (which many scholars prefer to identify as resuscitations) were brought back to life only "for so long as it pleased God" (*Acts Pet.* 28); Jesus, however, was resurrected never to die again.

3. Resurrection in Jesus' Teaching.

Jesus taught relatively little on the explicit theme of resurrection. In the Synoptic Gospels explicit predictions of Jesus' resurrection emerge only in the second half of each Gospel. In John's Gospel, although Jesus foretells his own resurrection (often cryptically) and the final resurrection, his teaching falls under the more prominent theme of eternal life.

3.1. The Double Tradition. A common opinion among *Q scholars is that the early Christian community responsible for the Matthew/Luke parallels (often called "Q") excluded eschatological beliefs concerning the death and resurrection of Jesus and a final resurrection for God's people. Q, insofar as we can reconstruct it, evidently had no death-resurrection formulae or passion narrative. However, this conclusion is born of silence. G. Nickelsburg and N. T. Wright have suggested a plausible alternative (Nickelsburg, 231; Wright, 429-34). A number of Q texts presuppose resurrection within a larger pattern of God's vindication of his persecuted servants.

Matthew 8:11-12 // Lk 13:28-30 envisions an end-time reversal of fortune. *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob will welcome people from far-flung places to the eschatological banquet, while the purportedly rightful

"heirs of the kingdom" will be excluded. A cognate saying (Mt 19:28 // Lk 22:28-30) also situates Jesus' predictions within the context of Jewish (or Pharisaic) hope. Jesus promised his apostles that they will sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Luke includes the scenic elements of a banquet (Lk 22:30). In Matthew the restoration of Israel coincides with "the renewal of all things" (Mt 19:28). "Renewal" (*palingenesia*) indicates rebirth or regeneration (cf. Tit 3:5). The metaphor of giving birth was at home among Jewish expectations concerning the renewal of the world to come and resurrection from the dead (cf. Is 26:19; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.218; 4 *Ezra* 4:40-42; Acts 2:24). A third text from the double tradition issues Jesus' exhortation to martyrs to fear not those who can kill the body, but rather God, who can destroy both body and soul in Gehenna (Mt 10:28 // Lk 12:4-5). This teaching might presume the dual resurrection in Daniel 12:2: the righteous to everlasting life and vindication, the wicked to everlasting condemnation.

One double-tradition passage includes raising the dead as part of Jesus' messianic profile (Mt 11:5 // Lk 7:22). It is similar to the predictions concerning the messiah's achievements in 4Q521. In both Gospels the logion is anticipated by a resurrection miracle performed by Jesus (Jairus's daughter [Mt 9:18-29, 23-26]; widow's son at Nain [Lk 7:11-17]). Here, raising the dead is one of the essential identifiers for "the coming one" of eschatological hope (Mt 11:3 // Lk 7:20), and it fits within a pattern of vindication for outcasts (the blind, lame, deaf, poor) in the face of those who oppose them and God's prophets.

The "sign of Jonah" passage (Mt 12:39-42 // Lk 11:29-32) is controversial. Like the texts above, it sounds the theme of eschatological reversal. Both parallels use language that could connote resurrection (the men of Nineveh "will rise up," *anestēsontai* [Mt 12:41 // Lk 11:32]; the Queen of the South "will rise up," *egerthēsetai* [Mt 12:42 // Lk 11:31]). But only Matthew explains the sign of Jonah as a type of Jesus' death and resurrection (Mt 12:40). Luke too may have interpreted the sign as Jesus' resurrection (Wright, 433), but more likely he associated it with Jesus' wisdom or preaching of repentance. In favor of taking Matthew 12:40 as a bit of Matthean interpretive commentary may be the fact that it precedes Jesus' initial passion prediction by four chapters (cf. Mt 16:21) (see Hagner, 102).

3.2. Mark and Its Parallels. According to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus rarely spoke explicitly about the future life in connection with resurrection. However, he seemed to presume the reality of the

final resurrection when teaching about future judgment or entrance into the kingdom of God/(eternal) life. The references to self-mutilation in order to avoid sin are hyperbolic but striking (Mk 9:43-48 // Mt 18:8-9). It is better “to enter life” maimed, or “enter the kingdom of God” with only one eye, than to be thrown into Gehenna whole. Jesus encountered a rich man who asked him how “to inherit eternal life” (Mk 10:17-25 // Mt 19:16-24 // Lk 18:18-25). Their exchange may underline the impediment of wealth to entering the kingdom now as a present reality. However, in a follow-up pericope (Mk 10:29-30 // Mt 19:29 // Lk 18:29-30) Jesus explained to his disciples how privation “in this age” will be rewarded with great bounty “and in the age to come eternal life.” Jesus’ teaching on “life” or “eternal life” could refer only to immortality (Vermes, 72). But the theme of judgment, the two-age apocalyptic framework, and the concrete, earthy images fit well with Jewish expectations of resurrection.

Jesus taught explicitly about the nature of resurrection life on only one occasion in the triple tradition (Mk 12:18-27 // Mt 22:23-33 // Luke 20:27-40). In his only recorded head-to-head debate with the Sadducees Jesus refuted their *reductio ad absurdum* argument against the resurrection. Here Jesus declared that in the resurrection people will be “like angels in heaven” (Mk 12:25 // Mt 22:30) or “equal to angels” (*isangeloi* [Lk 20:36]). Some scholars conclude that Jesus was referring to the resurrected as disembodied spirits. This may comport with traditions about the resurrected being like *angels or stars (2 Bar. 51:3, 5, 10, 12; cf. Dan 12:3). However, Jesus never spoke of becoming angels or spirits, but rather of being like or equal to them. The point of the comparison is that, like angels, the resurrected “neither marry nor are given in marriage.” Luke sharpened the comparison by pointing to the reason: “they cannot die anymore” (Lk 20:36). Jesus negated the Sadducean view of immortality via procreation, since the true immortality of resurrection life renders marriage and child bearing unnecessary.

Additionally, Jesus provided scriptural support for the reality of the resurrection. The covenant formula, “I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob” demonstrates that he is “God not of the dead, but of the living.” The precise logic of the argument is difficult to follow. It is complicated by Luke’s addition “for all live to him [i.e., God]” (Lk 20:38)—a possible allusion to 4 Maccabees 7:19; 16:25. Perhaps, by knocking down the Sadducees’ disbelief in any sort of afterlife, Jesus has opened the way to believing the entire eschatologi-

cal program: life even now in the presence of God for the faithful departed, and eternal *life in the age to come at the resurrection.

The Synoptic Gospels record a number of Jesus’ predictions concerning his death and resurrection. There are three direct *predictions (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:32-34). While the Markan predictions state that Jesus will rise “after three days,” Matthew (Mt 16:21; 17:23; 20:19) and Luke (Lk 9:22; 18:33) have “on the third day,” probably in conformity to a common formulation in early Christian proclamation and liturgy (cf. Acts 10:40; 1 Cor 15:4). Maybe they also wanted to convey a more precise reckoning of time (using inclusive counting of days), but the use of both “after three days” and “until the third day” in Matthew 27:63, 64 may suggest that varying expressions simply denote a brief time period (cf. “three days and three nights” [Mt 12:40]).

There are two indirect predictions of Jesus’ resurrection (both lacking in Luke). First, Jesus ordered his closest disciples not to divulge what they had seen at the transfiguration “until after the Son of Man had risen from the dead” (Mk 9:9 // Mt 17:9). Second, along with predicting Peter’s denial, Jesus anticipated a later meeting with his disciples “after I am raised up” (Mk 14:28 // Mt 26:32). The former points up an important theme accompanying Jesus’ predictions: the disciples’ misunderstanding. Jesus’ command of silence after the *transfiguration left his disciples “questioning what this rising from the dead could mean” (Mk 9:10). After the three direct predictions the disciples’ perplexity focused on Jesus’ death. But in Luke (though resurrection is lacking from the second prediction [Lk 9:44]) death and resurrection have been clearly integrated in the disciples’ misunderstanding. Luke attributes the misunderstanding to divine concealment (Lk 9:45; 18:34), which is not lifted until after Jesus’ resurrection (Lk 24:5-8, 16, 31, 45). Otherwise, the evangelists do not account for the disciples’ inability to grasp Jesus’ predictions of his resurrection. Rumors that Jesus was *John the Baptist or one of the prophets raised from the dead (Mk 6:14-15 // Mt 14:1 // Lk 9:7-8; cf. Lk 9:19) might have contributed to the disciples’ confusion (cf. Mk 9:11-13 // Mt 17:10-13). Perhaps triumphalist messianic expectations made it impossible for them to “hear” predictions about an executed and resurrected messiah. Another common suggestion is that the disciples reflexively misunderstood Jesus to be referring to the final, corporate resurrection, not his own singular resurrection, and found his words “on the third day” puzzling.

3.3. Matthew. A few references to resurrection

are unique to Matthew. Only in Matthew's *mission discourse are Jesus' *disciples granted the authority to "raise the dead" (Mt 10:8). Though unparalleled, this comports with the messianic profile in the double tradition (Mt 11:5 // Lk 7:22) and thus is fitting for the Messiah's agents. In Jesus' interpretation of his parable of the weeds the apocalyptic imagery of the harvesting of wheat and destruction of weeds "at the end of the age" is topped off by a possible allusion to Daniel 12:3: "Then the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Mt 13:43). Later, Jesus' face "shone like the sun" (Mt 17:2) at his transfiguration, itself a prefiguration of his resurrected glory. At the judgment of the sheep and the goats, the accursed "will go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life" (Mt 25:46)—an echo of the dual fate for the resurrected in Daniel 12:2. These references are consonant with Matthew's theological interest in apocalyptic themes.

3.4. Luke. Unique Lukan references consistently tie resurrection to the theme of reversal, particularly with regard to *rich and poor. In back-to-back passages (Lk 14:7-14, 15-24) Jesus challenged reigning standards of social stratification and reciprocity by urging wealthy hosts to invite not the similarly well-heeled, but rather the poor, crippled, *blind and lame (Lk 14:13, 21). The passages are hinged together by the saying in Luke 14:14: "And you will be blessed, because they cannot repay you, for you will be repaid at the resurrection of the righteous." This parallels a common belief in Second Temple Judaism: at the resurrection the righteous poor, oppressed and exiled will be exalted or rewarded in the presence of their wealthy, powerful oppressors, who will be cast down (e.g., Dan 11:12; 1 *En.* 62:14-16; *T. Jud.* 25:3-5; 4 *Ezra* 4:35; 7:35). These ideas are so tightly aligned that Jesus can use the concrete notion of resurrection metaphorically for role reversal itself. In the parable of the prodigal son, the father twice exults in his lost son's return: he "was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is found" (Lk 15:24, 32).

The reversal of fortunes for rich and poor is no more dramatically portrayed than in the story of the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31), the conclusion of which is suggestive for a Lukan emphasis regarding Jesus' resurrection. The rich man insisted that if someone were sent "from the dead" to his brothers, they would repent and avoid the torment of Hades. Abraham replied, "If they do not listen to Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced even if someone rises from the dead." This almost certainly is an oblique reference to Jesus' resurrection from the dead, which one cannot comprehend apart from

the divine plan of salvation foretold in the Scriptures (Lk 24:25-27, 32, 44-46).

3.5. John. Two emphases in John's Gospel seem to mute the significance of the resurrection. The first is John's well-known realized eschatology, which stresses Jesus' authority to grant eternal life in the present. The second is the Gospel's focus on the cross of Christ as the goal of his being "lifted up" (Jn 3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34) or "glorified" (Jn 7:39; 12:23, 28).

In truth, realized eschatology has not swallowed up future eschatology in John. Jesus' present authority to raise the dead and execute judgment (Jn 5:25-27) is counterbalanced by his same authority at work in the final resurrection (Jn 5:28-29). Clear echoes of OT resurrection passages occur in this passage (Is 26:19; Ezek 37:12; Dan 12:2). Similarly, in the discourse on the bread of life Jesus repeatedly promised a present grant of eternal life to believers, but also that he will "raise up" the believer "on the last day" (Jn 6:39, 40, 44, 54; cf. Jn 11:24).

Jesus' cross-centered predictions of his exaltation do not stand alone in John. Jesus' glorification on the cross takes its shape and meaning from his resurrection. Both cross and resurrection are crucial phases of Jesus' return/ascent to the Father. The cleansing of the *temple (*see* Temple Act) is presented as a foreshadowing of Jesus' resurrection (Jn 2:13-22; cf. the same saying in the mouths of Jesus' accusers in Mt 26:61; 27:40 // Mk 14:58; 15:29; cf. Acts 6:14). The evangelist explains that Jesus was talking about the temple of his body (Jn 2:21) and records how the disciples could understand the scriptural meaning of the saying only after Jesus' resurrection (Jn 2:22). In the discourse on the good shepherd death and resurrection are Jesus' sovereign twofold action in order to give eternal life. Jesus declared his authority to lay his life down and to take it up again (Jn 10:17-18; cf. Jn 10:11). Finally, in the farewell discourse Jesus cryptically spoke of his disappearance, then reappearance "in a little while" (Jn 14:18-19; 16:16-24). Jesus was referring to his death and resurrection, but as important steps in his return/ascension to the Father (cf. Jn 13:3; 14:12, 28; 16:10, 17, 28; 20:17).

4. The Resurrection Narratives in the Four Gospels.

4.1. Mark's Resurrection Narrative. A fundamental issue in interpreting the pericope about the empty tomb in Mark 16:1-8 concerns the ending of Mark's Gospel. The consensus view is that the evangelist intended to end the Gospel at Mark 16:8. The minority view is that the original ending was lost due to the mutilation of an early manuscript (either

accidentally or deliberately). The consensus view interprets the abrupt ending as a fitting conclusion to the Gospel. Narrative closure occurs through highlighting two themes: the revelation of Jesus “the crucified” as the Messiah and the Son of God, and the failure of the disciples. The weakness of this view involves its exclusive focus on narrative-critical analysis of the text, which brackets out historical factors. The additional endings to Mark seem to have been motivated primarily not by a felt need for narrative closure, but rather by a perceived lack of kerygmatic and historical fullness. The longer ending in particular (Mk 16:9-20) sought to fill out the story with a pastiche of postresurrection appearances, a commissioning of the disciples and a report of the ascension, ostensibly drawn from other Gospel traditions.

Mark 16:1-8 points not to discipleship failure, but rather to the role of the *women and the other disciples as witnesses to Jesus’ resurrection. The passage proceeds in three movements: the women’s journey to the tomb (Mk 16:1-4); their entrance into the tomb and commissioning by the young man to inform the disciples of Jesus’ rendezvous with them in *Galilee (Mk 16:5-7); and the women’s reverent, single-minded obedience to the young man’s command (Mk 16:8).

The listing of three women in Mark 16:1 points to their function as witnesses. All three were listed as present at Jesus’ death on the cross (Mk 15:40), and two out of the three at his burial (Mk 15:47). These women followers showed up for the first time in Mark’s passion narrative, though the narrator states that they had been of service to Jesus since his time in Galilee (Mk 15:41). The differences between the three lists are not due to stylistic variation, but make better sense as Mark’s attempt to ensure that the “witness lists” are accurate. This is supported by the repetition of the women’s act of “seeing” (*theoreō*) in Mark 15:40, 47; 16:4. The continuity between the lists militates against the suggestion that the women haplessly stumbled upon the wrong tomb. Often noted is the remarkable fact that women were mentioned at all as the first witnesses to the empty tomb. It points to the primitive character of the tradition behind Mark’s account, since an early Christian would hardly manufacture such a story. Women’s legal testimony was often regarded as less credible than that of men.

Mark’s straightforward, laconic recounting of the women’s experience contains touches of an eyewitness perspective. Though there is evidence of Markan redaction (e.g., the redundant timestamp in Mk

16:2; cf. Mk 1:32), the account stands in stark relief to the *passion narrative in that it lacks allusions to scriptural fulfillments (e.g., the quotation from Ps 22:1 in Mk 15:34). The women’s last-minute concern about not being able to roll away the stone bears the marks of verisimilitude (Mk 16:3-4). Likewise, the description of the divine messenger inside the tomb as a “young man” (Mk 16:5) may indicate a phenomenological or experiential perspective, although ancient Jewish readers could have understood him to be an angel (cf. Dan 8:15-16; 9:21; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.277).

The heart of the pericope is the young man’s address to the women. Their alarm and his exhortation not to be alarmed (Mk 16:5b-6a) are typical of angelic epiphanies. There are three principal elements in the young man’s words (Mk 16:6-7): the announcement that Jesus has been raised, with minimal christological elaboration (“Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified”); an invitation to witness the fact that the tomb is now empty; and a command to tell Peter and the disciples to meet Jesus in Galilee in accordance with Jesus’ earlier directive. This culminates the women’s witness to the key events, heralded in the kerygma (1 Cor 15:3-8): Jesus died (Mk 15:40), was buried (Mk 15:47), was raised on the third day (Mk 16:6), and appeared to Peter and other disciples (Mk 16:7).

Contrary to the common interpretation of this passage, the women’s response in Mark 16:8 should be interpreted positively in light of the young man’s words in Mark 16:7. Three factors figure into our interpretation. First, the young man’s order in Mark 16:7 reasserts Jesus’ promise in Mark 14:28. Imperative (“go, tell”) and predictive elements (“there you will see him”) occur alongside the promissory (“he is going ahead of you . . . just as he told you”). We should hold as suspect an interpretation of Mark 16:8 that views the women as not only disobeying the young man’s command, but also thwarting the prediction and promise of Jesus. In Mark, Jesus’ predictions—for example, the “must” (*dei*) of the passion predictions (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:33) and the prediction of Peter’s denials (Mk 14:30)—never fail. Note also, in passing, that the singling out of Peter in Mark 16:7 may hint at his projected restoration.

Second, in Mark the women’s emotions of fear and amazement are typical responses to divine manifestations. While it is true that Mark has developed the theme of discipleship failure in scenes marked by fear, silence and misunderstanding among Jesus’ male disciples (Mk 6:52; 8:14-21; 9:6, 32; 10:32), the women have not shared in this characterization.

They have been consistently portrayed as faithful witnesses to Jesus, even after all the other disciples abandoned him (cf. Mk 14:40). Their earlier emotion of “alarm” is consonant with the natural human response to angelic appearances (Mk 16:5b-6a). “Trembling” (*tromos*) occurs in Mark only at Mark 16:8, but elsewhere in the NT it is always coupled with “fear” (*phobos*) to denote due respect or religious awe accompanying actions deemed appropriate or obedient (1 Cor 2:3; 2 Cor 7:15; Eph 6:5; Phil 2:12). “Amazement” (*ekstasis*) is the same emotional response experienced by those who witnessed the raising of Jairus’s daughter (Mk 5:42). Mark’s repetition of the women’s response of fear is designed to put a spotlight not on their emotions, but rather on the reason for their awe: the manifestation of divine power in the crucified Jesus, who has been raised from the dead.

Third, the double negative “they said nothing to no one” indicates exclusive, not absolute, silence on the part of the women. Recently scholars have pointed to the parallel in Mark 1:44 (Allison, 304; Bryan, 79). There Jesus told the cured leper to “say nothing to no one,” but to go directly to the *priest to certify his cleansing. It is reasonable to conclude that, unlike the leper, the women did not go about blabbering in public, but fulfilled their commission to tell only the disciples, “because they were filled with awe” (*ephobounto gar*).

4.2. Matthew’s Resurrection Narrative. Matthew has followed Mark’s narrative scheme for Jesus’ passion and resurrection, but with important additions (e.g., Mt 27:3-10, 51-53) and variations (cf. Mt 27:54 with Mk 15:39). The opening scene in Matthew’s resurrection narrative (Mt 28:1-10) substantially parallels the extant conclusion to Mark (Mk 16:1-8). However, it is flanked by two related scenes unique to Matthew: the posting of the guard at the tomb (Mt 27:62-66), following Jesus’ burial (Mt 27:57-61); and the bribing of the guards (Mt 28:11-15), following the scene at the empty tomb (Mt 28:1-10). The concluding scene (Mt 28:16-20) narrates Jesus’ projected meeting with his disciples (absent from extant Mark). It has general affinities with other postresurrection commissioning accounts (cf. Mk 16:15-16; Lk 24:44-49; Jn 20:21-23) but is crafted as the dénouement for the entire Gospel.

Matthew resolves three major plot lines in his resurrection account: conflict, *Christology, discipleship. In the other Gospels Jesus’ conflict with authorities terminates in his crucifixion; in Matthew the conflict extends beyond his resurrection. Jesus’ opponents prove to be impotent frauds in their at-

tempts to thwart Jesus’ resurrection (Mt 27:62-66; 28:11-15). The apocalyptic manifestation of the angel at the empty tomb revealed the vindication of Jesus and the triumph of divine power over those who executed Jesus (Mt 28:2-6). Although Jesus’ disciples contend with deception “to this day” (Mt 28:15), at the end of Matthew they are commissioned as emissaries under Jesus’ all-encompassing kingdom authority and faithful presence “to the end of the age” (Mt 28:20).

Matthew’s initial resurrection pericope (Mt 28:1-10) consists of two parts: the women’s visit to the tomb (Mt 28:1-7) and their meeting with the risen Jesus (Mt 28:8-10). Matthew streamlines Mark’s account and adds his own thematic and stylistic touches, such as apocalyptic descriptions and the Semitic expression *kai idou* (Mt 28:2, 7, 9). Matthew’s telling displays the women’s role as witnesses to Jesus’ resurrection. He mentions only two of the women listed in Mark (Mt 28:1 // Mk 16:1). Perhaps Matthew has made Mark’s lists more consistent (see 4.1 above), listing three women at the cross (Mt 27:56) but “Mary Magdalene and the other Mary” at both Jesus’ burial and the empty tomb (Mt 27:61; 28:1). The same two women saw “the great stone” rolled against the tomb (Mt 27:60) and sat as passive observers “opposite the tomb” (Mt 27:61). In Matthew 28:1 their errand was “to see the tomb,” not to anoint Jesus’ body as in Mark. Matthew sharply brings into focus the women’s role as witnesses to the empty tomb.

Matthew’s most radical departure from Mark involves the apocalyptic events that occurred upon the women’s arrival. An earthquake (Mt 28:2) forms a link with the climactic seismic shaking at Jesus’ crucifixion, associated with the rending of the temple veil, the resurrection of many saints and the confession of Jesus as God’s Son (Mt 27:51-54). Mark’s “young man” is in Matthew clearly “an angel of the Lord” clothed gloriously (Mt 28:2-3). There is irony and contrast in the way the angel interacted with the women and the guards. The angel directly counteracted the measures taken to secure the tomb. When Jesus was buried a “stone” had been “rolled” (*proskylisas*) across the entrance of the tomb (Mt 27:60). Then a guard was posted and the stone sealed in order to prevent the disciples from stealing Jesus’ body and declaring, “He has been raised from the dead [*nekrōn*]” (Mt 27:62-66). After Jesus’ resurrection, the angel “rolled back” (*apekylisen*) the “stone” (Mt 28:2). He sat upon the stone, showing divine triumph over the opponents’ futile challenges to God’s purpose in Jesus. In a wordplay, the earthquake

(*seismos* [Mt 28:2]) and awesome presence of the angel made the guards “shake” (*eseisthēsan* [Mt 28:4]) with fear. Those who were tasked with preventing Jesus’ resurrection from the dead “became like dead men [*nekroi*]” (Mt 28:4). In contrast, the angel emphatically encouraged the women, “You, do not be afraid” (*mē phobeisthe hymeis* [Mt 28:5]).

The angel’s address to the women is essentially the same as that in Mark (Mt 28:5-7 // Mk 16:6-7). However, Matthew lacks the description of Jesus as “the Nazarene” and does not single out Peter as a special recipient of the women’s report. Matthew emphasizes the urgency of the women’s mission (note the repetition of “quickly” [Mt 28:7, 8]), as well as the gravity of the angelic command (“See, I have told you” [Mt 28:7]). The indirect discourse in Mark could include the women among those who will see Jesus in Galilee (Mk 16:7). But in Matthew the direct order, to be conveyed through the women, applies only to the male disciples (Mt 28:7). This makes sense because the women encountered Jesus shortly thereafter in Jerusalem, and Jesus’ reiteration of the angel’s command states concerning the meeting in Galilee, “there *they* will see me” (Mt 28:10). Nevertheless, the women who “went” to “see” the tomb (Mt 28:1) and were invited to “come” and “see” where Jesus had lain (Mt 28:6) were commissioned to do the very thing that the authorities sought to halt: “tell” the message of Jesus’ resurrection (Mt 27:64; 28:6-7).

The women’s departure from the tomb was accompanied by a mixture of fear and great *joy, but also with resolve to complete their mission (Mt 28:8). As they rushed to obey the angel’s command, the women were greeted by the risen Jesus himself. The women’s act of grasping Jesus’ feet may simply be a tangible expression of *love and attachment along with their *worship (Mt 28:9). It may also point to the physical reality of Jesus’ risen body, since ghosts or apparitions either do not have feet or their feet do not touch the ground (Allison, 278). Jesus echoed the final order of the angel (Mt 28:10) but called the disciples “my brothers,” alluding to their rehabilitation as true disciples and anticipating his final commission in Matthew 28:16-20. The women’s witness to the empty tomb and to the risen Jesus fully prepared them to be “apostles to the apostles.”

In Matthew 28:11-15, while the women went off to fulfill their charge, the guards returned to tell the authorities what had happened at the tomb. Ironically, having failed in their effort to stop the proclamation of Jesus’ resurrection, the authorities have stooped to the same kind of deception that they

suspected of Jesus’ disciples (cf. Mt 27:62-66). Their treachery included bribery, falsehood and political cover for the guards. It is impossible to prove the historicity of Matthew’s account regarding the guards. But the note that this story was being perpetuated by Matthew’s Jewish contemporaries (Mt 28:15) suggests that the evangelist felt duty-bound to respond to an existing tale. Strange and improbable apologetic it would have been for an early Christian to construct stories suggesting the earliest alternative explanation for Jesus’ resurrection: the disciples stole the body.

The concluding pericope in Matthew is suitably known as the Great Commission (Mt 28:16-20). The scene is a mountain in Galilee that Jesus appointed beforehand (Mt 28:16). This detail was not mentioned earlier (cf. Mt 28:7, 10), but it is appropriate in a Gospel where mountains play a prominent role in divine revelation through Jesus (Mt 5:1; 17:1; cf. Mt 4:8-10). The eleven disciples’ response of worship is also natural (cf. Mt 2:2, 8, 11; 8:2; 9:18; 14:33; 15:25; 18:26; 20:20; 28:9), here all the more in light of Jesus’ declaration of his universal authority (Mt 28:18) and order to baptize in the trinitarian formula (Mt 28:19). The risen Jesus received worship reserved exclusively for Israel’s God (Mt 4:10; cf. Deut 10:20; Is 45:21-24). A *crux interpretum* is the additional response “but some doubted” (Mt 28:17) (see Bryan, 296nn47-48). The best interpretation takes this as a candid record of the disciples’ reaction. Other Gospels do not hide the reasonable response of disciples who can hardly believe their own senses (Lk 24:36-43; Jn 20:24-29) or have the impression of experiencing something surreal (cf. Jn 21:4, 12). The disciples’ tendency toward “little faith” in Matthew ultimately was dispelled not by Jesus’ physical presence, but rather by his authoritative word.

Jesus’ final appearance and commission of his disciples masterfully concludes the Gospel through an encapsulation of Matthean themes: revelation in Galilee, the *mountain, worship, authority, discipleship, universal mission, teaching, “the end of the age” and divine presence (cf. Mt 1:23; 18:20; 28:20). Matthew’s Gospel closes with the assurance that God’s kingdom has been inaugurated by the risen Jesus, will be extended through the worldwide mission of his disciples, and is enabled by his continuing presence.

4.3. Luke’s Resurrection Narrative. Luke’s resurrection narrative begins with distinct parallels to Mark 16:1-8 but departs from it more quickly and radically than Matthew. Three variations stand out: (1) “two men” (*andres duo* [Lk 24:4]; cf. “a vision of

angels" in Lk 24:23]) appear to the women (cf. Mk 16:5), forming a link between the heavenly personages at Jesus' transfiguration, resurrection and ascension (Lk 9:30, 32; 24:4; Acts 1:10); (2) the order to tell the disciples to meet Jesus in Galilee is instead a call to remember what Jesus said while he was in Galilee (Lk 24:6-7); (3) the list of women (Lk 24:10) more closely matches the list of Jesus' women supporters in Luke 8:2-3. Unique to Luke is the fact that all of Jesus' postresurrection appearances occur in Jerusalem and its environs.

Luke 24 is carefully crafted as three scenes: the empty tomb in the morning (Lk 24:1-12); the Emmaus road in the afternoon (Lk 24:13-35); and Jerusalem in the evening (Lk 24:36-53). The last scene itself forms a triptych: Jesus' demonstration of his bodily resurrection (Lk 24:36-43); the commissioning of the apostles (Lk 24:44-49); and the ascension (Lk 24:50-53). The three scenes are structurally bound together with time markers, spatial movements and intercommunication. The Easter events occur within the time frame of a single day (Lk 24:1, 13, 33, 36), emphasizing that it is "on the third day" after Jesus' death (Lk 24:7, 21, 29, 46). Each scene closes with someone returning somewhere (Lk 24:9, 12, 33, 52). Links of intercommunication occur between the women and the apostles (Lk 24:10); "some who were with us" and the Emmaus pair (Lk 24:24); and the Emmaus pair and the eleven disciples (Lk 24:34-35). The narrative moves progressively toward the third scene. This progression is aided by notes about Peter's visit to the empty tomb (Lk 24:12) and an unnarrated appearance of the Lord to "Simon" (Lk 24:34), climaxing in Jesus' physical demonstrations and scriptural disclosures that qualify the apostles as the original "eyewitnesses and servants of the word" (Lk 1:2). Four major emphases appear throughout the three scenes, which we will examine here.

4.3.1. Physical Reality of Jesus' Resurrection. The first scene in Luke's resurrection narrative points to the reality of Jesus' resurrection by establishing a chain of evidence in the women's witness to the empty tomb. The women who were present at Jesus' burial "saw the tomb and how his body was laid" (Lk 23:55). These same women arrived at the tomb on Easter morning to find it empty (Lk 24:3). The two men informed the women that Jesus is absent from the tomb because he is alive and risen (Lk 24:5). Significantly, the "aliveness" of the resurrected Jesus in Luke-Acts is unparalleled among the Gospels (Lk 24:5, 23; Acts 1:3; 25:19; possible exceptions in Jn 6:57; 14:19). This aspect of Jesus' resurrection is underscored in Acts through repeated references to his

body not being subject to decomposition (Acts 2:27, 31; 13:34, 35, 36, 37).

The empty tomb did not, by itself, demonstrate that Jesus had been raised from the dead. The apostles responded with incredulity to the women's announcement of Jesus' resurrection (Lk 24:11). Peter verified that the tomb was empty, except for the presence of burial cloths, which probably ruled out the possibility of tomb robbery. But he was struck only with amazement (Lk 24:12). Despite the women's report of the angelic message that Jesus is alive and the confirmation that the tomb was empty, the Emmaus pair was despondent (Lk 24:23-24). Their comment "but they did not see him" (Lk 24:24) anticipates Jesus' climactic appearance in the third scene. Even the appearance to the Emmaus pair is complicated by the fact that, once recognized, Jesus vanished from their sight (Lk 24:31). Readers attuned to Israel's Scriptures will recall stories of divine revelation and departure (Gen 17:22; 35:13; Judg 6:21; 13:20; cf. Tob 12:20-21; 2 Macc 3:34). Jesus' sudden disappearance indicates that he is already entering into his glory (Lk 24:26) and is no longer confined by usual limitations of earthly life.

In the third scene Jesus offered a threefold demonstration of his physical resurrection. He did so in response to the disciples' impression that they were seeing a ghost (Lk 24:37). First, Jesus appealed to sight: "Look at my hands and feet; see that it is I myself" (Lk 24:39a). Second, Jesus invited his disciples to touch him, "For a ghost does not have flesh and bones as you see that I have" (Lk 24:39b-40). Third, in order to remove any further doubt, Jesus ate in their presence (Lk 24:41-43; cf. Acts 10:41). The act of eating foreclosed any supposition that he appeared as an angel, since angels do not eat (Tob 12:19; Philo, *Abr.* 115-18; *T. Ab.* 4:9). The book of Acts reports that Jesus "presented himself alive" to his disciples "with many convincing proofs" (Acts 1:3), and the double recounting of Jesus' ascension (Lk 24:51; Acts 1:9-11) requires his physical body being borne up visibly into heaven.

4.3.2. Recognition. For Luke, it is insufficient for witnesses to recognize the bare fact that Jesus was physically raised from the dead. What is required is a total recognition of God's saving plan in the Messiah. Belief in Jesus' resurrection occurred not only on the basis of witnessing the empty tomb and appearances of the risen Jesus, but also in recalling the predictions of his passion and resurrection. Many particulars of Jesus' earlier predictions reverberate in the three scenes: "Son of Man" (Lk 9:22, 44; 17:24-25; 18:31 // Lk 24:7); "must" (Lk 9:22; 17:25;

22:37 // Lk 24:7, 26, 44); “be handed over” (Lk 9:44; 18:32; 22:22 // Lk 24:7); “into the hands of men” (Lk 9:44 // Lk 24:7); “on the third day” (Lk 9:22; 13:32; 18:32 // Lk 24:7, 46); “rise” (Lk 9:22; 18:33 // Lk 24:7, 46). Remarkably, the women believed nothing less than that Jesus was raised from the dead in response to a reminder of Jesus’ predictions. This is confirmed, first, by the fact that the two men commanded them to “remember” Jesus’ words, and the narrator reports that they “remembered” them (Lk 24:6, 8). Second, the act of remembering involves not just recollection of words, but a recognition of their fulfillment (cf. Lk 22:61; Acts 11:16). Third, their report to the eleven disciples and their associates was dismissed as “an idle tale” (Lk 24:11).

The second and third scenes resolve a related theme: the disciples could not comprehend Jesus’ predictions of the passion and resurrection because their meaning was concealed from them (Lk 9:45; 18:34). Thus, the eyes of the Emmaus pair “were kept from recognizing” Jesus (Lk 24:16), and they were “slow of heart” to believe (Lk 24:25). Jesus’ scriptural exposition was involved in “opening the Scriptures” to them (Lk 24:32). Jesus’ actions at table, recalling earlier meal scenes (Lk 24:30; cf. Lk 9:16; 22:19), triggered their eyes to be “opened” and their recognition of the risen Jesus (Lk 24:31). After Jesus’ tangible demonstration of his resurrection to his disciples, “he opened their minds to understand” the scriptural plan that Jesus had predicted (Lk 24:45-47).

4.3.3. Scriptural Fulfillment. An understanding of the Scriptures is the interpretive key to recognizing Jesus as the risen Messiah, who fulfills God’s saving plan. The Scriptures attest to the divine “must” (*dei*) regarding Jesus’ passion and resurrection (Lk 24:7, 26, 44). Luke underscores the totality of scriptural testimony (“all that the prophets declared” [Lk 24:25]; “beginning with Moses and all the prophets . . . all the Scriptures” [Lk 24:27]; “all the things” written about Jesus in “the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms” [Lk 24:44]). Readers must await the speeches in Acts for expositions of a range of texts dealing with Jesus’ resurrection (cf. esp. Acts 2:25-36; 13:33-41). Jesus’ messianic identity and mission are crucial to the scriptural fulfillment of the divine plan.

4.3.4. Christology. Two principal ideas dominate the *Christology in Luke’s resurrection narrative: the Messiah as the one who brings restoration to the people of God and *salvation to the nations.

The Emmaus pair believed that the crucifixion of Jesus signaled the death of Israel’s hope of salvation: “But we had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel” (Lk 24:21). This recalls earlier expectations con-

cerning God’s promises of salvation (Lk 1:46-55, 67-79; 2:28-32) and the preparation of God’s people for worship (Lk 1:16-17, 74-75). Major characters in the prologue proclaimed the divine “redemption” (Zechariah [Lk 1:68]; Anna [Lk 2:38]) or “consolation” of Israel (Simeon [Lk 2:25]) accompanying the coming of the Messiah. The resurrection of Jesus assures that such hope has not been dashed. Jesus is indeed “a prophet mighty in deed and word” who brings redemption from *slavery and restoration from exile (Lk 24:19). The allusion to Jesus as the prophet like *Moses (cf. Acts 3:22-23) builds upon earlier scenes. The transfiguration foreshadowed Jesus’ death and resurrection as an entrance into “his glory” (Lk 9:32; 24:26) and as an *exodos* liberation for God’s people (Lk 9:32). Jesus also repeated the same actions he did at the feeding of the five thousand (Lk 9:16; 24:30; cf. Lk 22:19), revealing himself to the Emmaus pair (Lk 24:31) as the exalted leader of Israel and the definitive interpreter of God’s purposes in Scripture (Lk 24:27, 32; cf. Lk 9:35) (see Anderson, 169-80).

In Luke 24:46-47 Jesus delineated the divine plan for the Messiah’s accomplishment of salvation in three steps: suffering, resurrection and universal proclamation of *repentance and *forgiveness of sins. The third item, though not mentioned in the earlier passion predictions, was previewed in Simeon’s oracle regarding the Messiah as “a light for revelation to the Gentiles” (Lk 2:29-32). In turn, the prophecy of Isaiah 49:6 stands behind Simeon’s words, as well as key texts in Acts that relate the universal reach of the God’s salvation (Acts 1:8; 13:47; 26:23). The “messianic triad” of Luke 24:46-47 will be accomplished by the risen Jesus, but through his Spirit-empowered witnesses, the apostles (Lk 24:48-49): they will consistently testify to Jesus’ death and resurrection and will proclaim the message of repentance and/or forgiveness of sins (Acts 2:22-39; 3:18-19; 5:30-31; 10:39-43; 13:27-39; 26:17-18).

4.4. John’s Resurrection Narrative. John’s Gospel features more appearances of the risen Jesus than any other Gospel. The stories occur in a double ending. Scholars commonly view John 20 as the end of an earlier edition of the Gospel, with the purpose statement in John 20:30-31 serving as the “original” conclusion. John 21 was appended later (though not necessarily by a different hand, since it is stylistically consistent), with a conclusion in John 21:25 that nicely complements John 20:30-31. Regardless of compositional history, the scenes in John 20—21 tie up many theological threads in the Gospel related to Christology, soteriology, pneumatology, discipleship and mission.

4.4.1. *John 20*. The narrative in *John 20* divides into two parts: (1) a series of three scenes early on the first day of the week centered around the empty tomb (Jn 20:1-18); (2) scenes behind locked doors on the evening of the first day and eight days later when Jesus appeared to his disciples (Jn 20:19-29). The scenes move progressively to ever more explicit evidences of Jesus' resurrection: from Mary Magdalene's observance of the empty tomb, to the Beloved Disciple's viewing the burial cloths in the tomb, to Jesus' appearances to Mary Magdalene and then to the disciples, and finally to the appearance to Thomas, in which Jesus invited him to touch his wounds. There is also a contrast between the model faith of the Beloved Disciple, who believed before seeing the resurrected Jesus himself, and Thomas, who refused to believe without visual and tactile proof.

In the first scene (Jn 20:1-2) Mary Magdalene came to the tomb while it was still dark. The scenic element of darkness advances the Johannine metaphors of light and darkness, which are correlated with belief and unbelief. The darkness before the dawn matches Mary's merely natural explanation for the empty tomb prior to her encounter with the resurrected Jesus. She opined to Simon Peter and the Beloved Disciple that somebody had removed Jesus to a different burial site. That this is what she assumed, rather than tomb robbery, is indicated by her repeated references to not knowing "where they have laid him" (Jn 20:2, 13, 15). The verb "laid" (*tithēmi*) refers to interment (Jn 11:34; 19:41, 42).

In the second scene (Jn 20:3-10) Peter and the *Beloved Disciple raced to the tomb. The Beloved Disciple is characterized as the ideal disciple. Not only did he beat Peter to the tomb, but also he was the first to see the burial cloths, and the first to believe. The description of the burial cloths is reminiscent of the resurrection of Lazarus. But whereas Lazarus emerged from the tomb with his hands and feet bound in linen cloths and his head wrapped in a head cloth (*soudarion* [Jn 11:44]), Jesus was liberated from the linen wrappings and the head cloth (*soudarion*), which were lying in separate places in the tomb (Jn 20:7). The careful description of the grave clothes indicates that Jesus had triumphed over death. That the Beloved Disciple "saw and believed" cannot mean that he merely acknowledged Mary Magdalene's explanation (an interpretation as old as Augustine). The rationale in *John 20:9* is confusing, but one of two interpretations seems most likely. "For they did not yet understand the Scripture, that he must rise from the dead" might imply that the Beloved Disciple believed in Jesus' resurrec-

tion despite not yet understanding its scriptural significance. Alternatively, it could mean that the Beloved Disciple had already come to a scripturally informed belief in the necessity of the resurrection (Jn 20:8), as opposed to the others ("they" [Jn 20:9])—that is, Peter, Mary and those for whom she speaks ("we" [Jn 20:2])—who had not yet come to this understanding (Heil 1995, 125).

The third scene (Jn 20:11-18) begins with Mary Magdalene standing alone outside the tomb, Peter and the Beloved Disciple having returned to their homes (Jn 20:10; cf. Jn 16:32). The text accents her state of grieving, stating her action of "weeping" three times (Jn 20:11, 13, 15), and her rationale twice (Jn 20:13, 15; cf. Jn 20:2). Mary encountered two angels in the tomb and then the risen Jesus himself. John describes the two angels as "sitting where the body of Jesus had been lying, one at the head and the other at the feet" (Jn 20:12). This description, like that of the burial clothes in the previous scene, points to the absence of Jesus' body from the tomb.

After turning around, Mary encountered Jesus, though she mistook him for the gardener. Her recognition of Jesus was sparked by Jesus' address to her as "Mary." She responded with the Aramaic title "rabbouni" (i.e., "teacher"). She heard the voice of the good *shepherd, who laid his life down for the sheep, and who knows and calls his sheep by name (Jn 10:3-4, 11, 14-15). However, she acknowledged him only as rabbi (cf. Jn 1:38), not as the exalted Son of Man (Jn 1:49-51). Hence, Jesus commanded her to stop clinging to him, "For I have not yet ascended to the Father" (Jn 20:17a). She did not understand that she would from now on have to relate to Jesus on a higher plane. Jesus' going "to the Father" (Jn 13:1; 14:6, 12, 28; 16:10, 17, 28) makes it possible for him to send the Paraclete (Jn 14:16, 26; 15:26, 16:7) and bring his disciples into unity with himself and his Father (Jn 17:11, 21-23). Thus, Jesus commissioned Mary to tell "my brothers," "I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God" (Jn 20:17b).

The final two scenes in *John 20* occurred a week apart. The first happened on the eve of resurrection day (Jn 20:19). Evidently, Jesus' ascent was imminent (futuristic present: "I am going to ascend to the Father" [Jn 20:17b]) or had already occurred in the prior scene (progressive present: "I am ascending to the Father"), for in *John 20:19-23* several promises from the farewell discourse related to his "going to the Father" are fulfilled. Twice Jesus bid them "Peace" (Jn 20:19, 21; cf. Jn 14:27; 16:33). After he showed them his hands and feet, their grief was turned to joy (Jn 20:20; cf. Jn 16:20-22). Finally, he

breathed on them, and they received the Holy Spirit (Jn 20:22)—that is, the Paraclete (Jn 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7)—a consequence of Jesus having been glorified (Jn 7:39). Jesus' commission of his disciples (Jn 20:21) entailed the authority to confer or withhold forgiveness of sins (Jn 20:23; cf. Lk 24:47).

The second scene occurred because Thomas had not been present at Jesus' first appearance to his disciples. Both Mary and the other disciples had "seen the Lord" (Jn 20:18, 20, 25), but Thomas would not believe until he too had personally seen Jesus' nail wounds and placed his hand in his side (Jn 20:25). Eight days later, when Jesus appeared again, he afforded Thomas the empirical proof that he demanded in order to secure his belief (Jn 20:27). There is no record of Thomas actually scrutinizing Jesus' wounds. Nevertheless, in response Thomas exclaimed the highest christological confession in John's Gospel: "My Lord and my God!" (Jn 20:28). Thomas fully recognized the risen and ascended Jesus as the way to the Father (Jn 14:5-7) and one with the Father (Jn 14:8-14; cf. Jn 10:30; 17:21).

4.4.2. *Appendix: John 21.* John 21, like Matthew 28:16-20; Luke 24:44-49, focuses less on Jesus' resurrection itself than on the restoration of his disciples and their commission as apostles who will engage in world mission. The chapter consists of four scenes that occurred alongside the Sea of Tiberias (Jn 21:1-8, 9-14, 15-19, 20-23) followed by a conclusion (Jn 21:24-25). The narrator states that this was the third instance the risen Jesus appeared to his disciples (Jn 21:14) (not counting the original appearance to Mary Magdalene). Four themes predominate in John 21, which we will examine here.

4.4.2.1. *Recognition of Jesus.* After the large catch of fish, the Beloved Disciple was the first to recognize the risen Lord (Jn 21:7). This is reminiscent of his primacy in believing in the resurrection on the basis of seeing the grave clothes left behind in the tomb (Jn 20:8). Once ashore, the disciples evidenced a certain ambivalence regarding their encounter with Jesus. None of them dared to ask, "Who are you?" because they knew it was the Lord (Jn 21:12). Perhaps they saw Jesus as the same recognizable person who even performed the mundane task of preparing breakfast, yet they also realized that he manifested (*phaneroō* [Jn 21:1, 14]) the divine glory (cf. Jn 2:11). Jesus had already defied the normal limitations of the human body by appearing to his disciples, though they were behind locked doors (Jn 20:19, 26) (see the helpful discussion of the risen Jesus' "transphysicality" in Wright, 477-78, 678-79).

4.4.2.2. *Commissioning.* The miraculous catch

and Peter's hauling in the net full of fish symbolize the universal mission of the disciples (Jn 21:6, 8). The scene of the action, the Sea of Tiberias (Jn 21:1; cf. Jn 6:1, 23), as well as Jesus' actions of taking and giving the bread and fish (Jn 21:13; cf. Jn 6:11) are reminiscent of Jesus' feeding of the five thousand. Jesus has included his disciples in the mission of giving the bread of life to the world (Jn 6:33, 51) and drawing all people to him (cf. Jn 21:8 with Jn 12:32). In the following scene Jesus also commissioned Peter to act as an undershepherd who feeds the sheep who belong to the good shepherd (Jn 21:15, 16, 17; cf. Jn 10:1-18).

4.4.2.3. *Rehabilitation of Peter.* The charcoal fire upon which Jesus grilled the fish already hinted at Peter's restoration (Jn 21:9), for he had denied Jesus while standing by a charcoal fire (Jn 18:18). Jesus inquired three times concerning Peter's love for him (Jn 21:15-17), deliberately corresponding to Peter's threefold denial (Jn 18:15-18, 25-27). But then Jesus also predicted that Peter eventually would die in a way that would glorify God (Jn 21:18-19). This is significant because Peter had vowed to follow Jesus even to the extent of laying down his life for him, but Jesus prophesied his denials (Jn 13:36-38). Jesus told him that he could not "follow" him prior to the crucifixion, but he would do so afterward (Jn 13:36). Therefore, in his final appearance Jesus commanded Peter, "Follow me" (Jn 21:19, 22).

4.4.2.4. *Authorization of the Beloved Disciple.* The closing scene probably addressed a crisis among early readers of John's Gospel precipitated by the death of the Beloved Disciple. Peter's curiosity about the Beloved Disciple's fate had prompted Jesus' retort, "If it is my will that he remain until I come, what is that to you?" (Jn 21:22). The story generated a rumor that Jesus had predicted that the Beloved Disciple would not die (Jn 21:23a) (presumably until Christ's second coming [cf. Mk 9:1]). The narrator was keen to explain that Jesus' statement about the Beloved Disciple was not a prophecy, but a hypothetical (Jn 21:23b). The Gospel closes with an affidavit concerning the Beloved Disciple's truthful testimony (Jn 21:24) and a statement of how voluminous the full record of Jesus' deeds could be (Jn 21:25).

See also APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING; ASCENSION OF JESUS; BURIAL OF JESUS; DEATH OF JESUS; ESCHATOLOGY; EXILE AND RESTORATION; LAZARUS; LIFE, ETERNAL LIFE; PREDICTIONS OF JESUS' PASSION AND RESURRECTION; SIGN OF JONAH.

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REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

Revolutionary movements were a Jewish response to the injustice of *Israel's oppressors. Although the Maccabean Revolt (168/7–164 B.C.) can be seen as an important precursor for the later revolutionary movements by the Jews, this article concentrates on the Jewish resistance movements against the Roman Empire (see Rome).

The first century A.D. was one of the most violent epochs of Jewish history, with the cauldron of unrest reaching its apex in the destruction of *Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70. This in turn was punctuated by the mass suicide of Jewish rebel forces at Masada in A.D. 74. Sixty years later the smoldering embers from this war were fanned into flame by the Jewish leader Simon bar Kokhba (or Kosiba), who led the second revolt against the Romans in A.D. 132-35.

1. Up to the First Revolt
2. The Second (Bar Kokhba) Revolt
3. Jesus, Christians and the Revolutionaries
4. Conclusion

1. Up to the First Revolt.

The causes of this unrest were many and varied, but the following factors contributed to a milieu ripe for revolution: foreign military occupation, class conflicts, misconduct of Jewish and Roman officials, Hellenization (see Hellenism), burdensome taxation (see Economics) and the *Samaritan situation. When the Roman army occupied a land, it was accompanied by thousands of civilians (wives, children, doctors, merchants, etc.). The army lived off the occupied country, pilfering its natural resources, enslaving members of its population, raping women and generally terrorizing the populace. The gentry of Palestine collaborated with the occupying forces and, in exchange for personal safety and affluence, aided Israel's oppressors. This collusion led to class conflict between the *rich and the poor, the loyal and the disloyal, the rulers and the people (see Horsley and Hanson).

With conditions so difficult for the average Palestinian Jew, it is not surprising that there was a good deal of revolutionary activity among them. This took a variety of forms.

1.1. Social Bandits. Generally speaking, social banditry arises in agrarian societies where peasants are exploited by the government or ruling class. Social bandits are the “Robin Hoods” of the land and usually increase during times of economic crisis, famine, high taxation and social disruption. The people of the land typically side with the bandits because they are champions of justice for the common people. These brigands function as symbols of the country’s fundamental sense of justice and its basic religious loyalties.

In 57 B.C. Gabinius, proconsul in Syria, gave increased power to the nobility, thereby putting extreme pressure on the peasantry. In response, the peasantry rebelled, and not until a decade later was Palestine able to effectively govern itself again. It is therefore not surprising to find social banditry on the rise during and after this period of civil war and economic hardship. In fact, *Josephus reports that a certain Hezekiah led a band of social bandits who raided the Syrian border (*J.W.* 1.204-211; *Ant.* 14.159-174). Herod (*see* Herodian Dynasty), when he was governing *Galilee, caught and killed Hezekiah and many of his cohorts. These deaths, however, did not mark the end of social banditry. Years later Herod was still trying to exterminate the brigands (*J.W.* 1.304). In 39-38 B.C. Herod assembled an army to track down these social bandits in order to consolidate his power as Rome’s client king. Josephus notes that there was a “large force of brigands” (*J.W.* 1.303-304). Undoubtedly, these social bandits were attacking the gentry who were in league with Herod. The brigands retreated to the caves near Arbela but were strong enough to continue to harass the gentry and challenge Herod’s complete control of the land until he finally managed to exterminate them (*J.W.* 1.309-314).

Since sources from Herod’s later reign contain no references to social bandits, this attack may have extinguished them, but this is an argument from silence. Indeed, until the end of the reign of Agrippa I (A.D. 44) there is very little evidence for active resistance through social banditry. In Mark 15:27, however, two “bandits” (*lēstai*) are mentioned. Also, Barabbas in the Gospel passion narrative is said to have been “in prison with the rebels who had committed murder during the insurrection” (Mk 15:7), and he is called a “bandit” (*lēstēs*) in John 18:40. Josephus also mentions a certain Tholomy as a bandit leader during the procuratorship of Fadus (A.D. 44-

46) (*Ant.* 20.5), but he was likely not the only one. It seems that around the middle of the first century A.D., probably as a result of a severe famine, social banditry sharply increased. Eleazar was one of these brigands, and he enjoyed a twenty-year career (*J.W.* 2.253). Actions taken by the authorities seem to have only proliferated Palestinian banditry. Cumanus (A.D. 48-52) took aggressive military action against the brigands, but they merely retreated into their strongholds, and “after this time all Judea was overrun with robberies” (*Ant.* 20.6.1 §124).

Just before the Jewish Revolt the rich and the poor were sharply polarized, taxation was very high, Roman oppression was grievous, justice was perverted, and poverty was widespread. Consequently, Jewish banditry swelled to epidemic proportions, so that a sizable number of the population were outlaws. This situation obviously took its toll on the gentry and contributed to the spiraling social unrest. Without doubt, social banditry is a major factor to be considered in any study of the First Jewish Revolt.

As the revolt broke out, the bandits played an important role in resisting the Roman army’s forays into Judea and Galilee, with brigand groups dominating the region of Galilee. The effectiveness of the brigands against Rome was due not only to their impressive military strength, but also to their favorable relationship with the peasants and their ability to build alliances with other rebel forces. The most important contribution made by these social bandits was their highly effective use of guerrilla warfare, which they demonstrated in routing the army of Cestius Gallus in A.D. 66. Ultimately, however, the brigands failed in their attempt to free Palestine from Roman rule.

1.2. Messianic Pretenders. In Judaism prior to the first century A.D. there was no single messianic expectation held by Jews (*see* Christ). Furthermore, “messiah,” as a title, does not appear frequently in pre-Christian literature. Only after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, when rabbinic theological reflection standardized and popularized the term, does “messiah” appear frequently with essentially the same meaning in each usage. The scarcity of the term, however, does not suggest that there were no expectations of an anointed royal Jewish leader. The OT had begun to shape an expectation with its promises of a “branch” that God would raise for David (*see* Son of David). This notion can be seen in Jeremiah 23:5-6 and also in Isaiah 11:1-9, where the “shoot . . . from the stump of Jesse” will judge the poor with righteousness. Micah also prophesied about a ruler of Israel coming from Bethlehem (Mic

5:2). But it is inaccurate to speak of a widespread OT expectation of a messiah.

During the period of Persian and Hellenistic domination there is also little evidence of a messianic hope. The promises to David and the prophecies of a future Davidic king were known during these periods (Sir 47:11, 22; 1 Macc 2:57), but their fulfillment was postponed to the distant future. This is also probably the case during the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, although a few references may be interpreted otherwise (1 En. 90:9, 37-38; 1 Macc 3:4). During the Hasmonean period, however, the hope of an anointed royal figure who would deliver Israel became more prominent. At Qumran (see Dead Sea Scrolls) there were apparently two anointed figures: a high priestly messiah and the prince of the congregation, a lay head of the eschatological community. The *Psalms of Solomon* was written in the wake of the 63 B.C. Roman conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, who is referred to as "the dragon" (Pss. Sol. 2:25), and a Davidic king who is called "the Lord Messiah" (Pss. Sol. 17:32) is said to purge Jerusalem from Gentile domination. But among extant writings only those coming from the period following the death of Herod (4 B.C.) refer unambiguously to a promised anointed figure.

Around the turn of the era there existed four broad types of messianic expectation: king, priest, prophet and heavenly messiah. Although sometimes some of these categories merged into a single figure, the general tendency was to distinguish between different offices (see Collins 2010). One popular manifestation of the messianic expectation in first-century A.D. Judaism was Davidic royal claimants.

After the death of Herod in 4 B.C. the Jews pressed Herod's son and heir apparent, Archelaus, for a number of reforms. During the Passover, when the demands reached a feverish pitch, Archelaus sent his armies into Jerusalem and massacred thousands of worshiping pilgrims. This action catalyzed revolt in every major area of Herod's kingdom, and some of these revolts took the form of messianic movements. Josephus identifies several leaders of these movements: Judas, the son of Ezekias (*Ant.* 17.271-272; *J.W.* 2.56); Simon, servant of King Herod (*Ant.* 17.273-276); and Athronges (*Ant.* 17.278-285). Josephus clearly indicates that these men aspired to be Israel's king (*Ant.* 17.285; *J.W.* 2.55). All of these messianic figures were of humble origins, and their followers were primarily peasants (see Barnett).

The principal goal of these revolutionaries was to overthrow the Herodian and Roman domination of Palestine. In addition to fighting the Romans, these

revolutionaries attacked the mansions of the aristocracy and the royal residences. This undoubtedly revealed the frustration of years of social inequality. In response, Varus, legate of Syria, dispatched two legions (six thousand troops each) and four regiments of cavalry (five hundred troops each). This was in addition to the troops already in Judea and the auxiliary troops provided by the city-states and client kings in the area. In spite of this military might, these messianic movements were difficult to subdue.

Because of the lack of sources, it is difficult to identify any messianic movements between the aforementioned revolts and those surrounding the First Jewish Revolt (except, of course, the followers of Jesus). With regard to the First Jewish Revolt, Josephus notes two messianic movements that bear mentioning. The first was led by Manahem, son of Judas the Galilean, who took some of the men of note with him and retired to Masada, where he broke open King Herod's armory and gave arms not only to his own people, but also to other robbers. These he made use of for a guard and returned in the state of a king to Jerusalem; he became the leader of the sedition and gave orders for continuing the siege (*J.W.* 2.433-434; cf. *J.W.* 2.422-424).

The second messianic movement mentioned by Josephus was built around Simon bar Giora (i.e., "Simon son of a proselyte"). In A.D. 66, at the outbreak of the war, Simon helped aid the Jews against Cestius by attacking the Roman rear guard (*J.W.* 2.521). Simon's messianic movement was also motivated by the social oppression exerted by Israel's aristocracy. When Simon had gained control of the Judean and Idumean countryside, the citizens of Jerusalem invited him to lead the defense against Rome. After a power struggle in which he forced the Zealots and John of Gischala aside, Simon took control of Jerusalem (*J.W.* 4.556-577). Simon was a strict disciplinarian and did well in his struggle against the Romans, but the Roman army was overwhelmingly powerful. Adorned in a white tunic and a purple cape as the king of the Jews, Simon surrendered and was taken to Rome. There he was ritually executed (*J.W.* 7.26-36, 153-157). The messianic movement led by Simon was the largest of all the movements described by Josephus, lasting nearly two years. It may have been fueled by eschatological hopes. Josephus tries to explain how a messianic prophecy in the Scripture, according to him, misguidedly drove Jews to their hopeless war against the Romans: "But now, what did the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was also found in their sacred writings, how, 'about that time, one

from their country should become governor of the habitable earth.' The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular, and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea" (*J.W.* 6.312-313).

Although Josephus does not specify the biblical passage, one likely candidate is a combination of Daniel 2 and Daniel 9. A calculation of end times as mid-60s A.D. based on the prophecy about "seventy weeks" of years in Daniel 9:24-27, together with the hope of a world ruler who would destroy the fourth kingdom of Daniel 2:34-35, 44, might have fueled the Jewish messianic fervor in the 60s (see Wright; Grabbe).

The final messianic movement in recorded Jewish antiquity (A.D. 132-35) was led by Simon bar Kokhba (see 2 below).

1.3. Revolutionary Prophets. Despite the amount of prophetic activity prior to the first century A.D., there is virtually no evidence for a Jewish expectation of the imminent return of the promised eschatological *prophet. Nor were there vivid expectations for the appearance of the prophet like *Moses mentioned in Deuteronomy 18:18. There may have been some expectations for the return of *Elijah, but a claimant to this identity never materialized. Thus, the appearance of any popular prophet of reputed eschatological significance was more than just the fulfillment of a popular expectation.

A helpful distinction has been made between "popular prophetic movements" and "oracular prophets" (Horsley and Hanson). The latter group were similar in character to the classical oracular prophets such as Hosea or Jeremiah; they prophesied either *judgment or deliverance. Oracular prophets proclaiming deliverance appeared just prior to and during the First Jewish Revolt. Typically, those oracular prophets who pronounced judgment were not well received, being perceived by the establishment as a threat and consequently silenced.

1.3.1. Popular Prophets. Popular prophetic movements, on the other hand, had leaders who led sizeable movements of peasants. The political authorities generally viewed this activity as an insurrection and therefore forced a military confrontation. These prophets and their followers generally arose in anticipation of the appearance of God's eschatological liberation. This liberation was perceived as imminent, and when it arrived, the Jews would be freed from their political bondage and would again govern Palestine, the land that God had given to them as their own possession. The leaders of these popular

prophetic movements were dismissed by Josephus as imposters and demagogues deceiving the people (*J.W.* 2.259; cf. *Ant.* 20.168).

These popular prophets, preying on social conditions, apparently taught that God was about to transform their society—characterized by oppression and social injustice—into a society marked by *peace, prosperity and righteousness. Responding to the call, large numbers of peasants left their homes, their work and their communities to follow these charismatic leaders into the desert. There in the wilderness they awaited God to manifest his presence through signs and wonders, purify his people, and unveil the eschatological plan of redemption that he had previously revealed to his prophet. At this juncture God himself would act and defeat Israel's enemies.

1.3.1.1. The Samaritan. The first of these prophets appeared when Pontius Pilate was prefect. Interestingly, this first movement appeared among the Samaritans. The Samaritans, like the Jews, revered Moses as the prophet and cultivated hopes for a future Mosaic prophet who was discussed in terms of the Taheb ("restorer"). The Taheb would appear and restore Solomon's temple on Mount Gerizim. Josephus tells of a Samaritan prophet who summoned people to go to Mount Gerizim, promising to show them the holy vessels buried by Moses. A large crowd gathered at the nearby village of Tirathaba, but this movement was perceived by Pilate as seditious, and was quickly suppressed (*Ant.* 18.85-87).

1.3.1.2. Theudas. Perhaps ten years later, about A.D. 45, a second major prophetic movement began. A certain Theudas organized one of these prophetic movements during the reign of Fadus (A.D. 44-46). Although Josephus calls him a "magician" (*goēs*), Theudas claimed to be a prophet and persuaded a large crowd to follow him to the Jordan River, promising that at his command the river would be divided (*Ant.* 20.97-98). Perhaps Theudas, in some sort of reverse exodus, saw himself as the new Moses leading the people out of bondage (like Egypt) and across the Jordan (like the Red Sea) into the wilderness to be divinely prepared for the new conquest. Fadus, taking no chances, acted decisively, thus showing his fear of such movements. The movement's swift annihilation almost certainly indicates that, unlike the messianic movements, this prophetic band was unarmed. Theudas's posthumous public humiliation by the ceremonial parading of his severed head was intended to send a stern warning to any would-be leaders of similar prophetic movements.

Acts 5:36 also mentions a Theudas, but this refer-

ence is not without a serious chronological problem. It is possible that he is not the same person as the Theudas whom Josephus describes.

1.3.1.3. *The Egyptian*. Another movement, about ten years later, involved a Jewish prophet who originated from Egypt (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.169-171; *J.W.* 2.261-263; cf. Acts 21:38). Josephus records that this prophet had thirty thousand followers who were to march from the wilderness to the Mount of Olives and then into Jerusalem. Felix sent Roman troops to slaughter all those involved in the movement. The Roman army easily defeated this prophetic band even though the Egyptian himself escaped.

It seems fairly clear that these prophetic movements saw themselves in some sort of continuity with Israel's past great historical deliverances. They also had an eschatological dimension to their claim that God was about to deliver Israel and grant their autonomy in the promised land.

1.3.2. *Oracular Prophets*. The second category of prophets, the oracular prophets, pronounced imminent divine deliverance or judgment; these prophets were concentrated around the First Jewish Revolt. Josephus (*J.W.* 6.300-309) recalls with considerable detail a certain prophet Jesus, son of Ananus. This Jesus appeared four years before the First Jewish Revolt, during a time when Jerusalem was "in very great peace and prosperity," and prophesied against Jerusalem for seven years and five months. In the end he was struck by a stone from a war engine and was killed. As the war began and the number of prophets increased, the Jews were urged to await help from God (*J.W.* 6.286-287). Even at the end of the war, when the temple had already been sacked and set afire, a prophet pronounced to six thousand refugees that they would receive "miraculous signs of their deliverance." Every one of those six thousand perished (*J.W.* 6.283-285).

1.4. *Apocalypticists*. Revolutionary movements are a complex phenomenon. Resistance against empires consists not only of visible, physical acts of rebellion, but also of texts and discourses that seek to resist the imperial domination and its ideology. The latter become the basis for the former (Horsley 2008; Portier-Young). Thus, Jewish *apocalypticism became a powerful counterimperial ideology of the Jewish people under Hellenistic and Roman imperial dominion. The apocalyptic texts produced by Judean scribes became powerful tools for resistance against imperial rule (Horsley 2009).

The apocalypticists do not seem to have been a party per se, but many of the Jews in the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 100, including some of the oracular

prophets, apparently became persuaded by *apocalyptic *eschatology. For the apocalypticists, Israel's situation looked funereal. It was a depressing period of unfulfilled hopes, shattered eschatological dreams, conflict with the ruling class, lack of an authorized prophetic spokesperson and, above all, periods of persecution for the righteous who remained faithful to the Torah. At the same time, the Hellenized and severely compromised Jewish aristocracy was prospering. This situation, perceived as a crisis by some within Israel, forced a search for creative solutions. This gave rise to an apocalyptic eschatology that represented a new interpretation of human history and destiny, with new emphases and insights. While maintaining continuity with the prophetic eschatology of the past, it developed in a direction that was at once dualistic, cosmic, universalistic, transcendental and individualistic.

Apocalyptic eschatology led to an emphasis on otherworldliness and a disinterest in temporal affairs. With their stress on cosmic dualism, the apocalypticists understood the real battle to be in the heavens between the powers. They were called upon, therefore, to participate with Michael and the heavenly host in the battle against evil (see Angels). The Qumran *War Scroll* describes the eschatological war between the "sons of light" and the "sons of darkness." The latter, led by Belial, includes the army of the "Kittim," which in the first-century A.D. context referred to the Romans. The "king of the Kittim" (1QM XV, 2) would then be the Roman emperor. The primary weapon of this warfare was prayer, but it also included personal holiness and faithfulness to the Torah, even if that meant severe trial. In this way, the apocalypticists could defeat Israel's oppressor and rightly be classified as a "revolutionary movement."

The apocalypticists believed that in the end God would intervene in human history and defeat the Gentile powers, thus vindicating his own people. This optimistic belief may explain the mystery of why the various factions of rebels in Jerusalem spent enormous energy fighting each other instead of being united in fighting against the Romans (Grabbe).

After the defeat of the First Jewish Revolt and the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple in A.D. 70, several apocalypses were written in reaction to this national tragedy. The book 4 *Ezra* deals extensively with the question of theodicy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem by the Gentiles. Set in the time of biblical Ezra, in the narrative world of the book they refer to the Babylonians, but for the first-century A.D. readers of the book, they clearly refer to the Romans. Ezra laments the fate of Jerusalem, but

also he receives an eschatological hope for Israel. In a night vision Ezra sees an eagle, symbolizing the Roman Empire. The eagle is rebuked by a lion (i.e., the Messiah), and eventually is destroyed (4 *Ezra* 11:1–12:35). In the end, although 4 *Ezra* defends God's justice in judging Jerusalem, it also provides a future hope for Israel and the ultimate destruction of Rome. In a similar vein, 2 *Baruch* talks about the judgment and destruction of the "fourth kingdom" (i.e., Rome) by God's anointed one (2 *Bar.* 39–40). The destruction of the temple is also the central theme of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Toward the end of the book it also talks about the eschatological judgment of the oppressors of God's people (*Apoc. Ab.* 29–31). Thus, in the apocalyptic responses to the defeat of the First Jewish Revolt the hope of a final victory over the Roman Empire had not died out, which may have provided the theological background for the Second Jewish Revolt.

1.5. The Fourth Philosophy. Josephus mentions, in addition to the *Pharisees, *Sadducees and *Essenes, a "Fourth Philosophy." The precise identities of the Fourth Philosophy, the Sicarii and the Zealots, as well as the relationship of these three to each other, have been a matter of continuous scholarly debate. Although many have linked this Fourth Philosophy with the Zealots and the Sicarii, R. Horsley and J. Hanson have persuasively argued that this identification is not correct (Horsley and Hanson). On the one hand, Judas the Galilean was a teacher with his own party (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.118), but on the other hand, the people of the sect "agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord" (*Ant.* 18.23). At least prima facie, the Fourth Philosophy was a branch of Pharisaism in which certain teachers (e.g., Judas, Saddok) advocated a strongly proactive stance against Roman rule. Horsley and Hanson suggest that the advocacy of resistance against Rome was rooted in four interrelated concepts.

The first concept was related to taxes. To pay tax to Rome was considered equivalent to slavery. Second, Israel was to be ruled solely by God. To submit to foreign rule was no less than idolatry and a violation of the first commandment of the Decalogue. Third, God would work synergistically through his faithful people if they would stand firm and actively resist their oppressors. Fourth, if Israel would demonstrate their resistance, God would work through them to establish his kingdom on earth.

Judas is mentioned in Acts 5:37. In Gamaliel's counsel to the Sanhedrin he talks about Judas to-

gether with Theudas and Jesus, both of whom were considered prophets and messianic claimants. Based on this treatment in Acts, as well as Judas's exhortation for the Jews to assert liberty (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4), C. Evans thinks that he was another messianic claimant. Evans nevertheless admits that his primary roll was that of a teacher.

Indeed, although Josephus seems to indicate the Fourth Philosophy provided an ideological basis for later violent activities, he never describes this resistance as armed rebellion. In fact, they seem instead to be willing sufferers and cared little about either their own deaths or those of their relatives and friends (*Ant.* 18.23). The assumption that the Fourth Philosophy called people to armed rebellion has led to the mistaken identification of the Fourth Philosophy with the Zealots, with Judas as the founder of the movement. Instead of armed resistance, proponents of the Fourth Philosophy felt that if they remained firm and resisted Rome without shrinking from violent deaths, God certainly would assist them (see *Ant.* 18.5). If this understanding of the Fourth Philosophy is correct, this group could trace its ideological lineage to the martyrs under Antiochus Epiphanes.

The martyrological tradition, though it had antecedents, largely developed in the second century B.C. when Israel was experiencing severe persecution. The aristocracy had compromised its faith and was cooperating with the oppressing nation, while those faithful to the Torah were experiencing severe persecution. The suffering of the righteous, however, was interpreted as "warfare." Part of the worldview of these pious Jews was the belief that their innocent suffering would be so heinous that it would force God to act, almost in a reflex action. This notion is most obvious in the words of Taxo in the *Testament of Moses*: "If we . . . die, our blood will be avenged before the Lord and then his kingdom shall appear throughout all his creation. . . . He shall . . . avenge them of their enemies. . . . He will go forth from his holy habitation with indignation and wrath on account of his sons" (*T. Mos.* 9:7–10:3).

The martyrdom of the innocent Taxo and his sons was portrayed by the author of the *Testament of Moses* to provoke God to action because of the cry of innocent blood. God's response would be no less than the complete annihilation of Israel's enemies and the appearance of the eschatological kingdom (see Kingdom of God/Heaven). This perspective also appears in literature from this period, especially 4 Maccabees.

The book of 4 Maccabees was written sometime just before the First Jewish Revolt as an encomium

to the martyrs under Antiochus Epiphanes. The book includes a reworking of the story of the martyrdoms of the priest Eleazar and of the seven brothers and their mother found in 2 Maccabees 6–7. The purpose of the book was not only to apotheosize the martyrs, but also to encourage those who were facing similar trials to stand firm and fight against the opposition with the weapons of obedience and suffering. The author clearly perceives the martyrs' struggle as nothing less than war. It is a conflict of good against evil, God against Satan. The mother of the seven sons has earned the complete respect of the author as an assailant in the battle against Antiochus. He gives her the title "soldier of God" (4 Macc 16:14) and remarks in amazement at her spirited combat. The writer attributes the vindication of the nation to the struggles of the martyrs (4 Macc 17:10).

This evidence suggests that the martyrs, by their innocent suffering, participated in the war against Antiochus and were the principal agents of victory. Their suffering was the decisive factor in the war effort. If R. Horsley is indeed correct in his identification of the Fourth Philosophy, these martyrs, with their theology of martyrdom, are likely to have been its antecedents, and the Fourth Philosophy held many, if not all, of the aforementioned theological constructs. Although this was principally a theology of suffering, the outcome was victory over Israel's enemies and therefore no less a revolutionary movement than any other.

1.6. The Sicarii. The name "Sicarii" was derived from the weapon that its adherents employed, a curved dagger like the Roman *sica* (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.186). Josephus describes them thus: "When the country was purged of these, there sprang up another type of robbers in Jerusalem, which were called Sicarii, who killed men in the daytime, and in the midst of the city; this they did chiefly at the festivals, when they mingled themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the murderers became a part of those who had indignation against them; by which means they appeared persons of such reputation, that they could by no means be discovered" (*J.W.* 2.254–255).

This famous passage from Josephus had been much exploited to characterize the Sicarii as urban assassins in contrast to rural robbers. This understanding of the Sicarii, however, has been challenged in recent scholarship (see Brighton 2009; 2011). Although Josephus calls attention to their use of daggers in order to explain the origin of their name,

overall he describes the activities of the Sicarii in broader terms, not limited to the use of daggers or to urban settings (see *Ant.* 20.187). Rather, his use of the term "Sicarii" loosely refers to a group of Jews who acted against their own people for religious or political reasons. This understanding of the Sicarii fits well with the use of the term in Acts 21:38, where a Roman tribune asks Paul if he is the Egyptian who led four thousand *sikarioi* out into the wilderness.

In any case, obviously these violent tactics are not those of the Fourth Philosophy. Josephus, however, seems to suggest a connection in the leadership: Eleazar, leader of the Sicarii at the outbreak of the revolt, was Judas of Galilee's grandson or perhaps son (see *J.W.* 7.253–254). This could mean that there was some degree of correspondence between the religio-political orientations of these two groups. More likely, however, Josephus lumped various revolutionary groups together into a single family, originating from Judas, in order to deflect Roman suspicion from the rest of the Jews (McLaren).

The tactics of assassinations first appeared during the reign of Felix in the A.D. 50s (see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.254–257, 264–265; *Ant.* 20.163–165, 186–188). Unlike the social bandits who preyed on Roman petty officials and supply trains, the Sicarii apparently attacked the Jewish aristocracy. These attacks took one of three forms. First, there were the selective assassinations of the ruling elite. The assassination of the high priest Jonathan, which was committed under the initiative of Felix (*Ant.* 20.163), is an example. This shows that the Sicarii sometimes even collaborated with the Roman authority. Second, the Sicarii slaughtered selected pro-Roman members of the Jewish aristocracy who lived in the countryside. These attacks also included plundering and burning selected aristocratic estates (*J.W.* 2.264–265; *Ant.* 20.172). Third, the Sicarii practiced terrorist hostage taking (*Ant.* 20.208–210).

These attacks by the Sicarii helped precipitate a revolutionary situation. They led to distrust among the ruling elite and fear among the aristocracy, and they catalyzed the fragmentation of the social order. That which normally provided the upper class with security began to erode, and vague feelings of anxiety and insecurity came in their place; anyone could be next. The fragmentation of the ruling class was inevitable; individual personal safety became society's most important value. Thus, instead of engaging in cooperative efforts to protect their interests, the ecclesiastical aristocracy and ruling class began hiring personal armies to do so (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.206–207). By responding with force and violence,

the ruling class further contributed to the breakdown of the social fiber and helped set the stage for the First Jewish Revolt.

The Sicarii's role in the revolt itself seems quite limited. Apparently, they were not in the midst of the fray at first, but before long they entered the action. They helped in the siege of the upper city and its aristocratic inhabitants (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.425); they also helped raze the royal palaces and the residence of the high priest Ananias. Shortly thereafter conflict broke out between the Sicarii and the rest of the revolutionary forces. Within weeks the main body of the Sicarii either had been executed, had retreated to Masada, or had fled into hiding. The Sicarii who occupied Masada sat out the rest of the war and preyed upon the surrounding countryside for their food supplies. In A.D. 73/74 the Romans attacked Masada, one of their last holdouts, only to find, after a long siege, virtually all of its occupants had committed suicide and only a few women and children remained (*J.W.* 7.320-406).

1.7. The Zealots. Although Luke mentions a certain Simon the "Zealot" (*zēlōtēs*) (Lk 6:15; Acts 1:13), this is probably a characterizing name (i.e., Simon was zealous) rather than a technical term identifying his affiliation with a revolutionary party (*see* Disciples). The Zealot party *per se* was not formed until the winter of A.D. 67-68. The party's origins can be traced back to the clash between the Roman procurator Florus (A.D. 64-66) and the Jerusalem citizenry. During his term Florus had pilfered the *temple treasure, allowed his army to loot the city, and attempted to capture and control the temple. With such abuses left without redress and the city in a rebellious mood, the lower priests began to agitate for war. The temple captain, Eleazar, son of Ananias, provided leadership and, together with the lower priests and the revolutionary leaders of the populace, decided to terminate the sacrifices offered twice each day on behalf of Rome and the Roman emperor (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.409-410). Previously, the offering of this sacrifice had been negotiated as a satisfactory substitute for emperor worship and therefore was a tangible sign of Jewish loyalty to Rome. Thus, the refusal to offer sacrifices was tantamount to a declaration of war; it broke the peace treaty and Israel was now regarded as outside the Roman Empire (*J.W.* 2.415).

The chief priests and leading Pharisees, however, resisted the changes, and civil war soon broke out. Eleazar was joined by the Sicarii (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.425), and together they defeated their rivals. But a power struggle ensued, with the Sicarii battling El-

eazar and his faithful. The Sicarii were defeated and took refuge in Masada. Manahem, their leader, was captured and executed (*J.W.* 2.441-448). Eleazar was now in control in Jerusalem. In August of A.D. 66, however, Cestius, the governor of Syria, bolstered with Roman forces, attacked Jerusalem. Through an unexpected turn of events, Cestius abandoned the siege of Jerusalem and, in the process of retreat, lost a good number of troops. Buoyed by their success, most of Jerusalem and Judea rallied around the revolutionary cause. It is important to note that the revolt was supported by the local Jewish ruling class, because without their backing no serious rebellion against Rome was possible (Goodman). Now basically unified, the nation named Joseph the son of Gorion and the high priest Ananus as its head (*J.W.* 2.563).

The Romans then began their reconquest. During the summer and fall of A.D. 67 they had subdued Galilee and were marching through Judea. The brigands and revolutionary forces in these areas were retreating. As these fugitives, as well as those from Idumea and Perea, took refuge in the city, their own views seemed to resonate with those lower priests who had started the revolt with the cessation of the sacrifices on behalf of Rome. This new coalition is the group that Josephus calls "Zealots" (*zēlōtai*) (*J.W.* 4.160-161). The Zealots agitated against the ecclesiastical aristocracy and soon decided to assert themselves. First, they attacked some Herodian nobles against whom they still had some "ancient quarrel" and who also were accused of treason (*J.W.* 4.140-146). These "ancient quarrels" almost certainly were focused on those members of the nobility who were wealthy landowners with a large number of peasants indebted to them. The Zealots, regardless of the Roman threat, were also fighting a class war against the Jewish aristocracy.

Obviously, this activity against the Herodian nobility would give rise to anxiety throughout the rest of Israel's upper class. If this discriminate violence were not enough, the Zealots elected by lot their own people to priestly offices, even installing an uneducated lay person in the office of high priest (Josephus, *J.W.* 4.152-157). Without doubt, the Zealots were conspiring for political control. Given the inflammatory nature of this Zealot activity, it is no surprise that the Jewish aristocracy immediately turned on the Zealots and viciously attacked them. Incited by Ananus and Jesus son of Gamala, both high priests, the people of Jerusalem forced the Zealots into the inner court (*J.W.* 4.196-204). Trapped in the temple, the Zealots contacted sympathizers outside

of Jerusalem to free them (*J.W.* 4.224-232). The Idumeans responded, freeing the Zealots and slaughtering Ananus and Jesus (*J.W.* 4.316). While they were at it, a number of other nobles also were assassinated. There was yet another purge of Jerusalem's nobility, and this one also included many who were formerly in power, as well as the wealthy.

Within the Zealot ranks, however, all was not well. Many of the Zealots were not responsive to the dictatorial ways of John of Gischala. Since John could not gain absolute authority among the Zealots, he broke away to form his own revolutionary faction (Josephus, *J.W.* 4.389-396). John's independence, however, was short-lived. The messianic movement by Simon bar Giora was a threat to the Zealot regime in Jerusalem, and a significant part of John's army deserted, so that John and the Zealots again formed an alliance. This alliance, however, did not prevent Simon from attempting to liberate the city from the Zealots and John (*J.W.* 4.573-576). Simon was able to force the Zealots back into the temple (*J.W.* 4.577-584). The faction-prone Zealots split over the leadership of John. Josephus records that for a time there was even a three-way battle raging. Simon bar Giora, in control of Jerusalem, pressed in upon John of Gischala, who was fighting to control the temple courtyard and was caught between Simon and the rest of the Zealot party, who were in the inner court above the temple (*J.W.* 5.2-24). Shortly thereafter, John was able to reconcile himself to the rest of the Zealot party, although he was able to accomplish this only by way of trickery. John was now the Zealot leader again (*J.W.* 5.98-105).

By this time the Romans, led by Titus, were at Jerusalem's gates; this threat galvanized the rival factions to form a united front. The Jews, however, were no match for the Romans. During the siege the Zealots were the smallest of the rival groups and therefore had the least significant role to play (2,400 Zealots, six thousand under John of Gischala, fifteen thousand under Simon bar Giora) (*J.W.* 5.248-250). Nevertheless, the Zealots, in spite of their less significant role, did fight courageously to the end in cooperation with their Jewish rivals against the overwhelming military strength of the Romans.

The Zealots should be remembered primarily for their thwarting of the nobility's plan to negotiate a settlement with the Romans. Moreover, the Zealots were not the Fourth Philosophy mentioned by Josephus; indeed, they were not a sect or philosophy at all. Furthermore, the Zealots were not in the vanguard among those who were agitating for rebellion, but once the revolt was underway and the only

choice was to fight or to flee, they stayed and fought to the death.

2. The Second (Bar Kokhba) Revolt.

Between the First and Second Jewish Revolts in Palestine, the Jews in the Diaspora revolted during the reign of Trajan (A.D. 115-117). The Jews in Cyrene were led by a certain Lucuas into rebellion (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.2.3-4). The Jews destroyed pagan temples and killed Gentiles, indicating the religious and possibly messianic undertone of the revolt. The revolt spread into Egypt, Cyprus and Mesopotamia. It is possible that the Jews in Palestine also revolted against Rome during this period, but there is no firm evidence for this.

The Second Jewish Revolt against the Romans in Judea broke out in the summer of A.D. 132. This time most of the Jews were united under a single leader, Simon ben Kosiba, also known as Bar Kokhba ("Son of the Star"), based on the messianic interpretation of Numbers 24:17. He was indeed hailed as the "King Messiah" by Rabbi Akiba, although not all agreed with him (*y. Ta'an.* 4:5).

Archeological evidence concerning the Second Jewish Revolt includes Bar Kokhba coins (restamped Roman coins) and numerous documents discovered mostly in the 1950s, most important of which are fifteen letters written or dictated by Bar Kokhba himself. These finds indicate that Bar Kokhba was a practical and demanding leader, and he and other rebels strictly observed the Jewish law.

However, unlike the First Jewish Revolt, which was meticulously documented by Josephus, no detailed documentation of this revolt exists, so many questions with regard to this revolt remain unanswered. These include the cause of the revolt and its geographical extent, and especially whether or not Bar Kokhba was able to take Jerusalem under his control.

Several options have been provided as to the cause of the revolt, including the foundation of the pagan city Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem, Hadrian's ban on circumcision, and his plan to rebuild the Jewish temple (which later was reneged). There may not have been a single cause, but a combination of several elements may have led to the revolt. With regard to the geographic extent of the revolt, it seems that Judea proper was under the control of Bar Kokhba, but Jerusalem remained under the control of the Romans. It remains unclear but possible that the influence of the revolt spread beyond the borders of Judea to Samaria, Galilee, the Transjordan, and elsewhere.

Bar Kokhba's last stand was at Bethar, south of Jerusalem. The Romans apparently perceived the revolt as a real threat to the empire and so sent a large army and experienced generals to crush the rebellion. Although the Romans finally succeeded in defeating the rebels, Roman casualties were so numerous that Hadrian omitted the customary opening phrase "I and the legions are in health" from his letter to the senate (Cassius Dio, *Hist.* 69.14.3).

After the war the land of Judea was devastated. Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem, now rebuilt as the new pagan city Aelia Capitolina. The center of Judaism shifted to Galilee. The messianic and apocalyptic elements of Judaism were strongly discouraged thereafter. Due to the apparent failure of Yahweh to save his people from the Romans, some Jews even abandoned Judaism altogether. E. Yamauchi sees one of the roots of gnosticism in the thoughts of some of the disillusioned Jews.

3. Jesus, Christians and the Revolutionaries.

A question remains as to the relationship of the Jewish revolutionary movements on the one hand and Jesus and the Christians on the other. Some scholars have seen a connection between the Jesus movement and the violent Jewish revolutionary movements, suggesting that Jesus and his followers were revolutionaries or at least were sympathetic to them.

This claim, however, remains unconvincing on both exegetical and historical bases. Neither the Gospels nor any other NT documents explicitly endorse the use of physical violence against one's enemies. Jesus' enigmatic command for his disciples to buy a sword (Lk 22:36), which apparently contradicts his rebuke of one of the disciples' use of a sword in the very same chapter (Lk 22:49-51), is best to be taken as symbolic. As stated above, Simon the Zealot should not be considered a member of a certain party against Rome. One should also note that Jesus' twelve apostles also included Matthew the tax collector—odd company in a revolutionary group. Jesus' movement consisted of a politically diverse people.

Although Jesus was executed by the Romans as the "King of the Jews" (Mk 15:26 par.)—that is, as a royal messianic figure—his earthly ministry lacks one crucial feature of the standard Davidic royal messianism: violent eradication of the enemies of God and his people (see Collins 2010). In Jesus' case, the defeat of God's enemies is spiritualized (i.e., victory over Satan [Jn 12:31; Heb 2:14-15]) and at the same time is deferred until his parousia (Rev 17:14; 19:15). But precisely for this reason Christians are urged not to resist the earthly powers by violent

means (Mt 26:52; Rom 12:19). The book of Revelation contains a martyrdom theology comparable to that found in Judaism: the faithful Christian martyrs will be vindicated by God in the eschatological war against *both* Satan *and* the earthly powers (Rev 19:19; 20:7-10; cf. Rev 6:9-11; 12:11; 20:4).

Neither is there any firm evidence that Christians actively participated in the First or Second Jewish Revolts. Eusebius relates that during the First Jewish Revolt a group of Christians escaped Jerusalem and fled to the town of Pella in Transjordan (*Hist. eccl.* 3.5.3). Although there is an indication that some non-Jews participated in the Second Jewish Revolt, Christians most likely were not participating in it. They certainly would not have acknowledged the messiahship of Bar Kokhba.

All of this, however, does not necessarily mean that Jesus and his followers affirmed the imperial domination of Rome or were indifferent to politics. The recent rise of anti-imperial readings of the NT shows that many NT documents contain a severe critique of the Roman Empire. The mode of resistance, however, varies from book to book. Anti-Roman tendencies are most evident in the book of Revelation, but even those documents that previously were considered very pro-Roman, such as Luke-Acts, can be read as subtle critiques of the imperial ideology (see Yamazaki-Ransom). Horsley (2003; 2008) argues that documents such as *Mark and *Q represent the "hidden transcript" (offstage critique of the power) of the Jesus movement. Thus, while not revolutionaries in the sense of armed rebels, Jesus and his followers show some proximity to the nonviolent branch of the resistance movements in early Judaism.

4. Conclusion.

The centuries leading up to the First and Second Jewish Revolts were very painful for the Jewish nation. The political subjugation by foreign nations, especially the Roman Empire, was extremely difficult. In addition, their religious, cultural and socio-economic structures eroded. Israel's response to this situation was variegated. The social bandits, Zealots, Sicarii and messianic pretenders generally advocated armed rebellion and agitated for a military solution. These groups, however, often fought among themselves, significantly weakening their impact. The other response, generally advocated by the apocalypticists, prophets and martyrs, was to wait upon God, who, they believed, was about to intervene and personally defeat the enemy. The Fourth Philosophy, generally identifiable as having

a genealogical link with the Maccabean martyrs, advocated suffering and martyrdom in order to move God to deliver Israel. These passive or intellectual resistance movements, however, also fermented the more active modes of rebellion. That being said, none of these responses were adequate to deal with the Roman threat. After the Second Jewish Revolt Israel lost its political identity for almost two millennia.

See also APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING; CHRIST; EXILE AND RESTORATION; HERODIAN DYNASTY; ISRAEL; JERUSALEM; JOSEPHUS; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; PEACE; PROPHETS, PROPHECY; ROME; SAMARITANS; TRIUMPHAL ENTRY.

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REWARDS. See ETHICS OF JESUS.

RICH AND POOR

This article addresses the manner in which Jesus and the Gospels characterize rich and poor people, how they evaluate the character of money, and what ethics they endorse vis-à-vis wealth. It first discusses significant terminology related to poverty and riches and briefly sketches first-century A.D. Jewish and Greco-Roman perspectives relating to wealth, impoverishment and charity. It then comments on the economic status of Jesus and the disciples, before outlining Jesus' teachings regarding poor and rich people. The final and most extensive portion of the article devotes attention to the perspectives of the four Gospels and the Q document.

1. Rich and Poor in the First Century A.D.
2. The Historical Jesus on Rich and Poor
3. The Gospels on Rich and Poor
4. Conclusion

1. Rich and Poor in the First Century A.D.

Academic discussion of riches and poverty has often been hampered by incautious lexicography that makes questionable distinctions between the Hebrew terms *'ānî* ("poor, afflicted, humble") and *'ebyôn* ("poor"), as well as between the Greek terms *plousios* ("rich"), *ptōchos* ("poor, impoverished") and *penēs* ("poor"). Consequently, the present article is obliged to address these distinctions.

1.1. Hebrew Terminology and the Piety of the Poor. The term *'ānî* (and its plural forms *'ānîm* and *'ānāwîm*, which, whatever their distinct etymological histories, do not evince divergent semantic ranges) is the most widely used word for "poor" in the OT. It can refer not only to financial penury, but also more generally to oppression, humility or humiliation. The OT repeatedly depicts God as defending the poor and oppressed against the wicked (Ex 22:25-27; Pss 12:5; 35:10; 40:17; Is 3:14-15; Amos 8:4-8). Since evil deeds were often perpetrated by the rich and powerful, Jewish literature sometimes excoriates the rich and threatens them with divine judgment (Job 20:15-22; Is 5:8-13; Jer 5:26-28; 1 En. 94:6-9; 99:15). Consequently, certain circles came to associate rich people with wickedness, while conversely assuming that the poor were righteous (Pss 86:1-2; 132:15-16; Pss. Sol. 5:1-8; 10:6; 15:1; 18:2); it is similarly instructive to note the OT tendency to contrast the rich with the righteous (Prov 11:28; 28:6). Scholars refer to this association of poverty and religiosity as "*'ānāwîm* piety" (for a lucid history, see Kloppenborg, 201-16).

The terms *'ebyônîm* and *'ānāwîm* were occasionally appropriated by certain Jewish groups, in par-

ticular the *Essenes at Qumran (1QM XI 9, 13; XIII, 14) and the Ebionites, a later Jewish Christian sect. But they were not primarily used as technical titles (Keck 1965; 1966), nor did they necessarily indicate that the group was indigent (the Ebionites may have been poor, but archeology indicates that the Qumran community was reasonably well-appointed). Rather, by adopting these appellations, the groups in question characterized themselves as pious peoples who could expect God's favor (Hamel, 177-83).

NT scholars have often taken note of this self-characterization of Jewish religious groups as "the poor" and hypothesized that Paul's commitment to "remember the poor" (Gal 2:10) refers to caring for the Jerusalem church (based on Rom 15:26), supposing that the Jerusalem community (or a subsector thereof) had adopted the appellation "the Poor," allegedly in continuity with Jesus' disciples. Nonetheless, this perspective has recently come under fire; it now seems more likely that Paul's commitment to the "poor" was nothing less than an eager concern for the needy throughout the Gentile churches (Longenecker 2010, 157-219). This should caution us against considering Jesus' blessing of "the poor" as circumlocutious praise of his own followers (see section 2 below).

Unfortunately, the notion of the "pious poor" is something of a tradition-historical wax nose, a motif capable of being molded into whatever shape the interpreter desires. The terms *'ānî* and, to a lesser extent, *'ebyôn* are lexemes used in such variegated ways that scholars have been able to invoke the notion of *'ānāwîm* piety to completely opposite ends. For example, some scholars claim that the first beatitude of the Sermon on the Plain ("Blessed are the poor" [Lk 6:20]) has no reference to material poverty, on the grounds that the supposed title "poor" reflects *'ānāwîm* and thus refers simply to righteous Israel. Others, by contrast, explain that the first beatitude is a blessing on the impoverished precisely because *'ānāwîm* piety associated the poor with righteousness. The slippery polyvalence of *'ānî* and *'ebyôn* means that the nuance of a given NT reference to the "poor" should be determined by its immediate context.

1.2. Greek Terminology and Social Stratification. It has for a time been fashionable to make a binary division in Greco-Roman social classes between the "rich" (*plousios*) (the top one percent of the ancient population) and the "poor" (the remaining ninety-nine percent of the population); the category of the "poor" is then subdivided into *penēs* and *ptōchos* (see Aristophanes, *Plut.* 552-54; Marcus Aurelius, *Comm.* 4.29.2). By this reckoning, anyone

who worked for a living was *penēs* (poor), while *ptōchos* described only someone absolutely destitute (like a beggar). This literary characterization of ninety-nine percent of the population as “poor” has been supplemented by problematic economic analyses arguing that ninety-nine percent of the ancient world was actually impoverished (see Economics).

More recently, however, this scholarly consensus has been challenged. To say that only one percent of the world (the sociopolitical elite) qualified as *plousios* is to utilize a distinction operative only from a particular social location, that of rich, classical authors. Writers of a less privileged socioeconomic location would hardly feel constrained by the elite’s restrictive definition of the “rich” or by their cavalier tendency to characterize everyone from the successful merchant to the agrarian day laborer as poor (*penēs*). More to the point, the terms *penēs* and *ptōchos* are in fact not consistently distinguished from one another in the manner previously suggested, either in classical literature (see, e.g., Menander, *Dysk.* 284-867; Philo, *Virt.* 90; 97; *Spec.* 2.85, 105; *Legat.* 123) or in the LXX. Some people (e.g., those whose social status had slipped a few notches) were called “poor” even though they remained quite wealthy by most standards (Martial, *Epig.* 4.67; *Novel* 4) (Longenecker 2009, 244-49; Hamel, 173-74; Ling, 100-101). Most importantly, the NT itself does not reflect these aristocratic definitions. *Ptōchos* is far and away the most common word for “poor,” and *penēs* occurs only once (2 Cor 9:9, citing LXX Ps 111:9). In sum, we should not allow a lexical distinction made by the ultrarich to dominate our reading of the NT, which derives from lower social strata.

Instead, the meaning of “poor” (*ptōchos*) ought to be determined by Gospel usage. To begin with, the Gospels persistently use the term “poor” to denote financial penury. The poor receive charity (Mk 10:21 // Mt 19:21 // Lk 18:22; Mk 14:5 // Mt 26:9 // Jn 12:5; Lk 19:8). They are associated with the handicapped and imprisoned (Lk 4:18; 7:22 // Mt 11:5; Lk 14:13, 21), since they are unable to sufficiently provide for themselves. A widow is described as poor (Mk 12:42; cf. Lk 21:2) insofar as she owns only two copper coins.

Naturally, financial status does not exhaust the Gospels’ characterization of the poor. The poor are sometimes those to whom the *kingdom is preached (Mt 11:5 // Lk 7:22; Lk 4:18), whose piety is exceptional (Mk 12:42-43 // Lk 21:2-3) or who will receive eschatological rewards (Lk 6:20; 14:21). In brief, the Gospels describe poverty as a socioeconomic condi-

tion, and they sometimes evaluate that condition in religious terms, insofar as indigence has significant religious entailments (as well as social entailments) (see further Green).

1.3. The Moral Economy of Riches and Poverty.

The texts of biblical and Second Temple Judaism express varied and sometimes discordant opinions on wealth and poverty. On the one hand, riches were often seen as desirable, and even as evidence of divine blessing, insofar as agricultural prosperity was among the benefits of the Deuteronomic covenant (Deut 28:1-14). This perspective was buttressed by the varieties of wisdom teachings that recognize the fiduciary benefits that accrue from piety and diligence (Ps 112:1-3; Prov 13:21; 22:4), in contrast with the impoverishment that results from sloth (Prov 10:4; 12:27; 13:4). In this vein, biblical and Second Temple documents emphasize the prosperity of Jewish heroes, such as the patriarchs (Gen 24:35; 26:13; 30:43; 47:27; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.263; 2.7).

On the other hand, the rampant incidence of exploitation and oppression of the poor by the rich gave rise to quite contrary sentiments (see 1.1 above). Prophetic and apocalyptic books inveigh against the rich for their abuse of the vulnerable to such a degree that affluence and corruption become interchangeable categories. By logical contrast, the impoverished and oppressed came to be associated with piety, as a result of which there arose a hope in the eschatological punishment of the wicked rich and reward of the righteous poor, a “reversal of fortunes” (see, e.g., 1 En. 103:3-15; T. Jud. 25:4; Sib. Or. 3:350-55).

In recognition of the inevitable vicissitudes of life, and in an effort to remedy various injustices perpetrated by humans, Judaism developed legal and voluntary mechanisms for the redistribution of goods. Harvest laws ensured that the needy could glean from the edges and corners of fields and recover any wheat dropped by harvesters (Lev 9:9-10; Deut 24:19; m. *Pe’ah* 4:10; 5:1; t. *Pe’ah* 2:13); similar regulations applied to vineyards and olive groves (Deut 24:20-21; m. *Pe’ah* 6:5; 7:3-8; t. *Pe’ah* 2:13). Although the tithe system provided first and foremost for the cult and the Levites (Num 18:21-24; Deut 14:22-27), every third year a tithe was to be distributed to the widows and orphans (Deut 26:12); in more radical expressions of piety, the tithe to widows and orphans was practiced every year (Tob 1:7-8). Every seven years the land was left fallow, and its produce was to feed the poor (Ex 23:11; Lev 25:6-7); so also Sabbath laws required the remission of all debts incurred by fellow Israelites (Deut 15:1-2) and

the manumission of Israelite slaves (Deut 15:12). Jubilee laws echoed the injunction to manumission and further required that at the end of every period of fifty years any Israelite who acquired property from a fellow Israelite return that land to the one who had ancestral rights to it (Lev 25:13, 23).

In addition to these legal measures, which at least in theory ensured relief for the needy every fifty, seven and three years (or, in the case of harvest laws, annually), Judaism valued frequent and voluntary expressions of charitable care for the poor. The Torah expressed this particularly in the endorsement of extending interest-free loans to the impoverished (Deut 15:9-10; cf. Sir 29:1). Similarly, the Writings emphasized almsgiving (Job 31:16-20; Prov 28:27; 31:20), and this manifestation of charity flourished in postbiblical literature (Tob 4:7; 12:8; Sir 4:3-5; 7:10; 12:1-7; Philo, *Fug.* 29; *Spec.* 4.74). Similarly, Judaism came to laud the extension of hospitality as a means of caring for the indigent (Tob 7:9; *T. Ab.* [A] 1:2; *T. Job* 10:1-3). Jesus himself was an heir of this moral tradition, as he endorsed and even radicalized the Second Temple Jewish practices of charity.

The prevailing morality of Greco-Roman society differed in significant degree. Most extant literary and epigraphic evidence (which naturally derives largely from elite sources) evinces a generally warm estimation of the rich, educated and powerful. The poor, by contrast, were disdained by the affluent, frequently owing to the assumption that the disparity between social statuses reflected the relative virtue, talent or desert of each party (Cicero, *Dom.* 33, 89; *Att.* 1.16.11; *Agr.* 2.26.70; Lucan, *Civil War* 7.404).

Scholars have long commented on the disdain evident (among elite authors) toward beggars and charity (Demosthenes, *Mid.* 185; Plutarch, *Mor.* 235A; Plautus, *Trin.* 339), which led to the commonplace assumption that almsgiving was largely absent from the Greco-Roman world, apart from the influence of Judeo-Christian morality. Instead, most of the beneficent expenditures undertaken by the prosperous members of Roman society were intended to increase their prestige in the public eye or to solidify their social network of friends and clients (Hands, 26-51).

Nonetheless, without denying that almsgiving was far more prevalent among Jews and Christians, one ought not to think it absent in pagan circles (see, e.g., Seneca, *Ben.* 3.8.3; 4.29.2-3; Musonius Rufus 19.25-30). The very ubiquity of beggary makes it clear that minor charity was indeed frequently practiced, notwithstanding the protestations of many well-heeled ancient authors (Longenecker 2010, 74-

87). In further contrast to prevailing elite opinion, there was a certain degree of recognition, at least within philosophical discourse, of the moral benefits (such as moderation or self-control) that could result from a life of meager means (see Plutarch, frgs. 151-152, from the treatise *On Wealth*; Stobaeus 4.72); among Cynic philosophers this perspective actually resulted in an overt endorsement of poverty in the pursuit of virtue (Ps.-Diogenes, *Ep.* 26, 31.4; 32.2; Seneca, *Vit. beat.* 18.3). As such, the high estimation of the poor that we encounter in the Jesus tradition did not lack Greco-Roman analogs, even if the ideological substructure of their shared perspectives differed radically.

2. The Historical Jesus on Rich and Poor.

Although it has occasionally been suggested that Jesus was rich, and (more often) that he was poor, neither characterization is quite on the mark. On the one hand, Luke's infancy narrative indicates that *Mary and Joseph hovered near the level of mere subsistence, since at Jesus' dedication they sacrificed two doves (Lk 2:24), the purification offering prescribed for new mothers who could not afford to purchase a sheep (Lev 12:8). On the other hand, as an artisan (*tektōn*, "carpenter") Joseph (and Jesus after him) would not likely have been indigent, and in later years he may well have lived stably above subsistence.

It would be inaccurate, moreover, to characterize Jesus and the disciples as "poor" during their ministry, notwithstanding their abandonment of jobs and homes. Although Jesus was itinerant (Mt 8:20 // Lk 9:58 // *Gos. Thom.* 86), this should not obscure the fact that he had a retinue of relatively wealthy women caring for him (Lk 8:1-3), and that he and his disciples were frequently the recipients of hospitality from affluent hosts (Mt 11:19; Mk 2:15; 14:3; Lk 7:36-50).

The Gospel passages narrating Jesus' instructions to the disciples as he sent them out to preach (the so-called itinerancy instructions [Mt 10:5-15 // Mk 6:6-13 // Lk 9:1-6; 10:1-12]) have sometimes been adduced as evidence of the disciples' poverty, insofar as Jesus told them to travel with just one set of clothes, no money and no provisions. Nonetheless, all three Synoptic Gospels express that this behavior was characteristic of only a limited period of their ministry with Jesus, and that the disciples could expect to receive hospitality. Indeed, if Luke 22:35-38 is any indication, the disciples typically did travel with some provisions (Hays, 93). In addition, the disciples enjoyed sufficiently regular meals that they could be indicted for neglecting to *fast (Mk 2:18-19), and Jesus himself was called "a glutton and a

drunkard" (Mt 11:19 // Lk 7:34). Finally, if John's Gospel (Jn 6:5-7; 12:6; 13:29) reflects something of the situation of the historical Jesus, he and the disciples may have had liquid capital at their disposal (see 3.5 below). In sum, although the disciples were not, generally speaking, affluent, neither did they endure grinding poverty.

Although Jesus had quite a lot to say about riches and poverty, his mission was not to discuss wealth as such, but rather to proclaim the coming of the *kingdom of God. Therefore, any account of the historical Jesus' teaching on money ought to be located within his broader kerygmatic agenda. In contrast to the heyday of the Jesus Seminar in the 1990s, most recent historical Jesus scholarship has characterized Jesus as an apocalyptic prophet who believed that in his ministry God was bringing about his kingdom for faithful Israel. From this perspective, Jesus' teachings on money can be seen as (at least selective) instantiations of the OT's moral teachings and future expectations, expressed in a manner appropriate to the task of proclaiming the inauguration of the kingdom of God (Mt 16:24-27 // Mk 8:34-38 // Lk 9:23-26).

Jesus consistently prioritized the age of the kingdom over the present age, according to which he enjoined his disciples to subordinate every concern to the pursuit of the kingdom of God (Mt 16:25-26 // Mk 8:35-37 // Lk 9:24-25; Mt 10:28; 13:45-46; *Gos. Thom.* 76), in which they would be rewarded (Mt 19:29 // Mk 10:30 // Lk 18:29-30; Mt 25:31-46; Lk 12:33; 14:7-24; 16:1-11). This prioritization brooked no half-measures, no rival fidelities, a point that was of eminent importance for the subject of money: one cannot serve both God and mammon (Mt 6:24 // Lk 16:13). The *parable of the talents (Mt 25:14-30 // Lk 19:11-27) urged Jesus' listeners to use their time and resources wisely and aggressively (Mt 25:25-27 // Lk 19:20-23) to prepare for the arrival of the *Son of Man (cf. Mt 16:27 // Mk 8:38 // Lk 9:26). Accordingly, Jesus instructed one rich man to sell all he possessed and to give the proceeds to the poor in order to have eternal life (Mt 19:21 // Mk 10:21 // Lk 18:22).

According to a number of scholars, Jesus' eschatological proclamation developed the Isaianic assertion that the kingdom of God was good news particularly to the poor and oppressed because it signaled the end of their sufferings (Is 61:1-11; cf. Mt 11:5 // Lk 7:22; Lk 4:18; 6:20; *Gos. Thom.* 54). Consequently, Jesus allotted a prominent place in his ministry to marginalized individuals: the handicapped, the perpetually unclean, children and also the poor. This eschatological proclamation included a re-

sumption of the prophetic notion that people should practice justice and mercy in order to prepare for God's redemption of Israel (Is 56:1; 58:6-10; Amos 5:14-15; Mal 3:1-12), a belief that Jesus shared with *John the Baptist (Mt 3:1-6; Mk 1:3-5; Lk 3:1-14).

In accordance with the prophetic summons to justice, Jesus spoke out against exploitation (Mt 23:23 // Lk 11:42; Mk 12:40 // Lk 20:47) and acted on his convictions as well. Jesus' so-called cleansing of the temple (*see* Temple Act), an event typically considered to be one of the precipitating factors of his crucifixion, probably was an expression of outrage against the injustice of the high priestly establishment. The meaning of this event is heavily debated, but one possibility is that Jesus characterized the temple as a "den of robbers" because of the corruption of the leading priests, who were known at times to use price manipulation and even thuggery (*b. Pesah* 57a; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.181, 206-207) to increase their already considerable fortunes (*see* Bauckham).

In addition to demanding just treatment for the poor, Jesus called for generosity toward the needy. The multiple attested accounts of the rich ruler (Mt 19:21 // Mk 10:21 // Lk 18:22) and Matthew 5:42 // Luke 6:30 (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 95), as well as a significant body of singly attested sayings (Mt 6:2-4; Lk 6:34-35; 11:41; 12:33; Jn 12:5; 13:29), indicate that Jesus endorsed the extension of alms and loans to the indigent. He also seemed to encourage the forgiveness of debts (Mt 6:12 // Lk 11:4; Mt 18:23-35; Lk 7:40-43; cf. Mt 18:23-35), in keeping with the Torah's regulations for years of *Sabbath (Deut 15:1-2) and *Jubilee (Lev 25). It is for this reason (and owing to the fact that in Lk 4:16-18 Jesus invokes Is 61:1-2, which itself alludes to Lev 25) that some scholars have suggested that Jesus intended to implement the Jubilee in his ministry. Still, considering the relative paucity of explicit reference to other major features of Jubilee remissions (such as the liberation of slaves and the return of lands to their historic proprietors) and the lack of evidence that the Jubilee was celebrated in the Second Temple era, it seems more likely that Jesus' allusions to Jubilee and Sabbath laws were expressions of a more general appeal to OT morality.

At times, the anointing at Bethany (Mt 26:6-13 // Mk 14:3-9 // Jn 12:1-8) has been adduced to relativize the social aspects of Jesus' teaching, since, in that context, Jesus comments, "You always have the poor with you" (Mt 26:11 // Mk 14:7 // Jn 12:8, citing Deut 15:11). But in fact, Jesus does not dispute the necessity of almsgiving; he simply affirms that his lavish anointing was an even more worthy expenditure.

Jesus' reference to Deuteronomy 15:11 in the passage, far from endorsing indifference to the poor (i.e., "The poor will always be poor, so do not waste your money"), invokes Sabbath laws that ensured that the poor always receive loans in time of need and have their debts remitted regularly. In context, Deuteronomy 15:11 explains that the people of God should be unstintingly generous to the impoverished (so to speak, "The need is so great that you should never hesitate to be generous").

Notwithstanding Jesus' ministerial emphasis on the marginalized, he also called and consorted with the affluent. He is repeatedly depicted as dining at banquets ostensibly hosted by the well-off, and his followers included well-heeled individuals such as the women mentioned in Luke 8:1-3, Zacchaeus and Joseph of Arimathea. This association, however, should by no means be taken as an indication that Jesus was indifferent to the possession of riches. On the contrary, as a result of his call to serve the kingdom above all else, Jesus thought that the pursuit of riches was a misuse of one's energies (Mt 6:19-33 // Lk 12:15-31; *Gos. Thom.* 63).

More than merely inveighing against preoccupation with wealth or the unjust accrual of riches, Jesus considered affluence to be the greatest obstacle to entering the kingdom. He averred that wealth and the desire for it would choke out a disciple's fruitfulness (Mt 13:22 // Mk 4:19 // Lk 8:14) and make impossible the attainment of eternal life, barring only the miraculous intervention of God himself (Mt 19:23-26 // Mk 10:23-27 // Lk 18:24-27). Thus, Jesus called the rich to sell their possessions and give them to the poor (Mt 19:21 // Mk 10:21 // Lk 18:22; 12:33), and he may well have endorsed the renunciation of possessions more generally (Lk 14:33; *Gos. Thom.* 81).

The fact that Jesus and his disciples left behind their lives and livelihoods to follow him, and that he is elsewhere said to have demanded precisely the same renunciation of possessions by all his disciples (Lk 14:33; cf. Lk 12:33), should caution us against thinking that Jesus' command was only intended for, say, the rich young ruler. Moreover, the repeated promise that God would provide for the needs of those who seek the kingdom first (Mt 6:25-34 // Lk 12:22-32; cf. Mt 7:7 // Lk 11:9; *Gos. Thom.* 36) suggests strongly that Jesus expected more than just a small handful of disciples to leave behind or give away their wealth. Indeed, if Jesus considered one's *family (Mt 12:46-50 // Mk 3:31-35 // Lk 8:19-21; Mt 10:37-38 // Lk 14:25-27; Mt 8:21-22 // Lk 9:59-62) and physical wholeness (Mt 5:29-30 // Mk 9:43-47) to be less important than the kingdom, how much less privi-

leged ought one's wealth to be construed?

It is not immediately clear why Jesus calls for the renunciation of possessions, a behavior that is not required anywhere in the OT. The answers available in the Gospel texts are not entirely helpful. For example, Luke 14:33 calls for renunciation in order to be a *disciple, but the link between the two is unclear. Jesus' command to the rich young ruler (Mt 19:21 // Mk 10:21 // Lk 18:22; cf. 12:33) promises "treasure in heaven," a phrase that contextually seems equivalent to eternal life and inclusion in the kingdom of God (Mt 19:16, 23 // Mk 10:17, 23 // Lk 18:18, 24), but most orthodox readers would be eager to situate such actions in a more developed soteriological framework. As such, scholars have been pushed to offer more speculative suggestions. Some have posited that the abandonment of possessions was the result of a belief that the kingdom of God would arrive in its fullness with Jesus' ministry, such that renunciation was a temporary expedient necessitated by the urgency of Jesus' proclamation. Other scholars have seen renunciation as an expression of religious communalism (perhaps under Essene influence) or as the logical inference of Jesus' foci on charity, justice and loving one's neighbor as oneself. C. M. Hays has argued that Luke's Gospel construes renunciation as a consequence of absolute commitment to the kingdom of God, even though such renunciation seems to have taken a variety of forms and was not limited to exhaustive divestiture (Hays, 267); it does not seem implausible that this reading of Luke's Gospel may reflect the dynamics of Jesus' own teaching and practice.

Still, none of this amounts either to a direct critique of rich people qua rich or to a characterization of the wealthy as generally unjust. It should, however, dispel any notion that Jesus saw money as "neutral." Quite the contrary, Jesus thought of money like fire: a useful thing in its proper place, but in abundance ever more likely to leap its bounds and to consume its erstwhile master.

3. The Gospels on Rich and Poor.

The myriad studies on riches and poverty in the NT provide the Gospel interpreter with an enormous amount of sociological and comparative Jewish material relating to wealth; with recourse to this abundance of data, and drawing on parallel Gospel accounts, scholars have often illuminated the manners in which the Gospel texts may have functioned as social criticisms. It is, however, beyond the scope of the present article to give sufficient attention to readings that rely in large part on a scholarly "back

story”; as such, space will be primarily devoted to such ethical teachings as can be most readily identified on the surface of the Gospel texts themselves, without thereby excluding the possibility of more profound analyses.

3.1. Mark. The Gospel of Mark reflects Jesus’ hostility toward wealth, both in its critique of avarice (Mk 7:22) and in its indication that wealth itself is a dangerous enticement (Mk 4:18-19; see also Mk 14:10-11). This point is illustrated nowhere so clearly as in the account of the rich man (Mk 10:17-31), where Mark shows that great wealth so binds its “possessor” that it becomes impossible for the affluent to attain eternal life, apart from the express intervention of God. The strong implication of this text is that those who possess great riches should, for the sake of eternal life, do away with them; this is, however, not quite explicit in Mark.

Although abandoning possessions might imperil one’s survival, Mark’s Jesus promises that those who leave behind their families, homes and fields will in turn be provided for, probably through the community of disciples (Mk 10:29-30; cf. Acts 2:44-45; 4:32-35; Rom 16:13; Gal 4:19; 1 Tim 5:2). Still, in comparison to other Gospel authors, Mark places relatively little emphasis on divine provision for one’s material needs. One might think that the account of the widow’s mite (Mk 12:41-44) offers some encouragement to those who give all they have in service of God, but closer inspection disappoints on this account. The text applauds the extent of the widow’s commitment to God, but it offers no assurances regarding how she will survive when she leaves the temple courtyard.

Interestingly, the poor do not play a significant role in Mark’s narrative or ethical agendas. Not even in the story of the widow’s mite do we find compelling evidence that Mark uniquely privileges the poor as a group. The fact that the pious widow is impoverished does not imply either that Mark lauds the poor or that he believes them to possess a superior measure of piety. Rather, in the context of Mark 11:12—13:2, a section that demonstrates Jesus’ superiority over all the denizens of the temple establishment, Mark’s praise of this widow is largely a function of his denigration of the *scribes, who are guilty of impoverishing widows just like this one (Mk 12:40). Though wary about riches, Mark does not extol the benefits of poverty.

3.2. Q. In recent years the dominant source-critical theory (i.e., the two-source theory) has come under renewed scrutiny, especially by advocates of the Farrer-Goulder-Goodacre hypothesis, which

disputes the very existence of a *Q document (see Synoptic Problem). Nonetheless, the two-source theory remains the most widely held view in the NT academy, and thus the debates about Q’s perspective on riches and poverty merit our attention, especially since one’s analysis of Q bears implications for one’s assessment of the redactional emphases of Matthew and Luke.

Owing to the complexities involved in reconstructing Q, scholars differ greatly in their assessment of the document’s agenda. Nonetheless, two-source theorists are generally in agreement that Q at least partially reflects the teachings of itinerant figures who imitated Jesus by abandoning their homes (Mt 8:19-20 // Lk 9:57-58), families (Mt 8:21-22 // Lk 9:59-60) and possessions (Mt 9:37-38; 10:7-16 // Lk 10:2-12; Mt 6:20-21 // Lk 12:33-34; Mt 6:11 // Lk 11:3). While the poor are in some way considered to be privileged recipients of the proclamation of these itinerants (Mt 5:3 // Lk 6:20; Mt 11:5 // Lk 7:22), there is little by way of an endorsement of charity in Q (excepting perhaps Mt 5:42 // Lk 6:30).

Further specification of Q’s assessment of riches and poverty depends in large part on whether one sees Q in broad terms as a sapiential document or as a prophetic text.

3.2.1. Sapiential Readings of Q. Sapiential readings of Q are often (but not always) dependent on J. Kloppenborg’s reconstruction of Q’s stratification, which asserts that the earliest stage of Q lacks any material of *apocalyptic character. Some Q scholars who roughly conform to this school (e.g., Mack) have argued that Q reflects the teachings of itinerant disciples of Jesus who adopted a particularly *Cynic form of proclamation (see Downing). The Q itinerants are understood to have abandoned all their possessions and traveled with only the most austere accoutrements (thus being literally “poor”); they expected to be recompensed materially by those to whom they preached. These Cynic-sage disciples announced that in nature God provided for all one’s needs, and they railed against the rich for their bondage to wealth. This view has not gained wide acceptance among Q scholars and has been critiqued at length by C. Tuckett (Tuckett, 368-90).

R. Piper has offered an alternative account to the Cynic reading of Q. He does not see the Q community as comprised exclusively of itinerants. According to Piper, Q addressed a group of Jesus’ followers who had been ostracized for their commitment to Jesus, suffering alienation from their families and financial insecurity. For these struggling disciples, Q endorses an exclusive commitment to the kingdom

of God. Q assures the disciples that God will provide for them, helping them to cope with whatever deprivation they may endure as a result of their discipleship. Accordingly, Q's blessings on the poor primarily laud those who have become poor as a result of their discipleship. By contrast, passages in Q that seem hostile to riches and to wealthy people should be interpreted as exhortations not to allow anxiety over subsistence to distract from commitment to God's kingdom. Finally, Piper denies that Q advocates any form of charity beyond the extension of hospitality to Q missionaries.

3.2.2. *An Eschatological Reading of Q.* In contrast to what we have dubbed "sapiential" readings of Q, Tuckett argues that Q is occupied with the prophetic annunciation of the imminent eschatological kingdom of God. The book reflects a group of wandering prophets who, in order to proclaim God's inauguration of the kingdom, voluntarily chose an itinerant lifestyle (although not one that necessarily engendered poverty), trusting in God to provide for their needs. In this way, the disciples symbolically expressed and proleptically realized the values of the kingdom.

Tuckett says that the instructions on itinerancy are only incumbent upon one subgroup of Q readers. Alongside these itinerant prophets, Q bespeaks the existence of a network of like-minded localized disciples with homes and varying degrees of wealth, people who use their possessions and incomes to support the itinerants. Tuckett argues that Q texts hostile to wealth confront instances of selfishness or greed among these localized disciples. Because of his eschatological framework, Tuckett's reading of Q is in significant agreement with the account of the historical Jesus' teachings given above.

3.3. *Matthew.* Matthew's Gospel talks about money a good deal more than does Mark's, while saying relatively little about the poor or the rich per se. In Matthew, Jesus does characterize his ministry in terms of preaching to a variety of marginalized people (blind, lame, lepers, deaf, dead), among whom are the poor included (Mt 11:5, alluding to Is 61:1), though he does not depict the poor as a priori soteriologically privileged. Neither are the rich characterized as wicked (cf. Mt 2:11; 27:57-60). Matthew does contrast John's ascetic garb (Mt 3:4) and the finery of people who dwell in palaces (Mt 11:8), but this may reflect a standard first-century A.D. criticism of luxury rather than antipathy toward rich people themselves.

Without fulminating against the rich, Matthew does echo and expand upon Mark's sentiment that

riches are a grave hindrance to eternal life (Mt 13:22; 19:16-26; cf. Mt 16:24-26; 26:14-16; 27:3-10) and warns more generally against self-aggrandizement (Mt 20:16; 23:5-12) and the injustice that results from its pursuit (Mt 23:14, 23-24). Moreover, Matthew sees the quest for wealth as a fool's errand, since wealth is ephemeral; the kingdom of God, by contrast, is eternal (Mt 6:19-21), such that it ought to be the primary object of the disciple's endeavors (Mt 6:33). The evangelist accordingly emphasizes that God will provide for all who serve him (Mt 6:25-34; cf. Mt 6:11; 7:7-11) and warns that those who neglect to do so in favor of storing up wealth are guilty of idolatry (Mt 6:24).

Matthew emphasizes generosity to a greater degree than does Mark. In the Sermon on the Mount Matthew's Jesus instructs disciples to give and lend to anyone who asks (Mt 5:42), in keeping with the commands of Deuteronomy 15:7-11 and Leviticus 25:35-55. Here it is assumed that almsgiving constitutes part of religious piety, qualifying its practice only with an injunction toward discretion (Mt 6:1-4), in accordance with his sensitivity to one's internal motivations (cf. Mt 5:21-22, 27-28; 6:5-6, 16-18). Still, far from merely approving of charity (an approval that predominates in his religious milieu), Matthew is keen to quicken generosity through the threat of eschatological judgment and the promise of eschatological reward (as in Mt 19:21; see also Mt 19:27-30, which, by removing the phrase "now in this age," transforms the Markan promise of this-worldly provision into one of heavenly exaltation; contrast Mk 10:28-31; see 3.1 above). He devotes a significant portion of his eschatological dialogue to the subject of *ethics (Mt 25:14-46). The parable of the talents (Mt 25:14-30) depicts characters who are alternately rewarded and punished in accordance with how proactively they utilized the resources entrusted to them (Mt 25:25-27 // Lk 19:20-23). While the parable's invocation of monetary measures (talents) does not limit its moralizing potential to the use of money, wealth should, the parable tells us, certainly be included prominently among the resources to be invested aggressively for the sake of the kingdom.

The social and financial implications of the parable of the talents are unpacked in the ensuing pericope: the judgment of the sheep and the goats (Mt 25:31-46; cf. Mt 10:42). This text explains that the eternal fates of individuals will be decided according to their service to Jesus. Jesus avers that he is served by kindness to those of his followers (see Mt 25:40) who are hungry, thirsty, foreign, naked, sick or imprisoned. Jesus, Emmanuel, "God with us" (Mt 1:23;

cf. Mt 18:5) (see Rowland, 516), is present in the marginalized, so that service to them is tantamount to serving him and is worthy of reward. The “goats,” who failed to serve Jesus in the poor, however, are summarily sent unto eternal punishment (Mt 25:41), even though they recognize him to be “Lord.” This text vividly describes Jesus’ concern for the needy and warns against neglecting them. It does not, however, characterize those who neglected the needy as rich; no reference is made to the financial status of the “goats” at all, for Matthew does not see affluence as blameworthy, just as he does not see poverty as praiseworthy (Mt 5:3 notwithstanding).

It warrants mention at this juncture that Matthew has frequently been considered to soften his source texts in regard to issues of wealth and poverty (e.g., Mealand, 13-16; against which, see Schmidt, 121-22). A classic example to this effect is the claim that Matthew “spiritualized” the allegedly more original Lukan form of the first beatitude, transforming a blessing of the (financially) “poor” (Lk 6:20) into a benediction of the “poor in spirit” (Mt 5:3), thus kowtowing to a supposedly affluent constituency. Now, it is probably true that Matthew 5:3 has little to do with material poverty. The phrase “poor in spirit” reflects the Semitic *ʾānīm rūaḥ*, a description that can simply denote humility as a moral attribute, without any connotations of financial status (1QM XIV, 7; cf. Prov 29:23; Is 57:15; 66:2). Since Matthew’s beatitudes focus primarily on spiritual traits (meekness, mercy, purity of heart), there is no more reason to think that the poor in spirit are financially poor than there is to think that those who hunger and thirst for righteousness are physically hungry and thirsty (on which, see Ps 42:2; 63:1; 143:6; Amos 8:11). But it has also been argued, perhaps more persuasively, that the Matthean version of the first beatitude is the more original, and that Luke decided to simplify the odd Semitism “poor in spirit” in keeping with his general tendency to see the impoverished as the recipients, not only of the gospel proclamation, but also of the kingdom (Ling, 123-31).

Commentators have also averred that Matthew toned down the account of the rich ruler, since in Matthew 19:21 Jesus tells the rich young man to sell all he has if he would be “perfect.” This comment was crucial for the later Christian distinction between precepts and counsels of perfection, the latter of which were considered supererogatory (i.e., not incumbent upon all followers of Jesus). Nonetheless, the interpretation of Matthew 19:21 as an example of supererogatory piety falters at two points. First, Matthew has by that point of the narrative already ex-

plained that discipleship is itself a call to perfection (Mt 5:48; cf. Mt 5:20). Second, Matthew does not alter Jesus’ comment about the impossibility of the rich entering the kingdom (Mt 19:23-26), which might be expected if the issue at stake were only supererogatory piety. In short, it does not seem appropriate to construe Matthew as softening his source texts, at least not in a proactive or programmatic way.

3.4. Luke. It is in Luke’s Gospel that we encounter the most developed favoritism toward the poor and hostility toward the wealthy. Luke depicts Jesus’ ministry as being for the poor in much stronger terms than do Matthew and Mark. Still, Luke does not typically assert that the poor are members of the kingdom of God just because they are poor. For example, the Magnificat celebrates God’s action for poor and oppressed Israel (Lk 1:52-55). In the Nazareth synagogue sermon Jesus’ message is preached especially to the poor and the outcast (Lk 4:18; so also Lk 7:22; cf. Is 61:1-2), but that does not make irrelevant the poor’s response to Jesus (even though the poor and marginalized are depicted in Lk 14:15-24 as responding readily to the invitation to God’s eschatological banquet). In the first beatitude the poor are construed as heirs of the kingdom (Lk 6:20), though the fourth beatitude (“Blessed are you when people hate you . . . on account of the Son of Man” [Lk 6:22]) may be seen as filling out the description of the blessed poor; so also, the Sermon on the Plain’s ensuing ethical instructions could well be taken as moral prerequisites for the inclusion of the poor in the kingdom.

Still, when saying that Luke generally couples favoritism toward the poor with an expectation that the poor respond properly to Jesus’ proclamation, we should perhaps be cautious not to dampen the force of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31). In this unsettling text poor Lazarus is said to have received eschatological rest for no other reason than that he lacked good things during his life (Lk 16:25); there is no indication in the parable that Lazarus demonstrated even a scrap of religious piety. By this reading, the eschatological blessedness of the poor may be partially a matter of theodicy: the promise of eternal happiness helps affirm the goodness of a God who allows the poor to endure a lifetime of suffering. Nonetheless, many scholars prefer to read this parable within the framework Luke seems to have developed earlier in the Gospel, thus asserting that the piety of Lazarus can be safely assumed; accordingly, the emphasis of the parable is strictly upon the judgment to be incurred by the rich who revel in luxury while neglecting the needy.

Luke reflects Matthew's conviction that God will provide for people's needs (Lk 12:22-31), but for Luke this notion is integrated into his agenda to stimulate charity. The promises of divine provision by which Matthew encouraged pursuit of the kingdom more generally (Mt 6:19-34) are in Luke made impetuses to self-divesting almsgiving specifically (Lk 12:33-34; cf. Lk 16:9-13).

Luke echoes and expands upon Mark and Matthew's belief in the dangers of wealth (Lk 8:14; 14:18-19; 19:20-23; cf. Lk 11:39; 16:13), but it is only in Luke, in the first woe of the Sermon on the Plain, that the rich are threatened with punishment simply for being rich (Lk 6:24). This daunting assertion is resumed in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. At first, the rich man is told that he received eternal torment because he had already enjoyed his share of good things in his own life (Lk 16:19-26). It is only in the second half of the parable (Lk 16:27-31) that the man's fate is further specified to be the consequence of neglecting "Moses and the Prophets," the Scriptures that, by Luke's reckoning, commanded the rich to care for the poor (Hays, 156-58). Thus, Luke's initial and apparently unqualified damnation of the rich is reframed in terms of a punishment for the neglect of God's law (cf. Lk 14:12-14).

Luke also shares with Matthew and Mark a conviction that claims of the kingdom of God ought thoroughly to overshadow the concerns of this world (Lk 9:24-25; 17:26-33). He is nonetheless more adamant than his predecessors that eschatological punishments and rewards hang upon one's use of money (Lk 12:13-31; 16:1-9). Luke is so convinced that God will reward the poor and punish the unrighteous rich that he adopts the Jewish motif of the "reversal of fortunes" (see, e.g., 1 Sam 2:7; Is 26:5-6; Sir 11:5, 13, 21; see also 1.3 above), averring that in the end God will exalt and reward the poor while abasing and punishing the rich (Lk 1:50-53; 6:20-26; 14:7-24; 16:19-31). Although the other Synoptics could justifiably be characterized as hostile to wealth, only Luke is antagonistic toward the rich.

This point notwithstanding, Luke does, as mentioned above in relation to Luke 16:27-31, hold out the hope of eschatological reward for the rich, insofar as they cease to be preoccupied with worldly concerns (Lk 12:22-33; 14:18-20; 16:13; 17:26-33) and instead focus on providing generously for the needs of the poor (Lk 12:33-34; 16:1-9; 18:18-30; 19:1-10; cf. Lk 14:12-14). Although the other Gospels do encourage care for the poor in degrees, Luke excels them all (see further Lk 6:30-38; 11:41-42; cf. Lk 10:25-37). As such, it is no surprise that Luke omits from the ac-

count of Jesus' anointing (Lk 7:36-50) the comment "the poor you always have with you" (Mt 26:11 // Mk 14:7 // Jn 12:8); he likely anticipated that such a phrase could be taken as an expression of the futility of charity.

Combining the Synoptic teachings on the importance of charity and the supremacy of the kingdom of God, Luke emphasizes that following Christ and caring for the poor require profound renunciation of possessions: "Nobody is able to be my disciple who does not renounce all of his possessions" (Lk 14:33 [cf. Lk 18:22, 28-30; 19:1-10; 21:1-4]). Accordingly, Lukan redaction is characterized by heightening the element of renunciation in texts where people are instructed to renounce, or are described as abandoning, their possessions: Simon and Andrew leave behind not just their nets (so Mt 4:20 // Mk 1:18), but "everything" (Lk 5:11) to follow Jesus (so with Levi [Lk 5:28]); the rich ruler is told to sell "everything, whatever you have" and to give it to the poor (Lk 18:22) (see further Hays, 82-84, 173-75). Although there is no legislation about a particular percentage that must be given to the needy (contrast the aforementioned texts with Lk 11:41-42; 19:8), everything must be renounced for the sake of discipleship (Lk 14:33).

Thus, while neither Luke's preference for the poor nor his antipathy toward the rich amounts to an unqualified determination of their eternal states, his (sometimes hyperbolic) rhetoric gives the most potent expression to Jesus' own warnings about the dangers of wealth and the neglect of the poor, as well as most vibrantly highlighting the constituency of the poor among those to whom Jesus directed his preaching.

3.5. John. In marked contrast to the Synoptics, the Fourth Gospel displays no hostility toward affluence. Jesus associates with wealthy people such as a royal official (Jn 4:46-54), Mary, Martha and Lazarus (Jn 12:1-8), as well as Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea (Jn 19:38-39); he facilitates lavish consumption of fine alcohol at a rich man's wedding (Jn 2:1-11 [note the employment of a "chief steward"]); and he is entombed in opulence (Jn 19:38-42; cf. Jn 12:1-7). There is little attention given to the poor; they are referred to only in passing (Jn 12:5-6; 13:29) and are never the explicit objects of Jesus' actions. (One must widen the angle of the interpretive lens to include "the marginalized" before one can begin to develop a Johannine theology of the needy [so Motyer].) Finally, John does not propound a particular wealth ethic; the command to "love one another" (Jn 15:12, 17) lacks any specific application to the needy of the sort that occurs in 1 John 3:16-18.

Notwithstanding the absence of attention to wealth ethics, the Fourth Gospel may reflect, however dimly, some of the Synoptics' presuppositions. A belief in the dangers of wealth might lie behind John's characterization of Judas as a thief (Jn 12:6). The Fourth Gospel also preserves a faint echo of the Synoptic choruses about divine provision (Jn 16:23-24).

Most significantly for our purposes, the Fourth Gospel assumes the value of almsgiving. While John does not explicitly call for almsgiving, he mentions (in passing) that Jesus and his disciples practiced charity. John 12:5-6; 13:29 indicate that the disciples possessed a money box (*glōssokomon*), and that from that box they would give alms. Some have argued that the Johannine account of the feeding of the multitudes (see Jn 6:5-7) implies that the chest contained a large amount of money, if not enough to provide for a crowd of five thousand (Karris, 28-31), though this latter assertion seems tenuous.

Scholars have on occasion suggested that this money box was a receptacle in which the disciples pooled all of their resources, hence the NRSV rendering of *glōssokomon* as "common purse." This translation is lamentable, however, since the term *glōssokomon* denotes only a container or chest and, on occasion, a money-box or purse (LXX 2 Chron 24:8, 10; Plutarch, *Galb.* 16.1; P.Ryl. 127.25). The lexeme does not refer to an item in which communally shared funds are held, nor does the context of John indicate that the disciples pooled their resources into the chest. Moreover, as discussed earlier (see 2 above), the Synoptic itinerancy instructions (Mt 10:5-15 // Mk 6:6-13 // Lk 9:1-6; 10:1-12), which describe the disciples as traveling without purses, do not profess to depict the disciples' typical *modus operandi*, but rather refer to a nonstandard practice undertaken by the disciples when traveling without Jesus; this is especially clear in Luke 22:35-38, which reveals that at least some of the disciples carried their own purses. This is not to eschew the historicity of John's contention that the Twelve had a money box, or even that the contents of that box could have been used to provide for the disciples' needs (cf. Jn 13:29a: "Some thought that Jesus was telling him, 'Buy what we need for the festival'") alongside those of the poor (Jn 12:5-6; 13:29b); rather the possession of such a purse does not exclude the persistence of private funds.

4. Conclusion.

The Gospel authors do not evince identical ethical agendas; neither, however, are they intractably at odds with each other or with the teachings of the

figure whom they seek to display. They are diverse receptions of Jesus, each with distinct emphases and lacunae; but for all that, each of them can reasonably be said to transmit to us, in varying degrees and from various angles, the views of Jesus on riches and poverty.

Far from reiterating identical bits of Jesus' teachings, these texts complement each other's portraits of Jesus' ethics. By reading only John's Gospel, one might get the impression that almsgiving is a relatively low priority for the church; Luke and Matthew, however, leave no room for such an assumption. If we had only Luke's Gospel, we could easily emphasize God's preferential option for the poor so as to forget that the poor too must hunger and thirst for righteousness in order to be filled. But the collective witness of the fourfold Gospel transmits a more fully orb'd account of wealth, giving us Jesus' view of riches and poverty.

See also DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; ECONOMICS; ETHICS OF JESUS.

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ROME

Biblical interpreters have recently become increasingly conscious of the fact that both the life of Jesus and the writing of the Gospels took place under the Roman Empire. Understanding the institutions and values of that empire helps us better appreciate the events and teaching in the Gospels. This article offers a brief historical and social framework for understanding some key features of Rome and its culture. We will then look at some issues and examples in relating Jesus and the Gospels to Rome.

1. A Brief History of Rome up to the New Testament Period

2. The Organization of the Roman Empire
3. Roman Social Structures and *Pietas*
4. Jesus and Rome
5. The Gospels and Rome
6. Mark and Rome
7. Luke and Rome
8. Conclusions

1. A Brief History of Rome up to the New Testament Period.

1.1. Origins: Myth, Reality and Ideology. It is important to distinguish between Rome's mythology about its origins and what we can determine through historical inquiry. That is not to say that the accounts of Roman origins by Livy, Virgil and Dionysius of Halicarnassus are unimportant for readers of the NT. Their accounts carry invaluable evidence of ideas contemporary with the roots of the Christian movement. These writers express the ideology and attitudes of the time of Augustus, the first emperor (31 B.C.–A.D. 14), ideas that shaped life in the first century A.D.

Mythologically, Rome stems from the fall of Troy. Aeneas, son of a liaison between the prominent Trojan Anchises and the goddess Venus (a claim that later will be important for the ideology of the family of Julius Caesar) escapes the ruin and sails the Mediterranean. He then escapes the seductive lure of Carthage (centered on what is now Tunisia), encapsulated in its queen, Dido, and arrives at his destiny: founding a settlement in Italy (see esp. Virgil's *Aeneid*). This is a narrative expressing a sense of cultural proximity and yet difference. As well as making reference to the Carthaginian state that was Rome's main rival in the third century B.C., the myth, more significantly, positions Rome in relation to the Greeks. Romans were Trojans, part of the Greek civilized world but opponents of the Greeks and different from them. Romans saw themselves as more serious, pious and hardworking than the intellectual but effete Greeks. Key Roman attitudes are expressed here, as is an ideology that legitimated the rule that the Roman Empire had exercised over the Greeks for a century by the time of the Augustan historians and poets.

As well as ideology and attitudes, there is in fact something here that relates to the historical development of Rome. Rome grew up at the intersection of two cultures. Greek colonies were first founded in Italy in the early eighth century B.C. Rome was not one of them but was strongly influenced by city-based Greek life and Greek military organization. The second culture was that of the Etruscans, who

occupied a large region north of Rome and dominated the city up to at least the end of the sixth century B.C. Etruscan influence can be seen particularly in some Roman religions and customs. The Romans were rather like Greeks (and rather like Etruscans), but they saw their similarities as more than counter-balanced by differences.

From Aeneas's descendants came Romulus and Remus, twins from another divine liaison, this time involving Mars (see esp. Livy's history of Rome, *Ab urbe condita*). Romulus was seen as having founded Rome in 753 B.C. A crucial event in this was the taking of auspices, a ritual involving the flight of birds and designed to find out the will of the gods. Auspices and other omens were always a pervasive force in Roman life. Another element of this story that would prove significant in the NT period was Romulus's apotheosis—his being taken up to heaven to be one of the gods.

In reality, the founding of Rome began with an adjoining group of hilltop villages located at the lowest crossing point of the strategically important river Tiber. In the seventh century B.C. the inhabitants drained a marshy area between the hills and formed a meeting place, the Forum. For a long period Rome was ruled by a series of monarchs who were essentially Etruscan. Then (in 509 B.C., according to Roman tradition) the monarchy was overthrown, and Rome became a republic.

1.2. Developing a "Balanced" Political System. The avoidance of monarchy became, and remained, a central element of Roman politics, even, paradoxically, under the emperors. To avoid monarchy there were always two rulers, consuls, who were elected annually and, in principle, could not hold office twice. However, the most prominent duties of the consuls were as military leaders. This led to pressure for successful consuls to serve more than once, especially in times of danger, resulting in some repeat consulships from the fourth century B.C. onward. Conversely, political considerations in the late republic and early imperial period led to many consuls serving only part of a year, being then replaced by suffect consuls. The danger of monarchy was also kept in check by the consuls being constrained by other voices, beginning with the senate, a large council that rulers had been expected to consult on important decisions, even back in the time of the kings.

During the first half of the fifth century B.C. the so-called struggle of the orders took place, between the aristocratic patricians (who then monopolized membership of the senate) and the rest of the popu-

lation, the plebeians (this word did not yet have its later connotation of referring to the poor). The political system that emerged was one that the Romans saw as properly balanced, avoiding the extremes of tyranny and of Greek democracy. In Rome the consuls were elected from among the senators. The senate formed a general governing body. Alongside its patrician members it now included increasing numbers of plebeians. Membership of the senate came to be dependent on a qualifying level of wealth (expressed in ownership of land), although wealth did not give automatic entry. The power of the senate was balanced by that of the *comitium*, the popular assembly. Particularly representing that body were a number of tribunes, who could propose laws and veto senatorial legislation. Officials were elected, and legislation was subject to votes. However, elections and legislative voting were not fully democratic. Various voting methods were used, but all of them were complex systems that tended to give more say to wealthier voters. For instance, one system, the *comitia centuriata*, effectively weighted people's votes in terms of how great a contribution they (in accordance with their wealth and occupation) could make to the army.

1.3. Gaining an Empire. The Tiber Valley was a key access route into central Italy. In the fourth century B.C. Rome forced itself to the head of a group of Latin-speaking tribes. Early in the third century B.C. Rome and its allies defeated the Etruscans and Samnites, their neighbors. Shortly afterwards Rome defeated the forces of the Greek colonies of Italy's south. This spread of Rome's power across Italy brought it into competition with the existing major power in the western Mediterranean, Carthage. In the middle of the third century B.C. this state controlled much of North Africa, Spain and most islands in the region. The First Punic War (Carthage was initially a Phoenician colony, hence the name) ended in 241 B.C., with Rome gaining Sicily. This became Rome's first overseas province. In 218 B.C. war broke out again. Hannibal of Carthage invaded Italy and rampaged irresistibly for over a decade, but without taking Rome. In the meantime, Rome fought the Carthaginians in Spain, taking over their territory. Then Rome sent an army to attack Carthage itself, and the undefeated Hannibal was forced to return home in a vain effort to stave off the attack. When the war ended in 202 B.C., Rome had taken over Carthage's western Mediterranean empire.

Meanwhile, in an inept gesture of belligerence, Philip V, king of Macedon, a state in northern Greece that exercised control over many of the cities

of the rest of Greece, had proclaimed support for Hannibal without backing this up militarily. Rome attacked Philip's forces in Greece and in 196 B.C. Rome proclaimed "the freedom of the Greeks": the Greek cities would be free of Macedonian control, with Rome guaranteeing this. Despite not maintaining an army in Greece, Rome became the key power there. In 171–167 B.C. and 148 B.C. Rome fought two more wars with Macedon. After the first war Macedon was weakened by being divided into four parts (cf. Acts 16:12). After the second war the area became a province, Macedonia. In 133 B.C. the ruler of Pergamum bequeathed to Rome a large area in western Asia Minor. Through the following century generals pushed Rome's control and influence into northern Europe and on round the Mediterranean. Judea became subject to Rome after the intervention of Pompey in its politics in 63 B.C. The Romans ended up giving authority to Antipater, an Idumean already involved in Judean politics. His son Herod ("the Great") was made governor of Galilee, then tetrarch, then king of Judea. The Romans identified him as an allied king. The modern term "client king" better captures the extent to which his rule was entirely subject to Rome.

1.4. The Collapse of the Republic and the Emergence of Emperors. By the late second century B.C. cracks were appearing in the fabric of the Roman Republic. Many writers, then and since, have blamed the effects of gaining an empire. Luxury goods and slaves came in. The small farmers of Italy, the traditional backbone of the army, were squeezed both by long campaigns in distant lands, keeping them from their farms, and by ways in which newfound wealth of the elite, with access to slave labor, changed the way they wanted to use the countryside. The tribune Tiberius Gracchus passed a land reform law, and then he was murdered (133 B.C.), as was his brother Gaius (122 B.C.). Gaius Marius opened membership of the army to the poor, unable to provide their own equipment as the small farmers had. The financial dependence of the new soldiers on their general led toward the destabilizing pattern of the first century B.C. in which leaders built armies with primary allegiance to them rather than the senate. Marius's military successes led to him becoming consul six times (up to 100 B.C.), flouting part of the rulebook that kept monarchy at bay. A vicious civil war then broke out between his followers and those of Sulla, another general. In 81 B.C. Sulla took an obscure political office, *dictator*, a powerful emergency post intended to be held for up to six months, and turned it into a lifelong

appointment. He died three years later.

Now the leaders of the last act of the republic appear. Pompey is consul in 70 B.C. (after the slave revolt led by Spartacus). In 67 B.C. Pompey is voted an extraordinary *imperium*, an authority giving him geographically wide-ranging power to fight pirates. This power overrode that of provincial governors. In 63 B.C. Cicero is consul, and Julius Caesar becomes official chief priest, *pontifex maximus*. In 59 B.C. Caesar is consul, and then he spends most of the decade fighting in Gaul. In 50 B.C., in response to senatorial attempts to limit his power, he breaks with all precedent and brings his provincial army across the Rubicon River into Italy. Civil war ensues, with Caesar defeating Pompey at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. Caesar follows Sulla in taking the dictatorship as a long-term post. However, as with Sulla, a post for life turns out to mean only a few years. On the Ides (15th) of March in 44 B.C. Caesar is murdered.

To widespread surprise, not least that of his key military supporter Mark Antony, Caesar, in his will, adopts his great-nephew Gaius Octavius, whose name now changes to "Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus" (Octavian). Octavian and Antony join forces to defeat Caesar's opponents, led by Brutus and Cassius, at the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C. In 37 B.C. Antony abandons Octavian's sister to marry Cleopatra and takes increasingly wide control of the eastern half of the empire. During the struggle that follows Octavian issues coins carrying the propaganda that he is *divi filius*, son of the deified Julius Caesar, who, after the example of Romulus, was declared to have become a god after death. (Notice that Octavian's claim comes about only by adoption. This process was viewed as literally putting a person into the adoptive father's genealogical line [cf. the *genealogies of Jesus via Joseph].) Antony and Cleopatra are defeated in 31 B.C. at the naval Battle of Actium. Octavian now holds all Rome's armies in his control.

To us, the situation looks rather like monarchy. However, Octavian, no doubt with Caesar's fate in mind but probably also acting in accordance with his Roman attitudes, proclaims that he is restoring the republic. He will simply hold normal republican offices. He will just be *princeps*, the first among equal citizens. However, he will also retain control of the legions in the provinces where Rome tends to be engaged in fighting, which means the great majority of the army. Technically, he hands power back to the senate and consuls (of whom he is one for several years, then stands down). He merely expects to be consulted on state matters because of his *auctoritas*, his moral authority. The senate responds by giving

him the title “Augustus,” meaning “revered one.”

The *auctoritas* of Augustus extends to effectively nominating his successor, Tiberius, his adopted son. Tiberius comes to power in A.D. 14. After a long and somewhat checkered reign, including the anti-Jewish machinations of Sejanus and the governorship of Pontius Pilate, he dies in 37 B.C., handing power to the wildly erratic Gaius Caligula. The latter's four-year reign must have stretched the credibility of the moral authority of the Caesars close to breaking point. He dresses up as a deity (strongly against Roman norms, despite the imperial cult [see 3 below]), appoints his horse to the senate, and attempts to have his own statue installed in the Jerusalem temple. He is assassinated in A.D. 41, and his uncle, the rather more sane Claudius, rules for fourteen years, during which time the earliest NT documents are written. Nero comes to the throne in 54 A.D., begins benignly, under the influence of his tutor, Seneca, and then becomes obsessed with theatrical performance and increasingly erratic. After the great fire of Rome in 64 A.D. he puts to death many of the city's Christians. In 66 A.D. Judea and Galilee erupt in rebellion. In 68 A.D. Nero is killed or commits suicide. The effects of army loyalty to their generals reach a disastrous peak in 69 A.D. as various legions march on Rome, with four emperors coming to power in quick succession, ending with Vespasian, who returns from Judea, leaving the conclusion of the war to his son Titus, who brings the great menorah and other items from the destroyed Jerusalem temple back to Rome for a triumphal procession. Mark's Gospel is written probably some time in this troubled period, either late in Nero's reign or when Vespasian is emperor. Titus succeeds Vespasian in 79 A.D. but rules only briefly before his brother Domitian comes to the throne, ruling until 96 A.D. Second-century Roman and Christian writers see Domitian's reign as a dark time, including persecution, although the extent of this has been disputed. Domitian begins to use the nontraditional titles *dominus* (“lord”) and *deus* (“god”). Most scholars put the writing of the other three canonical Gospels during his reign.

2. The Organization of the Roman Empire.

The most striking point about the running of the empire was that very few Romans were involved in doing it. Since the early second century B.C., when unarmed Roman senators, with very small entourages, would go to Greek city states and tell them what to do, Rome generally had managed the trick of getting local people to run the empire for them,

with the threat of overwhelming military force being held very much in reserve. The Jewish War of A.D. 66–73 is a case in point. The Romans did not have enough troops permanently on the ground in Judea and Galilee to prevent the rebellion. It took time to bring sufficient force to bear.

Roman provincial governors had only a limited number of officials and support staff with them, typically less than a hundred. The governor's primary responsibility was to maintain order. This included ensuring that taxes were collected, and that Roman citizens were protected. The governor and his staff did not administer the province as such. Local legislation and administration were the responsibility of the local elite. One of Rome's main organizational strategies was to strengthen and support the position of local elites, enhancing their prestige and their loyalty to Rome. Archeologically, we can see evidence of this in the spread of Roman patterns of patronage, benefaction and honoring, attested in inscriptions throughout the empire.

There were two types of province. Those away from the troubled borders were in the control of the senate. The governors were proconsuls, senators who had completed a period as consul and were now acting on behalf of the consuls. The province of Asia, centered on Ephesus, is a case in point (see Acts 19:38). Border provinces, in which almost all the legions were stationed, were under direct control of the emperor. He would send out his own representative, a legate, to govern on his behalf. Such a legate usually was of senatorial rank and held the title *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. However, in Egypt and in smaller provinces such as Judea, the legate was an equestrian, usually holding the title of *praefectus* (“prefect”). Equestrians were members of the social rank next below senators. Like senators, equestrians had to have a certain level of wealth. However, whereas senators faced a series of status-related taboos such as a (frequently breached) ban on commercial activity, these did not apply to equestrians.

Equestrian commercial enterprises acted, in fact, somewhat as economic glue in the empire. Equestrian-owned companies conducted a great deal of long-range trade and were heavily involved in tax collecting (esp. prior to Augustus). The interregional links forged by equestrian and other companies had the effect of channeling money and goods toward Rome (as is satirized and condemned in Rev 18). Money raised in tax, generally in silver, was re-minted and sent out to the borders to pay the legions (bronze money was mainly for local use, gold money was for convenient movement of wealth). As the

Gospels attest, at a local level the collection of taxes was delegated to non-Romans. Zacchaeus (Lk 19:1-10) perhaps held a tax-raising contract for an area. Matthew/Levi was at the bottom of the tax-raising chain, sitting at a tax booth to collect money (Mt 9:9; Mk 2:14).

We should not think of the first-century A.D. Roman Empire as having sharply delineated boundaries. Rome's authority, its *imperium*, extended to varying degrees beyond any specific line that one could have drawn on a map. Rome's control was not a matter of having thousands of soldiers standing spaced out along a borderline. It was more a matter of concentrations of soldiers who could take action to protect the interests of Rome and its allies. The allies in question varied in their type of relationship to Rome. Some, such as Herod Agrippa I, ruled under Roman control in areas that would otherwise be normal provinces (in this case culminating in kingdom of Judea and Galilee, A.D. 41-44). Others, such as various Armenian rulers, held power because of Roman intervention but without the ruler's kingdom lying so obviously within what might be thought of as the empire.

The running of the empire was ultimately underpinned by the army. After very early use of the Greek-style phalanx, the Romans adopted a pattern based on legions of about five thousand soldiers. Each legion was subdivided into ten cohorts, which in turn were split into centuries, each of which, ironically, typically had eighty rather than one hundred soldiers. By the time of the Gospels, the army had moved far from its roots as an occasional force of farmers summoned from the fields to meet a threat to Rome. Now the army was fully professional, with a standard service length of twenty years. Alongside the legions, which were made up of Roman citizens, Rome increasingly relied on auxiliary forces of non-citizens (service in the auxiliary forces was a common route to citizenship). Retiring soldiers often settled in border areas where they had been stationed. Land was cheap, and the soldiers frequently had unofficial families there. In the Gospels and Acts we meet various soldiers who seem rather settled in their locales (Lk 7:1-10; Acts 10:24).

3. Roman Social Structures and *Pietas*.

Roman society was shaped so as to have strong vertical links and weak horizontal ones. The main social structures focused on allegiance and dependency between less powerful and more powerful people rather than on solidarity between people of equal power. The characteristic practice was patronage. A

wealthier individual acted as patron to a number of poorer clients. Roman writers mainly depict this in terms of clients arriving at the patron's house for the morning ritual of greeting, the *salutatio*. The resultant packed atrium lent prestige to the patron. The clients might also follow him to the forum, giving him further honor. They also supported him in elections. The patron gave the clients handouts (*sportulae*) and might invite them to meals.

This classic picture reveals only part of patronage. The most fixed patronal structure was between freed slaves and their former owners, with the freed slave being expected to carry out various forms of regular or occasional unpaid service. In many patronal relationships the overall flow of money was from client to patron, not vice versa. This particularly came about when the patron was also either landlord or a creditor. The tenant or debtor paid rent or loan interest. The patron might sometimes show favor by deferring or reducing payments. In many ways, the Greco-Roman town was a patchwork of local patronal networks. Large houses tended to be scattered across the town, with smaller dwellings surrounding each one. The mass of election graffiti from Pompeii suggests that various areas showed allegiance to particular members of the elite (Oakes). Among the house church members for whom the Gospels were written, the householders who acted as hosts probably often acted as patrons to the group. This sets up an interesting dynamic in the way the socially more radical aspects of the Gospels would have been heard in this group setting (see Balch).

The harshest form of vertical dependency was *slavery. The proportion of slaves varied across the empire, from a low percentage in Judea to maybe about thirty percent of the population in Rome. In the urban contexts in which the Gospels were written slavery was slightly mitigated by the fairly common practice of manumission (granting of freedom), even if such freeing often was timed to coincide with the slave's decline in productivity (and earning capacity) through age or ill health. Less harsh, although no doubt still tough by today's standards, were the relationships of dependency within the *family. The father (*paterfamilias*) had powers over his *children that were absolute in theory though constrained in practice. In principle, the *paterfamilias* was the only person who held property. Even grown sons could not do so while their father was alive. *Women were almost always subject to the authority of a man, usually their father. In the first century A.D. this tended even to extend partially to married women. The prevalent *sine manu*

("without hand") form of marriage left the bride's father with considerable power. He could instigate divorce of the couple. The only women with substantial independence tended to be those whose fathers had died, especially if the woman was a widow who had several children and hence was favored by Roman law.

This leads us to probably the core Roman value, *pietas*. It is not quite right to translate this as "piety." Although *pietas* does have a strong link with religion, it is fundamentally a value about respect for parents, ancestors, benefactors, patrons. It is the virtue most prized by a vertically oriented social system. The Romans felt that their *pietas* was the reason they were given an empire (Cicero, *Har. resp.* 19). They respected the *mos maiorum*, the custom of the ancestors. Innovation was resisted or was presented as a return to the past. Novelties such as Christian belief faced an uphill struggle. Gospel writers present a continuity between Christian belief and Jewish Scripture that attributes a kind of ancient pedigree to the Christian movement.

Since the gods were the ultimate benefactors and ancestors, *pietas* did demand right practice toward them, particularly to the most traditional gods of state and household. Respect was shown them by participating in sacrifices and festivals. Domestically, this mainly meant small sacrifices to the *lares* and *penates* (household gods) and to the *genius*, the procreative and protective spirit of the head of the household. At a civic level it meant sacrifices, processions and other festivals for the traditional Capitoline Triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva and to other gods, some of which were of very long standing, while others had been accepted within Roman religion in the previous couple of centuries, such as the cult of *magna mater* from Asia Minor.

Given the bias against radical religious innovation, the spread of the imperial cult is something of a surprise. However, the specific ways in which it spread actually fit the pattern of *pietas*. Broadly, it developed in two ways in different parts of the empire. In Rome Julius Caesar was declared, on the basis of the flight of an eagle, to have been deified after death, following the pattern of what had happened to Romulus and linking in with the Julian family's tradition of being descended from Venus. Octavian, as well as using his relationship to the deified one on coins, established a cult in his honor. After the death of Octavian/Augustus, Tiberius repeated the pattern, and as generations of Caesars passed, the cult of the deified dead Caesars grew, being joined by some other family members, such as Augustus's

wife, Livia, declared a deity by Claudius. As well as the precedents to which this was appealing, it had much of the character of reverence for ancestors. To this was added another essentially traditional element. Although the current emperor was not worshiped in Rome in most of the NT period, sacrifices could be offered to the emperor's *genius*, the protective spirit of the father and patron of the entire civilized world.

Meanwhile, in the Greek eastern part of the empire, a long-standing form of religious devotion became focused on the emperor. For centuries, cities had set up altars, temples and festivals on behalf of rulers and other major benefactors. By the first century B.C. this already included cults dedicated to some Roman governors. It was inevitable that such cults would also be set up for the Roman emperors, especially if a city perceived itself as having received particular benefaction from an emperor. These cults developed to cover the imperial family more broadly. They also became the focus of competition between cities wanting to be seen as major cultic centers. Despite the early emperors' reluctance to accept divine titles in Rome, they sanctioned the focusing of cults onto themselves in the Greek East, as they similarly focused onto themselves more and more honors that earlier had been spread around: triumphal processions, acclamation by troops as *imperator* after military victories, and major patronage. As became explicit under Domitian, throughout the first century there was only one figure on whom the highest honors should be showered, who was a man worthy of divine titles.

4. Jesus and Rome.

Jesus was a craftworker's son, living in *Galilee under a client ruler, Herod Antipas, sponsored by Rome. Jesus taught, *healed and led a movement among Galilean fishing families, peasants, craftworkers and others. He also taught in the Roman province of Judea, especially at the end of his life, which came about by Roman crucifixion. Despite periodically attracting very large crowds, Jesus did not launch any sort of violent resistance to Roman actions or their control of the land. However, there were ways in which his teaching and actions ran contrary to Roman expectations and interests.

Jesus disturbed the social status quo. He ate with outcasts, effectively challenging society's normal processes for inclusion and exclusion. Among these outcasts were tax collectors. Jesus' inclusion of them fitted with his general nonrebellious approach, although the Romans would not have appreciated him

calling tax collectors away from their jobs (or, indeed, calling fishermen or others away from economic activity). More broadly, Jesus' teaching appears to have implied a future in which current social hierarchies would no longer apply. He also challenged existing religious authorities. By his claim of a direct authority from God and his willingness to use this to overturn conventional religious wisdom, Jesus undermined both the elite religious authorities, such as the chief *priests, and the more commonly visible authority figures, such as *scribes, whose skills at interpreting law gave them a "retainer" position, as experts close to the elite. As explained above, the Roman Empire functioned mainly by bolstering local elites, who then ran most institutions. In the first century A.D. there was no clear division between religion and politics. The religious elite generally was the social elite, so a challenge in one sphere affected both.

Jesus' teaching about the future was something of which Rome would have disapproved overall. Central to his vision was the advent of the *kingdom of God (Horsley and Silberman, 53). Jesus saw this idea, expressed in Daniel 2:44 and implicit elsewhere in Scripture, as now coming into being in his own ministry, which involved events that would lead ultimately to the full implementation of God's sovereignty on earth. This clearly placed a time limit on Roman sovereignty and flatly contradicted the Roman imperial view of time in which the *Pax Romana*, the Roman peace, had brought about the stable golden age for the world. Jesus' *parables are full of expectation of the growth and fruition of God's kingdom, both as time goes on and at a final crisis of judgment.

5. The Gospels and Rome.

Many issues in relation to Jesus and Rome are, of course, also true of the Gospels and Rome. For instance, the "render to Caesar" saying (see 6 below) could also be discussed in considering Jesus' own attitude toward Rome. However, there are four sharp changes that we should bear in mind in moving from thinking about Jesus and Rome to thinking about the Gospels and Rome. First, Jesus has now been put to death by Rome. The Gospels are glorifications of a central character who, in Rome's eyes, has been declared a dangerous criminal. Second, most scholars date the Gospels to the period from the start of the First Jewish War against Rome (A.D. 66) to its aftermath (A.D. 70 onwards). For Jews in particular, Rome was then a much more obviously hostile power than during the time of Jesus.

Third, this dating also puts all the Gospels after the great fire of Rome (A.D. 64) and Nero's reprisals against Christians. Some other Christians too were put to death by the Roman authorities from this time on (notably Peter and Paul). Fourth, and most subtly, whereas Jesus spoke almost exclusively to Jews, who lived a largely rural life in a peripheral part of the empire and whose cultural and religious practices were already outside Roman norms, the Gospels were written to inhabitants of the empire's major cities and mostly to Gentiles. Urban Gentiles often came to reports of Jesus' teaching with different cultural assumptions from those of Jesus' Jewish peasant hearers. In particular, usually the Gentiles' family religious practice previously fitted that of their cities. The Gospels effectively called their readers away from the religious practices of family and city, such as the imperial cult, to the worship of the God of Israel and a new universal lord.

Consideration of a number of passages from two of the Gospels will show a range of the issues involved and something of the spectrum of approaches that scholars take.

6. Mark and Rome.

Mark opens his Gospel, "The beginning of the good news [*euangelion*] of Jesus Christ, son of God." Mark goes from this opening to a link with Isaiah, who also uses terminology of "good news" (Is 40:9), so Mark's use of the term probably is part of his proclamation of Jesus as bringing about a new redemption like that foretold by Isaiah. However, in nonbiblical texts *euangelion* typically is used in situations such as announcement of political events (see Gospel: Good News). In an inscription from Priene the birth of Augustus is described as marking for the world "the beginning of good news," since he has come as "a savior who put an end to war" (Lewis and Reinhold, 624). As we have seen, Augustus also called himself "son of a god." The possibility that Mark intends the drawing of a comparison is greatly strengthened by the fact that his climactic assertion of Jesus' identity, "Truly, this man was son of God" (or "son of a god," but it is the same wording as in Mk 1:1), is made by, of all people, a Roman centurion (Mk 15:39). C. Evans draws particularly far-reaching conclusions: "The Markan evangelist presents Jesus as the true son of God and in doing so deliberately presents Jesus in opposition to Rome's candidates for a suitable emperor, savior, and Lord" (Evans, lxxxix). M. Pappard argues that the *baptism of Jesus, with the omen of descent of a dove—the proverbial contrast to the warlike Roman eagle—mimics Roman impe-

rial adoption while disavowing militaristic power (Peppard, 451).

W. Carter is among those who see the story of the Gerasene demoniac (Mk 5:1-20) as relating to Rome. "Mark shows Rome's empire to be of the devil. . . . Mark's story of casting the demon Legion out of the man . . . declares God's judgment on Rome's imperial order" (Carter, 17-18). As well as the word "legion," Carter picks up on the violence and unshackled power of the demons and on the use of a pig as the mascot of the Tenth Legion, which destroyed Jerusalem in A.D. 70. C. Myers sees the story as symbolizing Jesus' aim to free Jewish territory from Rome (Myers, 190-94). R. T. France, on the other hand, dismisses this kind of theory on grounds that the way details are picked up is fanciful, that the location of the exorcism is not in occupied Jewish territory, and that this kind of reading has been unknown for two thousand years (France, 229n12). A. Collins takes an intermediate position. She sees the primary context as being cosmic conflict between Jesus and Satan, whose legions occupy the man. However, Collins appeals to the link between heavenly and earthly events in texts such as Daniel to allow the possibility of a secondary political significance for the story (Collins, 270).

In Mark 7 Jesus shows a lack of respect for ancestral tradition. He attacks the *Pharisees for their adherence to tradition. He contrasts tradition with God's will (Mk 7:8, 13). For Roman hearers, this would be scandalous. For Romans, the "custom of the ancestors" was the way to understand the will of the gods. Adherence to it was *pietas*. Admittedly, Jesus was defending the honoring of parents in the example he used (Mk 7:10), which was equally central to *pietas*. However, Jesus does not look so good at honoring parents elsewhere in Mark. When Jesus' mother and brothers try to reach him (to take custody of him), he responds by redefining his family as those who do God's will (Mk 3:31-35). Jesus may well have appeared rather suspect from the viewpoint of Roman *pietas*.

The discussion at Caesarea Philippi, about Jesus' identity and suffering (Mk 8:27-9:1), forms the central hinge of Mark's Gospel. This fits with the general pattern of Mark, with its great emphasis on the week of Christ's death. In Mark 8 the discussion of Christ's suffering moves on into a call for Christians to be willing to suffer, even to following Christ to their own crucifixion. Early church tradition puts the writing of Mark in Rome under Nero. Such a setting would make considerable sense of the prominence of suffering in Mark's Gospel. If Mark is dated a little

later, the book is still in the shadow of Nero's persecution, maybe now also with Rome's destruction of the Jerusalem temple in mind. In Mark 13:9 Jesus predicts Christians coming before "courts," "synagogues," "governors" and "kings" (a word that might include emperors). Mark's readers are likely to have read much of his material about suffering in relation to suffering at the hands of Roman authorities.

In Mark 12:17 Jesus says, "The things of Caesar pay back to Caesar, and the things of God to God." This has long been a central text for Christendom's idea of dual loyalty to state and to God. However, it has recently been subject to very different analysis. N. T. Wright argues that Jesus is alluding to the revolutionary sentiment uttered by the dying Mattathias in 1 Maccabees 2:68. Mattathias calls for vengeance against those attacking Israel: "Pay back to the Gentiles in full, and obey the commands of the law" (NRSV). Wright sees Jesus echoing this saying in a context that makes his reply neatly ambiguous. It sounds revolutionary in some way, but without denying payment of taxes. The second half of Jesus' saying, according to Wright, evokes texts such as Psalm 96, which glorify God and condemn idolatry, as seen on the coin that Jesus' opponents turned out to have in their possession. Jesus condemns idolatry and recommends giving the idolatrous coin back to the idolaters. His revolution does not fit into the normal categories (Wright, 502-7). Carter argues that Jesus "cleverly combines loyalty and deference with his own subversive agenda": showing that the religious authorities flouted the biblical prohibition against images; effectively recognizing that the earth belongs to God, not Rome; interpreting payment of taxes as a way of removing illicit images from Judea; even irreverently asking about an image of the emperor, the most powerful person in the world, "Who is this guy?!" (Carter, 29). Various other scholars support the interpretive status quo. France suggests that Jesus undermines the zealot theology that sees loyalty to Caesar and God in opposition to each other. France argues that for Jesus, the normal situation (although there may be exceptions) is that loyalty to both can be maintained at the same time (France, 466).

7. Luke and Rome.

The relationship between Luke-Acts and the Roman Empire has been a topic of debate for many years. Reasons for this are clear. Luke begins with an address to an apparently eminent person, "most excellent Theophilus" (Lk 1:3). He carefully sets his main narrative in the chronological context of Roman rule:

"In the fifteenth year of the rule of Tiberius Caesar" (Lk 3:1). Acts features many encounters between Christians and Roman officials. It ends in Rome, with Paul under arrest by the Roman authorities.

Various views have been proposed. H. Conzelmann argues that Luke presents Rome with a defense of political harmlessness of the Christian movement. Roman officials consistently find Jesus and other Christian leaders innocent (Conzelmann, 137-49). P. Walaskay turns this around, arguing that the books are written not for officials but rather for Christians, to allay Christian suspicion of the empire, portraying officials in generally positive terms. P. Esler subtly turns this again, seeing the books as legitimating to Christians their faith and practice, as things rooted in (Jewish) antiquity and not politically subversive. In contrast, R. Cassidy sees many negative points about the empire in Luke-Acts, and also a fair amount that could be seen as socially or politically controversial. (For a survey of the matter, see Walton.) Without getting into this debate as such, here I can highlight a few features of Luke's Gospel that relate in interesting ways to Rome.

One is the announcement of what appears a radical social program with implications for the authorities. In the *birth narratives of *John the Baptist and Jesus prophecy is prominent. *Mary announces that God "has brought down the powerful from their thrones and has exalted the lowly" (Lk 1:52). Zechariah prophesies that in the arrival of the Messiah God has "brought redemption for his people ... salvation from our enemies" (Lk 1:68, 71). Later, in the temple, the prophetess Anna speaks about Jesus "to all those awaiting the redemption of Jerusalem" (Lk 2:38). Jesus' ministry is launched by his announcement that he fulfills the Scripture promising a Spirit-endowed figure to "announce good news to the poor ... to proclaim release to the imprisoned ... to set the oppressed free" (Lk 4:18). In fact, the events that Luke's Gospel actually then describes as happening in and through Jesus' ministry do not straightforwardly map onto the expectations that these announcements create, most notably in terms of Jerusalem being freed. However, Luke does set up Jesus' ministry as fulfilling an agenda that will lead to the social landscape of the Roman Empire being radically transformed.

Returning to the birth narrative, we see that Luke sets the actual birth in a markedly imperial context: a tax census ordered by a named emperor, Augustus, and implemented under a named provincial governor, Quirinius (Lk 2:1-2). An angel "announce[s] good news" to the shepherds that the baby is "savior"

and "lord" (Lk 2:10-11). Then a crowd of the army of heaven proclaims that this baby will bring peace to the earth (Lk 2:13-14), this being the greatest thing that Augustus and the other emperors saw themselves as maintaining. J. Fitzmyer is one of many scholars who draw comparisons between the announcement to the shepherds and texts such as the Priene inscription, noted above (Fitzmyer, 393-97). S. Kim, although he denies that Luke aims to write about political change, does argue that "Luke deliberately contrasts the Messianic king/lord to Caesar Augustus" (Kim, 80).

A third point of contact between Luke's Gospel and the Roman Empire is material that appears to relate to the Roman siege of *Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Jesus predicts this not only in the passage parallel to the prophecy of Mark 13, on the fall of the temple, but also during his *triumphal entry into Jerusalem. In Luke's account of this the crowd's acclamation already differs in interesting ways from that in Mark. Instead of talking about the kingdom, Luke's crowd describes a king (Lk 19:38). They then proclaim peace, as did the angelic speakers in the announcement to the shepherds. At Jesus' birth the armies of heaven announced peace on earth and glory in the highest (Lk 2:14); now, the crowd on earth announces peace in heaven and, again, glory in the highest (Lk 19:38). In Roman thought peace in the heavens and peace on earth go together. Tumult on earth stems from a breaking of the *pax deorum*, the peace of the gods. For Luke, the triumphal entry relates to the advent of the ultimate peace brought by the Messiah. After the acclamation Luke brings in two further elements. One is a rebuke by Jesus against the Pharisees trying to silence the acclamation. Jesus responds that the very fabric of the cosmos, the stones, will call out the acclamation if no human does. The second is that, astonishingly, in the midst of all this celebration Jesus starts weeping. He weeps that Jerusalem will not share in the peace that is coming because the people have not understood the way to peace (Lk 19:41-42). Instead, the city's enemies will encircle it, lay siege to it and tear it down (19:43-44). E. Franklin argues that this "suggests knowledge of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE. Jewish rejection of Jesus and his way of peace leads them into confrontation with Rome with its inevitable disastrous results" (Franklin, 952).

This impression is reinforced in Luke 21:20 (Nolland, 930-33, 1000), Jesus' prediction of the fall of the Jerusalem temple. At this point in his recounting of Jesus' prophecy Mark evokes the apocalyptic language of Daniel: "When you see the abomination of

desolation standing where it ought not to be ..." (Mk 13:14 [cf. Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11]). In place of this Luke reads, "When you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that its desolation has arrived" (Lk 21:20). The specific language here and in Luke 19:41-44 has a strong OT background in a range of prophetic visions of God's judgment on various cities (e.g., cf. Lk 19:44 with Is 3:26; Nah 3:10). J. Nolland argues that the Lukan texts are making a theological case that "All of God's acts of judgment and threats of judgment, as recorded in Scripture, come to their culmination in the prospect of judgment held forth here" (Nolland, 1003).

The expectations of the messianic liberation of Israel from Rome, set up in Luke's birth narratives, appear to be turned on their head. Luke's two-volume story takes the idea of the Messiah's relationship with Israel, Rome and the world in very unexpected directions.

8. Conclusions.

There are significant issues relating to Rome in understanding both the life of Jesus and the particular emphases that the Gospel writers bring out in their accounts of Jesus. The evidence is complex. Neither Jesus nor any of the four evangelists fit neatly into a well-known political pigeonhole. The points that relate to the Roman Empire are also often part of a larger argument that the writer is making—for instance, about the nature of Christ. However, the issues of relationship to Rome and Roman ideas are a vital part of the picture. This is true not only in the passages examined above, which generally have some obvious link to Rome, but also in the rest of the four Gospels, written in cities of the Roman Empire, about a person whose life was lived within that empire.

See also GODS, GREEK AND ROMAN; HELLENISM; HERODIAN DYNASTY; PONTIUS PILATE; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

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P. Oakes

S

SABBATH

The English word *sabbath* is an adapted transliteration of the Greek *sabbaton*, as this is in turn of the Hebrew *šabbāt*. The Hebrew term has the same root as the verb “stop, cease”; a similarity to the Hebrew word for “seventh” allows for a word play suggesting the seven-day cycle of Sabbath observance. The keeping of Sabbath was an important marker of Jewish identity and a matter over which Jesus came into conflict with the *Pharisees of his day.

1. Sabbath in the Old Testament
2. Sabbath in Jesus’ Day
3. Sabbath in the Gospels

1. Sabbath in the Old Testament.

The seven-day cycle with rest at the end of a working week is given its most profound theological basis in Genesis 2:3: “God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it God rested.” The importance of the OT Sabbath command is evident from its inclusion in the Ten Commandments (Ex 20:8-11; Deut 5:12-15), where, alongside the prohibition against idols, it holds the honor of being the most expanded of the commandments. In the Exodus form of the commandment the requirement is grounded in God’s creation pattern; in Deuteronomy the requirement is grounded in God’s rescue of his people from the slave labor of Egypt. Keeping the Sabbath was a marker of the covenant between God and his people (Ex 31:16-17; Ezek 20:12, 20).

Sabbath rest was a solemn obligation, so serious that its violation was considered a capital offense (Ex 31:14-15; 35:2; cf. Num 15:32-36). But the OT makes very little investment in defining what constituted “not do[ing] any work” (Ex 20:9). In the Pentateuch we learn only that fires were not to be lit (Ex 35:3) and sticks for a fire not to be gathered (Num 15:32-36), and that manna was not to be gathered (Ex 16:22-26). From elsewhere we can add only that burdens were not to be carried (Jer 17:21-22)—this prob-

ably directed at arrangements for commercial activity (cf. Neh 13:15)—and, at a higher level of generality, that pursuing one’s own affairs was not proper on the Sabbath (Is 58:13), nor was the resentful or reluctant keeping of the Sabbath (Amos 8:5).

On the positive side there is also very little specific definition. Not working involves resting (Deut 5:14). Leviticus 23:3 speaks of a “holy convocation” on the Sabbath. No further clarification is offered, but since the festivals involved holy convocations, the Sabbath probably was to be seen as a minor or even informal festival. Special offerings were required on the Sabbath (Lev 24:5-9; Num 28:9-10; cf. Ezek 46:4). Clearly, not working on the Sabbath marked and celebrated the relationship with God, but how this worked out in practice was left fairly open.

2. Sabbath in Jesus’ Day.

Both in the Jews’ own eyes and in the eyes of others Sabbath keeping was an important marker of Jewish identity (see Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.20-21, 282; Philo, *Mos.* 2.21), and by the time of Jesus the mode of Sabbath keeping was much more specified, though different groups had their own understandings of what could and could not be done on the Sabbath. The length of a permitted Sabbath day journey had been agreed (Acts 1:12; CD-A X, 21). Sabbath prohibitions could be set aside when human life was in danger (1 Macc 2:29-41); except in extremis, Jewish soldiers would not carry arms on the Sabbath (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.226-227). Transport of goods was totally forbidden; food for the Sabbath was to be prepared the preceding day; water was not to be fetched; sexual engagement with one’s wife was proscribed (*Jub.* 2:29-30; 50:6-13). One might suspect that some of the more exacting additional restrictions of CD-A X, 14—XI, 18 were a distinctive of sectarian groups such as the Qumran community, as is probably sexual engagement with one’s wife from the *Jubilees* list.

By Jesus' time it had become customary to meet in *synagogues on the Sabbath for corporate prayer, reading of Scripture and instruction.

3. Sabbath in the Gospels.

In general, Jesus abided by the Sabbath stipulations of the Bible and of his surrounding culture. He attended the synagogue services and was allowed to teach there (Mk 1:21; 3:1; 6:2 par.; Lk 13:10). He was concerned about the likely impact on the *disciples if they needed to flee on a Sabbath (Mt 24:20). For the *women disciples, it was natural to forgo going to the tomb to attend to the body of Jesus until after the Sabbath (Mt 28:1; Mk 16:1; Lk 23:56—24:1). In relation to the Sabbath, Jesus came into conflict with Jewish leaders only over *healing (Mk 3:1-6 par.; Lk 13:10-17; 14:1-6; Jn 5:2-18; 7:19-24; 9:1-41) and over the freedom felt by his disciples to eat grain from a field (Mk 2:23-28 par.).

From one angle, these conflicts would seem to be unnecessary: no emergency was involved with any of the healings; and though the disciples probably were genuinely hungry, we are not to think that any serious threat to their well-being was involved. Although these are not exactly “staged” conflicts, they do seem to be conflicts that Jesus deliberately chose not to avoid, in order to have the opportunity to throw down a challenge. Therefore the Gospel accounts of Jesus' explanations are deserving of special attention.

3.1. Mark. Not all of Jesus' Sabbath healings are reported as stirring up controversy. The exorcism in Mark 1:21-28 garners a positive response, recognizing the striking authority exercised by Jesus over the demonic. In this case there is a presenting crisis as the *demons confront Jesus; deferral to the next day hardly seems appropriate. The healing of Peter's mother-in-law in Mark 1:29-31 is in a private setting with none but immediate followers of Jesus to scrutinize. In Mark 1:32-34 all the people who brought the sick and demon-possessed for healing waited until the end of Sabbath to do so.

A critical stance toward Jesus' Sabbath activity first emerges in Mark 2:23-28 in connection with the disciples plucking heads of grain on the Sabbath. Certain Pharisees insist that this action is unlawful. Jesus responds on three fronts or perhaps two, with the third addressed by Mark to his readers.

Harvesting on the Sabbath is specifically prohibited in Exodus 34:21. It is likely that postharvest gleanings by the poor would be covered by this prohibition. But should the prohibition extend to making use on the Sabbath of the limited access to the produce of the

fields, prior to harvest, provided for in Deuteronomy 23:24-25? Poor people became hungry on the Sabbath. Although everything that could be done on the sixth day had to be done, immediate food preparation did not constitute a violation of the Sabbath (*Jub.* 50:8-10; *m. Šabb.* 7.2). Jesus' Pharisaic accusers considered that his disciples were harvesting.

In his initial response Jesus compares his provision of food for the disciples with David's provision of food for (himself and) his companions in 1 Samuel 21:1-6 (Mk 2:25-26). The food was loaves for priestly consumption only. The point is probably not that, in principle, hunger overrides the Sabbath—in extremis it may, but while it may have been David's, this is not the disciples' situation—or that Jesus, like David, was “above” the law. Perhaps Jesus saw David as operating by a hierarchy of values that allowed for the overriding of the normal requirements of the law; thus, on analogy, Jesus considered the same true in his situation. Another possibility is that Jesus is claiming to be a Davidic figure. But if so, in what way? Is it a crisis in relation to the founding of the Davidic dynasty versus the eschatological crisis of the coming of the messianic *kingdom of God? Or is Jesus claiming to be, like David, “a man after God's heart who will do all [God's] will” (Acts 13:22) who is also in a position to offer authoritative interpretation of the law? The matter is not entirely clear, but the last suggestion seems to have most in its favor. Messianic overtones may not be absent.

For the Markan Jesus, the strict rules about who may eat the presentation loaves was never intended to preclude David's action, just as the Sabbath restrictions were never intended to preclude the disciples' action. Jesus picks up on the Pharisees' use of “is not lawful” of his disciples' action to take up a case where the language “is not lawful” fits OT stipulations, but in which nevertheless nothing wrong was done by David. But Jesus does not accept the Pharisees' charges against disciples' behavior. As far as Jesus was concerned, the disciples violated no law, only an overly strict and inhumane application of the law. (The perspective of the poor and needy is strikingly invisible in the discussion of the Sabbath in *m. Šabb.*)

In his second response (Mk 2:27) Jesus appeals to the creation sequence of Genesis 1:1—2:3 to insist that the Sabbath was instituted for the benefit of humanity, not the reverse (cf. *Mekilta* on Ex 31:12, 14). The Sabbath is God's blessing, not a cramping and life-denying constraint and not a rigid and arbitrary set of rules to be obeyed.

Jesus' third response (Mk 2:28) may be quoted

matter and therefore to be understood as Jesus' words, or it may be editorial comment indicating something that Mark considers can be inferred from the episode. The Greek allows for both possibilities. As Jesus' response, however, it is hard to make sense of the opening "so, with the result that" (Gk. *hōste*). As an aside to the reader it makes good sense. As we have seen, Jesus is claiming authority to interpret the law, in this case the law of the Sabbath. He is the one able to declare what is permitted and what is prohibited. As the *Son of Man, he is Lord of the Sabbath.

Mark 3:1-6 also raises the issue of what is lawful on the Sabbath (Mk 3:4). In the Pharisaic view, Jesus' healing activity was work and therefore unlawful on the Sabbath (cf. *m. Šabb.* 14:3-4, where eating or drinking what is considered to have healing properties is prohibited; and *m. Šabb.* 22:6, where setting a broken limb or relieving a dislocated hand or foot by pouring cold water over it is prohibited). That he healed by word alone might have been considered to make a difference, but clearly it did not in the eyes of his critics in Mark 3:1-6. Jesus' activity and its defense created enemies out to destroy him. Jesus defends himself with a question posed in terms of two antitheses. The second, "to save life or to kill" echoes well-established Jewish thinking (see 1 Macc. 2:39-41; *m. Yoma* 8:6-7; *m. Šabb.* 16:1-7; *Mekilta* on Ex 31:13; and, with strict limitations, CD-A XI, 16-17), but that Jesus wanted to extend this beyond the in extremis situation is made clear by the other juxtaposed antithesis: they interpret each other. Jesus' approach to Sabbath keeping is based on the conviction that love of God and of neighbor are inextricably linked. What dishonors my neighbor cannot honor God, and what leaves my neighbor in suffering can only be evil.

Although Jesus' words and actions lead immediately to a plot to destroy him (Mk 3:6), it is unlikely that a legal charge against Jesus of breaking the Sabbath was the intended mechanism. Since Sabbath keeping was a primary mark of Jewish identity in the eyes of both Jews (e.g., Ex 20:8-11; Neh 13:15-22; CD-A X, 14—XI, 18; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.237; *m. Šabbat*) and Gentiles (Seneca, Persius, Martial and Juvenal comment, negatively), an accusation of infidelity to the Sabbath, if credible, would discredit Jesus. Jesus' difference with the Pharisees here over what was permitted on the Sabbath belongs with other internecine Jewish disputes over what was permissible on Sabbath and other festival days. Only blatant disregard of the Sabbath would have attracted the attention of the Jewish courts, and even then not in terms of the death penalty envisaged by the OT law (Ex

31:12-17; Num 15:32-36). In CD-A XII, 3-6 it is clear that even very strict Essenes excluded the death penalty, and while *m. Sanh.* 7:8 keeps it in theory, the requirement of warning by two witnesses in advance of the infringement means that in practice lesser penalties would have been imposed.

The Markan Jesus is concerned with Sabbath practice, not with whether to keep the Sabbath.

3.2. Matthew. The relevant materials in Matthew are versions of those that we have looked closely at in Mark. Only the main differences will be attended to here. In Matthew 12:1-8 Matthew drops Jesus' second response of Mark 2:27, substituting another two responses. The first (Mt 12:5) draws attention to the way that *temple requirements override Sabbath rules: priests "profane" the Sabbath and are guiltless. Matthew goes on to insist that something greater than the temple is present. We should understand that what is asserted is that Jesus is of such importance that he can arbitrate in relation to what are not true violations of the normal nonwork requirements of the Sabbath. Matthew's second added response (Mt 12:7) explains why Jesus finds his disciples faultless. He takes seriously the prophetic perspective of Hosea 6:6: "I desire mercy and not sacrifice." The Sabbath intention is that of a God who embodies mercy and grace and therefore expects it of his people.

In Matthew 12:9-14 the mode of argumentation is quite different from that of Mark 3:1-6. In place of the double antithetical question comes a comparison with the care of sheep. A sheep that falls into a ditch on the Sabbath is rescued; people matter more than sheep. CD-A XI, 13-14 has a more severe view than that appealed to by Jesus (but cf. Prov 12:10; *m. Šabb.* 18:3). But Jesus' argument is intended to operate at the visceral level of imagination and experience.

3.3. Luke. At the level of our interest here the Lukan versions (Lk 6:1-5, 6-11) of the two Markan controversy accounts follow Mark closely and do not merit separate attention. (Like Matthew, Luke drops Mk 2:27.) But Luke also has Luke 13:10-17; 14:1-6. The argument in Luke 13:10-17 is of a similar kind to that in Matthew 12:9-14, but now with an ox or an ass led out to water on the Sabbath (cf. *m. 'Erub.* 2:1-4; CD-A XI, 5-6). The ox and the ass may be an echo of the Deuteronomic Sabbath command (Deut 5:14), and if so, probably indirectly supports such practice with animals as in line with God's intention that they too should benefit from the Sabbath. As in Matthew, the animal's distress rather than a threat to life is in view.

Although the setting and important details are quite different, the argument in Luke 14:1-6 is again broadly equivalent to that in Matthew 12:9-14. A

Sabbath meal in the home of a leading Pharisee is yet more provocative than the synagogue as a setting for healing (Lk 14:1). And this time Jesus initiates the confrontation by putting the question of the lawfulness of Sabbath healing (Lk 14:3). Now, rather than a sheep, we have an ass or an ox (or possibly a son or an ox—the text is slightly uncertain) (Lk 14:5). Either could, as above, echo Deuteronomy 5:14 (the latter as the first member of the first and last set of pairs). “Son” may have been introduced in the face of a more extreme Jewish view, less well disposed to the animals, like that found in CD-A XI, 13-14. Here, the place where he/it has fallen is a well, with its extra threat of drowning, rather than a ditch (Lk 14:5). The inability of the scribes and Pharisees to answer (Lk 14:6) points to the rhetorical effectiveness of Jesus’ words.

As with the other Synoptic Gospels, the concern is not to question the Sabbath but rather to defend a place on the Sabbath for the kinds of activity that Jesus was engaging in.

3.4. John. Jesus heals on the Sabbath on two occasions in John (Jn 5:2-18 [with 7:19-24]; 9:1-41), both quite distinctive. In John 5 Jesus creates a double Sabbath offense, with both the “work” of healing (Jn 5:15-16) and his getting the healed man to take up and carry away his mat (Jn 5:8-10). On healing as work, see discussion of Mark 3:1-6 in 3.1 above. Carrying on the Sabbath, especially outside the home, was generally considered work (*m. Šabb.* 5—6). Jesus’ defense of his behavior creates yet more offense, with its claim to an intimacy of relationship with God, which is seen as Jesus “making himself equal with God” (Jn 5:18).

Jesus doubly defends his behavior. First, in “working” on the Sabbath, he claims to be doing what God is doing (Jn 5:17). There is a paradoxical relationship between this claim and the perspective of Genesis 1. The apparent contradiction invites exploration as to what kind of work God might be continuing to do. The answer should be sought in connection with the renewal of creation, with redemption. At the mundane level Sabbath rest is about the renewal of the body, but at a higher level it is about the renewal of the relationship with God. For this reason, there could be no better day than the Sabbath for Jesus to be at work in restoring people to wholeness.

The second line of defense builds on this perspective but offers an argument more like those found in the Synoptics. The law not just allows, but even requires, the work of circumcision on the Sabbath to bring newborn infants into the covenant by

removing the impediment that would otherwise exclude them (Jn 7:22-23). Circumcision deals with a problem with a part of the male anatomy; Jesus’ healing deals with the needs of the whole human body (Jn 7:23). The apparent acceptance in John 5:18 of the view that Jesus has broken the Sabbath is neutralized by “do not judge by appearances” in John 7:24 and revealed as only how things looked to Jesus’ opponents.

With the healing of the man born *blind in John 9, it is not Jesus, but the blind man, who defends Jesus. As far as the blind man is concerned, the goodness and the power involved in the healing make it clear that Jesus comes from God and does God’s will. There is nothing here about why the healing is an appropriate Sabbath activity. But the material in John 5 and John 7 will cover John 9 as well.

See also HEALING; JUBILEE; LAW; SYNAGOGUE; TEMPLE.

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J. Nolland

SADDUCEES

The Sadducees were a Jewish religious and political group in first-century A.D. Israel, attested by the Jewish historian *Josephus, the NT Gospels and Acts,

and later *rabbinic literature. In the NT they often appear beside the *Pharisees, who are viewed as both theological rivals and fellow opponents of Jesus. Their most prominent characteristic in the Gospels and Acts is their denial of the *resurrection, a belief that places them in opposition to both the Pharisees and the followers of Jesus.

The Sadducees have often been referred to as a “sect” of *Judaism, but this is not quite right. A sect is traditionally defined as a minority group in opposition to the religious status quo, viewing itself as the authentic people of God. By contrast, the Sadducees appear to have been important powerbrokers at the center of Judean politics, part of the religious elite who affirmed the status quo. It is best to refer to them as a religio-political “party” within first-century A.D. Judaism (where religion and politics were inseparable).

1. Origin
2. Sources
3. Summary

1. Origin.

The origin of the Sadducees is unclear, and none of our sources provide reliable information. The traditional view is that they arose from the priestly aristocracy that sided with the Hasmonean dynasty. Others consider them to have been opponents of the Hasmonean high *priests, supporting a rival priestly line. Their name may have been derived from the priestly line of Zadok, a high priest during the time of David.

2. Sources.

All the information that we have about the Sadducees comes from their opponents or from (later) antagonistic sources. No Sadducean primary source documents are extant.

2.1. Josephus. Josephus identifies the Sadducees as one of three main “philosophies” of Judaism, together with the Pharisees and the Essenes. Almost everything that he says contrasts the beliefs and practices of the Sadducees with those of the Pharisees, whose manner of life he chose as his own (*Life* 10-12). According to Josephus, while the Pharisees believed in fate and God’s active agency in the world, the Sadducees denied divine providence in favor of human free will, so that God was not responsible for human evil. While the Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul, the Sadducees denied it, as well as punishment and reward in the afterlife (*J.W.* 2.162-164; *Ant.* 13.171-172). The Sadducees also rejected the oral “traditions of the fathers” passed

down by Pharisees because they were not part of the written *law of Moses (*Ant.* 13.297-298; 18.16). Josephus adds, however, that when, reluctantly, the Sadducees became magistrates and made judicial decisions, they tended to follow Pharisaic teaching “because the multitude would not otherwise bear them” (*Ant.* 18.17).

This is in line with Josephus’s claim that the Pharisees were popular with the masses but the Sadducees were disliked, enjoying only the “confidence of the wealthy” (*Ant.* 13.298). Josephus even says that the Pharisees were affectionate to one another and cultivated harmonious relationship in their community (a comment no doubt biased by Josephus’s affinity with the Pharisees), while the Sadducees were as rude to each another as they were to outsiders and were “boorish” in their behavior (*J.W.* 2.166). The picture seems to be of an aloof aristocratic clique generally out of touch with the common people. How much of Josephus’s characterization is polemical rhetoric, perhaps prompted by personal animosity toward individual Sadducees, and how much is characteristic of the group as a whole is difficult to say.

2.2. The Gospels and Acts. The Sadducees are mentioned in the NT only in the Synoptics and Acts. They appear once in Mark’s Gospel, approaching Jesus in Jerusalem with a conundrum that attempts to refute the doctrine of the resurrection. Jesus responds by affirming the resurrection and accusing them of knowing neither the Scriptures nor the power of God (*Mk* 12:18-27 // *Mt* 22:23-33; *Lk* 20:27-38).

Only Matthew places the Pharisees and the Sadducees side by side in opposition to Jesus. *John the Baptist calls both groups a “brood of vipers” and warns them of coming *judgment (*Mt* 3:7-10). Jesus repeatedly warns his disciples against the “yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees” (*Mt* 16:6, 11, 12), probably a reference to the permeating influence of their pride and hypocrisy.

In addition to his parallel to *Mark* 12:18-27, Luke refers to the Sadducees in three passages in *Acts* (*Acts* 4:1; 5:17; 23:6-7), where they are associated with the priestly leadership in Jerusalem, the high priest and the *Sanhedrin. They opposed the apostles because they were “proclaiming in Jesus the resurrection of the dead” (*Acts* 4:2). The apostles’ message that the death and resurrection of Jesus had launched the longed-for restoration of Israel was threatening to the Sadducees, whose authority in Israel was dependent on the Roman authorities and the political status quo. In *Acts* 5:17 the high priest “and all his associates” are said to be “members of

the party of the Sadducees.” This is our best evidence that the Sadducees were part of the priestly aristocracy in Jerusalem. Whereas Jesus’ primary opponents in *Galilee were the scribes and Pharisees, in Jerusalem the early church faced greatest opposition from the Sadducees and the rest of the priestly leadership.

In Acts 23:6-7 the issue is again the resurrection. Paul, on trial in Jerusalem, splits the Sanhedrin, which is said to comprise Pharisees and Sadducees, by affirming his belief in the resurrection. Luke here adds an additional bit of information: the Sadducees not only rejected the resurrection, but also said that “there are neither angels nor spirits.” Since it is unlikely that they denied completely the existence of *angels, who appear throughout the OT, this could mean that (1) they rejected the hierarchies characteristic of apocalyptic Judaism (Finkelstein); (2) they rejected that angels were mediators of divine revelation (Bamberger); or (3) the statement concerns only the resurrection and means that they denied the interim state of the soul, whether as an “angel” or a “spirit” (Daube).

2.3. Rabbinic Literature. Rabbinic literature refers occasionally to the Sadducees, usually in opposition to the Pharisees. The Mishnah (ca. A.D. 200) mentions a few cases where the Pharisees and Sadducees differed over questions of law, especially purity issues. Later rabbinic material becomes even more polemical, and the Sadducees are sometimes associated with heretics. In general, the rabbinic literature is either too late to be reliable or gives us little new information.

3. Summary.

A minimalist approach to the Sadducees claims that the sources are so sketchy and polemical that we can know almost nothing about their origins, beliefs or practices. This is overly pessimistic. By comparing the various sources, we can draw a broad-stroke portrait of the Sadducees as a religio-political party that arose sometime during the Hasmonean period among the upper class of the priestly aristocracy of Judea. They had significant power and influence within the priesthood and in the Sanhedrin. At least two high priests (Acts 5:17; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.199), and probably others, were Sadducees. They competed for power with the Pharisees, their chief rivals, but were less popular among the common people (not unlike wealthy elites everywhere). Like the Jewish aristocracy in general, they were conservative politically and thus pro-Roman, supporting the status quo in order to maintain their own posi-

tion and authority. Like most upper-class Jews of their day, they probably were more Hellenized than the average Jew, though this point is not stressed in the sources.

Concerning their beliefs, the Sadducees believed in free will and denied the resurrection and the final judgment. They rejected the oral traditions of the Pharisees because they were not part of the written law of Moses. It is uncertain, however, whether the “law of Moses” here refers to the Pentateuch or to the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures (the Prophets and the Writings). If the former, and the Sadducees accepted only the Pentateuch as fully authoritative, this might explain some of their unique doctrines, including their denial of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead, which are taught explicitly only in the later portions of the Hebrew Scriptures (see Dan 12:2-3).

Like their origin, the decline and disappearance of the Sadducees is obscure, but we can surmise that with the destruction of the *temple and the collapse of the Jewish state, the priestly leadership and their supporters lost influence. The center of Judaism shifted from the temple cultus to the study of the law, and the traditions of the Pharisees rather than the Sadducees played the leading role in the development of rabbinic Judaism from the second century A.D. onward.

See also LAW; PHARISEES; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; RESURRECTION; SANHEDRIN.

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SALOME. See HERODIAN DYNASTY.

SALVATION

A description of salvation as an aspect of the theology of a particular Gospel depends on an analysis of the narrative world implied by that Gospel. And this implies determining the functional value and significance of the relevant soteriological terminology (e.g., the semantic field of the word *sōzō*) and especially of metaphors used to designate salvation (e.g., *lytron*, *zoē*, *gennaō*) within the narrative world of a particular Gospel.

At the same time, the narrative worlds of the Gospels exhibit some common features. Common to all Gospels is that the story of Jesus is narrated retrospectively and thus situated in a somewhat distant past. Jesus' story is thus narrated as a "history" of Jesus, culminating in his *passion, *death and *resurrection. The ongoing life of Jesus is (except for the appearance stories in Mt 28; Lk 24; Jn 20) not narrated; but the future return of the risen Jesus as the *Son of Man at the time of the last *judgment is presented as the next act in the Jesus story, with the exception of John's Gospel with its realized as well as futuristic eschatology. The death and resurrection (and/or assumption) serve as a temporal watershed, structuring the time of Jesus (which in all three Synoptic Gospels is considered as the final phase of history—i.e., as the end time [see Mk 12:6 par.]) as bipartite, as time of the earthly and of the risen Jesus, as time of Jesus' presence and of his absence (or a different mode of presence [see Mt 28:20; Jn 14]). These common features determine the structure of the following description of the soteriology of the Gospels. In the case of each Synoptic Gospel, the role of salvation will be examined with reference to the preresurrectional past (i.e., Jesus' life as presented in the Gospel), the "present" (i.e., salvation with respect to the postresurrectional present of Jesus' adherents) and the future (i.e., at the return of the Son of Man). Since the present and future to some extent merge in the realized eschatology of John, salvation is expressed in terms of existence (life) in the eternal family of God.

1. Mark
2. Matthew
3. Luke
4. John

1. Mark.

More than any other early Christian writing the Gospel of Mark differentiates between the time of Jesus' presence and the time of his absence. Mark presents the presence of Jesus as beneficial, as a salvific presence, but his postresurrectional absence as

perilous for his followers (Mk 2:18-20; 13:1-37; 14:27). The (past) presence of Jesus is salvific in a general and a specific sense: as the bearer of the Spirit (Mk 1:9-11), Jesus' presence generally mediates the *kingdom of God proleptically (Mk 1:13; 6:30-44; 8:1-9; 14:25) and especially in his *healings and exorcisms anticipates the final eschatological salvation (see, e.g., the allusions to Is 35:4-6 in Mk 7:31-37). Jesus' followers partake of the salvational "sphere" surrounding Jesus. Not only do they perform the same salvific deeds (Mk 3:13; 6:7-13, 30-32), but also the presence of Jesus fends off all danger from them (Mk 4:35-41; 6:45-51), so that the time of Jesus' presence is presented as nonhazardous (in contrast to the period of Jesus' absence, which is characterized as perilous [Mk 4:6-19; 10:30, 38-39; 13:5-22; 14:27]).

The Gospel of Mark also speaks of salvation in a narrower, specific sense. This sense of salvation is connected with the use of the verb *sōzō* (Mk 3:4; 5:23, 28, 34; 6:56; 8:35; 10:26, 52; 13:13, 20; 15:30-31). In all instances *sōzō* means "to save life," either in the sense of saving it from death (Mk 3:4; 5:23; 8:35; 10:26; 13:13-20; 15:30-31) or in the sense of securing its (physical) integrity (Mk 5:28, 34; 6:56; 8:35; 10:52). Two different aspects of salvation could be distinguished. (1) There is salvation by Jesus from physical hazards, especially illness (Mk 3:1-6; 5:21-43; 6:53-56; 10:46-52), which conspicuously corresponds with the semantic field *pistis/pisteuō* (see Mk 5:34, 36; also Mk 2:5; 9:19-24). In Mark's Gospel *faith is understood as unconditional reliance on God's absolute and creative power (see Mk 11:23-25; 10:27; also Mk 9:23), especially his power to intervene actively in his creation to save from peril (particularly in answer to prayer: Mk 9:29, 11:23-25). Such faith occurs when people confidently turn to Jesus as God's eschatological messenger and bearer of his Spirit for help (e.g., Mk 2:1-5; 5:21-43; 6:53-56; 9:14-29; 10:46-52). Salvation in this sense constitutes a particular aspect of the broad salvation associated with Jesus' salvific presence. (2) In other instances *sōzō* is used to designate the saving of life within an eschatological horizon (Mk 8:35; 10:26; 13:13, 20)—that is, to refer to salvation from God's final judgment (Mk 8:38). This use of *sōzō* corresponds with the use of the verb *akoloutheō* (Mk 8:34; 10:21, 28-31) and indicates that eschatological *life (i.e., "eternal life" [see Mk 10:17, 30] or "entering the kingdom/life" [see Mk 10:23-24; also Mk 9:43, 45, 47]) depends on following Jesus. According to Mark, behavior vis-à-vis Jesus as God's final messenger determines one's fate in God's final judgment (Mk 12:6-9; cf. Mk 8:38, 10:21; see also Mk 14:62-64). Therefore, the following

of Jesus during his earthly presence constitutes a precondition for eschatological salvation (Mk 8:34—9:1; 10:28–31). “Following Jesus” is understood as unconditionally becoming Jesus’ *disciple (Mk 8:34) (including the readiness to die for him and his gospel [Mk 8:34–35]) and as sharing communal life with him (Mk 1:16–19; 2:14–15; 10:28–29; 15:41). Jesus and his followers constitute a new community understood to be an eschatological *family or household (Mk 10:30; cf. Mk 3:34–35) (*see Church*).

Mark’s concept of salvation requires an understanding of his concept of history. Fundamental to the theology of Mark is the conception that the presence of Jesus determines the character of reality. Just as his presence constitutes a period of salvation, his absence (Mk 2:20; 4:26–29; 13:34–37) equally implies the absence of salvation and therefore implies peril for his followers (Mk 4:16–19; 10:30; 13:7–13; 14:27). According to Mark, the situation of believers is one of imminent danger (Mk 10:30; 13:7–13, 19–20), especially the danger of the loss of salvation (Mk 4:16–19; 13:6; 14:27). Many scholars (Best; Fritzen) interpret the *miracles (esp. Mk 4:35–41; 6:45–52; *see also* Mk 8:14–21) symbolically as allegories for Jesus’ salvific presence and for his fending off of danger from his adherents in the postresurrectional period. However, at no point in the Gospel is the postresurrectional absence of Jesus relativized, and a symbolic reading of the Jesus events is nowhere indicated. Rather, Mark’s concept of history implies that in the interim period between Jesus’ resurrection and his return (Mk 13:34–37) Jesus does not intervene (cf. Mk 4:26–28).

The adherence to Jesus remains a precondition for eschatological salvation during the postresurrection period. However, since “following Jesus” in the sense of joining his company is not possible anymore because of his postresurrectional absence, “following Jesus” becomes a metaphor for adhering to the *gospel (*euangelion*) and thus to Jesus. The parallels of Jesus and gospel in Mark 8:35, 38; 10:29 clearly show that the gospel in the postresurrection period serves as a certain substitute for the absent Jesus: to adhere to Jesus, one must break with existential and social bonds “for the sake of the gospel” (Mk 10:29) in order to be integrated into the family of Jesus (Mk 10:30). Proclaiming the “gospel” and the family of Jesus’ followers constitute bridges of continuity between the time of Jesus’ presence and his absence. In the face of persecution and affliction during Jesus’ absence the precondition for participation in the eschatological salvation is faithfulness to Jesus and the gospel: whoever denies adherence to Jesus or the gospel (Mk 8:38) forfeits salvation (Mk

8:34, 38; cf. Mk 4:16–19). For this reason, the time of Jesus’ absence is superscribed with warnings to be aware and watchful (Mk 13:5, 9, 23, 34, 37; *see also* Mk 14:34, 37) and leads up to the admonition that whoever “endures to the end [*telos*] will be saved [*sōthēsetai*]” (Mk 13:13). The term *telos* is ambiguous and probably is used purposely to refer either to death or to the eschatological end of time (cf. Mk 13:7). In the first case it is implied that they will be saved—that is, will receive eternal life (Mk 8:35–37; 9:43, 45; 10:17) or enter the kingdom (Mk 9:47; 10:24–25)—who do not renounce their adherence to Jesus (Mk 8:34; *see also* Mk 13:11–12) in order to save their earthly life (Mk 8:35–37). In the second case the admonition refers to the final end of time and corresponds to Jesus’ prophecy that the final great tribulation will be such that no one would be saved were it not for the fact that the Lord had cut it short (Mk 13:19–20). The implication is that everybody will either die because of the tribulation or will not be able to endure and remain faithful to the end (*see* Mk 13:13)—that is, renounce their adherence to Jesus (Mk 8:34; *see also* Mk 13:11–12) in order to save their life (Mk 8:35–37).

For Mark, salvation first of all means participation in God’s eschatological reign (Mk 1:14–15; 9:47; 10:24–25), which will be brought about finally when the Son of Man returns (Mk 8:38—9:1; 13:24–27). The coming of the Son of Man is depicted as God’s final judgment and is understood as the destruction of God’s enemies (Mk 13:24–27, cf. Is 13; 34). Salvation therefore entails being saved from God’s final judgment administered by the Son of Man (Mk 8:34—9:1; 13:24–27; 14:62). Jesus, the Son of Man, has the authority to *forgive sins (Mk 2:10), so that he gathers the elect (Mk 4:29; 13:27) to participate in the kingdom of God and eternal life (Mk 8:35–37; 9:43, 45; 10:17). Participating in the kingdom of God implies, among other aspects, having *table fellowship with Jesus (Mk 14:25), thus continuing the earthly community with Jesus (Mk 2:14–15; 6:30–45; 8:1–9).

Of special relevance for understanding Mark’s concept of salvation is the much-disputed *lytron* saying in Mark 10:45. Usually the saying is interpreted with Isaiah 53 in the background (*see* Servant of Yahweh). Such interpretations claim either generally that Mark interprets Jesus’ death as vicarious, or that Mark views Jesus’ death as an atoning (sacrificial) death. Such interpretations should be considered inappropriate because *lytron anti pollōn* has no equivalent in Isaiah 53, and because the understanding of Jesus’ death as an expiatory, even sacrificial, death would be an isolated, erratic block in the Gos-

pel with no interconnection to the Markan narrative world. The *lytron* metaphor should therefore rather be understood against the background of the general meaning of *lytron* in the sense of a “payment of compensation” (see LSJ s.v. λύτρον) and more specifically in the technical sense of a compensatory payment on behalf of somebody to fend off punishment, especially a death penalty, as found in the LXX (Ex 21:30; Num 35:31-32; Prov 6:34-35) or in inscriptions from Asia Minor devoted to the god Men, where *lytron* designates expiatory payments on behalf of persons in order to prevent imminent punishment of these persons by the divinity (CMRDM 61, 66, 90). Interpreting Mark 10:45 on this background allows for an understanding of the text in line with the context (cf. also the household imagery in Mk 10:43-44) and with the narrative world conjured up by the Gospel. Because of past transgressions of God’s will by his followers (Mk 3:35; 10:19, 20-23) Jesus as *paterfamilias* of his family (Mk 3:34-35; 10:20-30) pays his life as compensation on behalf of the members of his family in order to fend off the pending punishment in God’s final judgment (cf. Mk 8:36-37). For the sake of contextual coherence, the only other assertion concerning the meaning of Jesus’ death in the Gospel of Mark—the “cup” saying in Mark 14:24—should be interpreted within the framework set by Mark 10:45.

2. Matthew.

The soteriological program of the Gospel of Matthew is stated in the birth narrative of Matthew 1:18-24 (see Birth of Jesus). In allusion to the Hebrew meaning of Jesus’ name (*yēhōšuaʿ/lyēšūaʿ* = “God is savior”), it is said that he will save (*sōsei*) his people from their sins (Mt 1:21). In the parallel formulated in Matthew 1:23 the birth of Jesus is interpreted as the fulfillment of Isaiah 7:14, and Jesus is ascribed the name “Emmanuel,” which means “God with us.” Matthew 1:21 assumes that God as Israel’s savior (cf. Deut 32:15; 1 Sam 10:19; Ps 23:5; Is 12:2; 43:3, 11-12) will save *Israel from its sins through Jesus as instrument of salvation and thereby subtly construct an opposition to the *temple cult as institution for the remission of sins (cf. Mt 9:1-8). This opposition becomes fully clear in Matthew 1:23 because the presence of God in Israel was associated with his dwelling in the temple in *Jerusalem/Zion (cf. Mt 5:33-37; 12:4; 23:16-22; see also 1 Kings 8:12-13; Ps 46:6; 48:3; Is 8:18). Note that the original context of Isaiah 7:14 associates Emmanuel with the presence of God (Is 8:8-10), who dwells on the temple mount, Zion (Is 8:18; 12:6), and saves from imminent judgment (Is

7:17-25; 8:6-8, 14-15). Matthew therefore programmatically sets up Jesus in opposition to the temple cult in Jerusalem as the point of God’s saving presence in Israel.

In Matthew’s Gospel this central theme is developed in a twofold manner. (1) On the one hand, the story of Jesus is told as the narrative of Israel’s rejection of God’s eschatological salvation presented in Jesus (Luz). The leaders and, in the end, the majority of Israel reject Jesus (Mt 11:20-24; 12:14, 24, 38; 15:1-2, 12; 16:1-12; 21:46; 26:2-3; 27:25), which culminates in his death. Israel thereby forfeits God’s salvation (Mt 21:28-32, 33-46; 22:1-14; 23:1-35), and consequently Jesus’ public ministry ends with the prophecy of the desolation (Mt 23:38) and destruction (Mt 24:1-2) of the temple and Jesus abandoning the temple (Mt 23:29—24:1), signifying the loss of God’s saving presence in the temple (cf. Mt 27:51), which thereby is abandoned for destruction (cf. Ezek 10; 2 Bar. 6:7; 8:1-2; Josephus, *J.W.* 519). God abandons his presence in Israel and turns toward the nations (Mt 21:41-45; 22:7-10; 28:19).

(2) On the other hand, the Jesus story is narrated as a story of God’s salvific presence in Jesus. To do so, Matthew adopts central aspects of Mark’s portrayal of Jesus and adapts them for his own theological ends. As bearer of the Spirit (Mt 3:13-17) (see Holy Spirit), Jesus is depicted as God’s messenger (Mt 21:33-40) in and for Israel (2:6; 15:24), who teaches God’s will (Mt 5—7, esp. Mt 7:21; furthermore Mt 10—11; 13; 18; 23—25) and proleptically mediates the kingdom of heaven in healings, exorcisms and other miracles (Mt 8—9). As is the case in Mark, these acts often are signified by the term *sōzō* (Mt 8:25; 9:21-22; 14:30) and associated with faith terminology (Mt 8:26; 9:22; 14:31; see also Mt 8:10, 13; 9:2, 28-29). The miracle narratives therefore serve to portray Jesus’ presence in Israel as salvational presence.

Matthew also adopts the other strand of Mark’s soteriology: *sōzō* designates the saving of life within an eschatological horizon (Mt 16:25; 19:25; see also Mt 10:22; 24:13, 22) or salvation from God’s final judgment and eternal punishment (Mt 13:41-43; 16:27-28; 19:28; 24:29-31, 37-41; 25:31-46; see also Mt 8:11-12; 10:28)—that is, eschatological life (Mt 7:14; 10:39; 16:25-26; 18:8-9; 19:16-17, 29; 25:46) and participation in the kingdom of heaven (Mt 5:20; 7:21; 13:43; 18:3-4; 19:23-24; 21:31; see also Mt 5:3-12; 19:12). Matthew furthermore adopts Mark’s interpretation of Jesus’ death as *lytron* effecting the remission of sins (Mt 20:28; 26:28; cf. Mt 1:21). As in Mark, this aspect of salvation is connected to “following Jesus”—that is, discipleship (Mt 16:24; 19:21, 27-28; cf.

Mt 8:19-22; 20:34)—primarily understood, however, as participation in a teaching community (Mt 5:2; 7:29; 10:24-25; 23:8-10; 26:18; also Mt 16:18; 18:17) based on the confession that Jesus is Christ and *Son of God (Mt 14:33; 16:13-20) and probably *Lord (see Mt 7:22; 8:25; 14:30; 25:11). Jesus teaches that participation in salvation depends not only on faithfulness to Jesus (Mt 10:31-32; 24:42—25:30), but also on fulfilling his *commandments, particularly his authoritative interpretation of the Torah (see Law) as God's will (Mt 5:17-20; 7:15-27; 16:27; 21:28-32, 43; 23:2-3). This ethical dimension of salvation is only slightly indicated by Mark (Mk 3:35).

The specific profile of Matthew's soteriology consists in the way he adapts Mark's concept of history. According to Matthew 28:20, the presence of Jesus is continued after his resurrection. This implies that the salvific presence associated with Jesus as Emmanuel continues. Since Jesus, who was present in Israel, is the same Jesus who arose from death and who will be with his adherents forever (Mt 28:20; cf. Mt 18:20), the Matthean narrative of Jesus is largely transparent for the present of the readers. This becomes particularly clear in the case of the narrative of the calming of the storm (Mt 8:18-27). Since the disciples follow Jesus in the boat, the boat becomes a symbol for the community of disciples in the presence of the risen Jesus (Bornkamm; Luz). In the same way, the disciples in the narrative and their experiences of salvation become transparent for the disciples in the postresurrection period. This makes it possible to read the Matthean miracle narratives symbolically as narratives about the experiences of the present Matthean church with the salvific presence of the risen Jesus, who, when called upon, saves from danger, is supportive of those of little faith, and heals from (spiritual) blindness. In the same manner, the teachings of Jesus delivered during his earthly ministry are transparent for the postresurrection period (see Mt 28:20); they are primarily addressed to the readers as "gospel of the kingdom" (Mt 4:23; 9:35; 24:14; 26:13)—that is, as guidance for salvation.

3. Luke.

As in the case of Matthew's Gospel, the structure of Mark's Gospel fundamentally determines not only the storyline of the Gospel of Luke but also the narrative world evoked by Luke's narrative. But unlike these other two Gospels, Luke (partially) narrates the postresurrection period in the second part of his two-volume work, Luke-Acts. A description of salvation in Luke's Gospel can therefore not be isolated

from the whole narrative of Luke-Acts; rather, it must consider the function of Luke's portrayal of salvation in the Gospel within the narrative world elicited by the whole narrative. A fundamental aspect of Luke's soteriology is his conviction that God ultimately is the subject of salvation (Lk 1:47): God is savior (*sōtēr* [Lk 1:68-79]) and effects salvation for Israel (see Lk 15, esp. Lk 15:7, 10, 20-24, 32). Accordingly, it is a constant theme of Luke-Acts that God effects salvation through Jesus. He is God's "means of salvation" (*sōtērion* [Lk 2:30; 3:6; Acts 28:28]), so the salvation effected through him is part of God's salvific history with Israel (Lk 1:69-79; Acts 7:1-53; 13:16-41), is part of God's providential plan for Israel and the world (cf. the use of providential *dei* in Lk 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 24:7, 26, 44), and is therefore the subject of prophecy (cf. Lk 24:44; Acts 3:18; see also Lk 2:25-35, 36-38; 3:4-6, 16-17; 4:18-19; 10:22-23), angelical announcements (Lk 1:13-17, 30-35; 2:9-14) and divine portents (Lk 1:18-20, 44).

Decisive for Luke's concept of salvation is the interpretation of Luke 2:11 as a prophetic interpretation of the *birth of the child in Bethlehem as the birth of a *sōtēr* ("savior") (note also the prophetic assertions about the *sōtērion* in Lk 2:30; 3:6), then defined as *christos kyrios* ("[the] Christ [the] Lord") (cf. the prophetic use of "Lord" and "Christ" in Lk 1:17, 43, 76; 2:26; 9:20). In the further development of Luke's story God validates Jesus' status as Christ and Lord (Acts 2:36) and as savior (Acts 5:31; cf. Acts 13:23; savior for Israel; Acts 13:47; savior of the nations; see also Acts 4:12) by resurrecting Jesus from death (Acts 2:14-36; 4:10-12; 5:30-31; see also the present tense in Lk 2:11; 4:41; 9:20). Accordingly, the terms "Christ" and "Lord" are used of the risen Jesus in Luke 24:26, 34, 46. God furthermore appointed the risen Jesus to be the eschatological judge (Acts 10:42-43; 17:31).

In Luke's concept of salvation God installed the risen Jesus as Christ and Lord—that is, as savior and judge who forgives sins and has power over life and death. Salvation accordingly consists of the forgiveness of sin (Acts 5:31; cf., e.g., Acts 2:38-40; 13:38-39; see also Lk 1:77-78; 24:47) and eschatological life (Acts 11:18; 13:46, 48; 17:25). Participation in eschatological salvation is effected by responding to the message about Jesus (Lk 24:45-47; see also Acts 2:14-36, 37-41; 10:34-43, 44-48; 13:23-37, 38-48) with the faith that Jesus is Lord (Acts 16:30-31; see also Lk 8:12; Acts 2:21; 5:14; 9:42; 11:17, 21; 13:39; 18:8; 20:21; 24:24; 26:18), followed by *baptism (Acts 2:38-41) and/or the bestowal of the Spirit (Acts 10:42-48)—that is, by incorporation into the Chris-

tian communities (Acts 2:40-41, 47; 20:21; 26:20).

It should be noted that Luke's portrayal of Jesus encompasses his life between his birth as future savior, Lord and Christ (Lk 2:8-11) and his resurrection appearances (Lk 24:1-49) as this risen Lord (Lk 24:34) and Christ (Lk 24:26, 46). This depiction has the function to explain why the child born in Bethlehem became the risen Lord and Christ, the universal savior and final judge. In line with Mark's Gospel, Luke portrays Jesus as bearer of God's Spirit (Lk 3:21-22; cf. Lk 1:35; Acts 10:38) and as God's eschatological prophet (Lk 3:4-6; cf. Is 49:11; Lk 4:14-21; cf. Is 61:1-2; Lk 7:18-23; cf. Acts 10:38; see also Lk 4:24, 27; 7:16, 39; 9:8, 19; 22:64; 24:19). This is combined with the motifs of the killing of the prophets (Lk 13:33-34; cf. Lk 6:23; 11:47-51; see also Acts 3:14-15; 7:52; cf. Acts 2:22-23; 10:37-39; 13:28) and of the obedience (Lk 2:41-51; 4:1-13; 22:39-46), suffering (Lk 9:22, 44; 18:31-33; 22:21-23:43), death (Lk 23:44-56, esp. Lk 23:47) and restitution (Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14) of the just one (*dikaïos*).

Within this framework Luke adopts the Markan concept of salvation. Jesus' presence is depicted as salvific and beneficial presence (Lk 9:11; 11:20; 17:21; 19:9; Acts 2:22; 10:38). As is the case in Mark, salvation terminology is being used to characterize Jesus' healings (Lk 6:9; 18:42), exorcisms (Lk 8:36), raising of a dead person (Lk 8:50), cleansings of impurity (Lk 8:48; 17:19) and the forgiving of sins (Lk 7:50), and correspondingly faith terminology appears in these contexts (Lk 5:20; 7:9, 50; 8:48, 50; 17:19; 18:42). Jesus' salvific presence evokes faith as a persisting reliance on his ability to help (cf. Lk 18:1-8). However, Luke massively expands the Markan conception of eschatological salvation. Unconditional and unfailing discipleship in complete dependence on God's providential care is understood to be the precondition for participation in eschatological life (Lk 9:23-27; 18:18-30; see also Lk 12:4-12, 35-48; 14:25-35; 16:1-13, esp. Lk 16:9)—that is, in the kingdom of God (Lk 9:57-62; 12:22-34; 13:22-30; 14:15-24; 18:15-17, 26-30; 19:11-27; see also Lk 6:20-26). Characteristic for Luke (and Matthew) is his expansion of the prerequisites for eschatological life to include ethical aspects (Lk 10:25-37; 14:12-14; see also Lk 6:27-35, 46-49; 13:6-9; 14:15-24).

How do these views on salvation relate to Luke's concept of salvation developed in Acts? Jesus is depicted as the eschatological prophet like Moses (Acts 3:22-23; 7:35-38; cf. Deut 18:15-19; see also Lk 8:22-25; 9:10-17), who in analogy to Moses (Acts 7:38), is "horn/trumpet of salvation" (Lk 1:69) and "originator of life" (Acts 3:15) and therefore mediates God's "ways of life" (Acts 2:28 [cf. Acts 5:20: "words of

life"]). Obedience to Jesus' words determines whether one adheres to God's eschatological people (Acts 3:23). Jesus' teaching in the Gospel therefore pertains to the life of those adhering to the Christian communities because of their faith.

4. John.

The Gospel of John follows a similar narrative structure to the Synoptic Gospels, but with a focus on Jesus as the one who was sent to this world to make *God the Father known and thus convey eternal life (Jn 1:1, 18; 3:16; 14:6-24). Underlying the narrative is the question "Where and with whom is God?" The narrative emphasizes that the true presence of God is no longer to be found within the religious structures of the Jewish opponents of Jesus (i.e., the physical temple [Jn 2:18-22]) and their interpretation and form of obedience to the law (e.g., Jn 5:45-47); rather, it is to be found in the presence of Jesus (Jn 1:14-18), in his words and deeds. Within the Johannine narrative the nature of this conflict influences the soteriological language and concepts.

Jesus is described as the savior (*sōtēr*) of the world by the *Samaritans (Jn 4:42), thus confirming that salvation comes from Israel (Jn 4:22). This happens in and through Jesus, who, as the way, the truth and the life (Jn 14:6), came to reveal the God of Israel, the God of *Abraham (Jn 8:33, 39-40, 51-56) and the God of *Moses (Jn 1:17; 5:45-47) to people dwelling in death and darkness (Jn 3:17-21; 5:25; 12:49-50; 14:9-11), thus saving the world (Jn 3:17; see also Jn 10:9; 12:47) by offering and giving them eternal life (Jn 3:16, 35-36). By believing in Jesus people receive eternal life (Jn 3:35-36; 20:31; see also Jn 5:24), the life God has, which he gave to Jesus, who gives it to believers (Jn 5:26; 6:57). The soteriology of John is developed within these cognitive domains of going into/being in a faithful relationship with the Son and the Father and receiving/having life within a new eternal reality through birth from above (Jn 3:3, 5). The two main motifs for attaining salvation are linked in John 1:12-13: faith and spiritual birth, which result in eternal life. For John, the moment of salvation is indeed when a person believes in Jesus and is being born into a spiritual family—that is, receives eternal life. From this point on, having salvation is expressed as an existential reality within which the child of God eternally lives. This brings us to an important point. "Eternal life" often is described as the essential soteriological term in John, but life should be seen as only part of a process. Birth from above results in eternal life through faith. Birth describes the moment when salvation takes place; eternal life

is the soteriological result of the soteriological event of “birth of God.”

The moment of salvation is expressed in metaphorical terms as being born into the family of God, or simply of God. The metaphorical nature of terminology such as “birth of God,” “eternal life,” “children of God” and “God becoming our Father” is directly related to family imagery. Salvation in John’s Gospel is expressed metaphorically (as “being born” or “having life”) in terms of the central ancient social reality: the *family (see van der Watt 2000). Just as every person was born into this earthly world, every Christian is born into the “world of God.” The result is being a child of God, which implies that the person has the ability to partake in the spiritual things, belonging to the family of God; and this constitutes the essence of salvation. By becoming a part of the (fictive) family of God, a person is resocialized in terms of that spiritual family. This new society (God’s family) becomes the basic and determinative society toward which a person orientates himself or herself. The believer must obey the Father, act according to those rules, love those brothers and sisters, and so forth. Although believers are not taken out of their physical communities, another family—the spiritual family of God—determines their lives within those communities.

The gift of salvation is primarily based on the presence of the person of Jesus, the life (Jn 14:6) and light (Jn 8:12), the one sent by the Father (Jn 3:16). The Father has given him not only life itself (Jn 5:25; 6:57) but also the power over life and death (Jn 5:21; 10:17–18), so that he may convey life; he is indeed the resurrection and life (Jn 11:25–26). Thus, the Johannine soteriological model is based on a personal relationship of a person with (faith in) Jesus, within which new life is conveyed through birth of the Spirit. Jesus does not need to “earn” salvation through his death or by atonement; he has the power of God to convey eternal life (salvation) to those who believe even before his death on the cross.

The question is much disputed whether the cross has any soteriological value. Since it is directly mentioned in John that the cross is the place where the true nature of Jesus will be revealed (Jn 8:28), it is generally agreed that the cross has a revelatory function, thus identifying Jesus for who he is. That there are atoning or sacrificial undertones in the Gospel is argued by some. At least it can be said that the function of the cross amounts to more than just being a way back to his Father.

John emphasizes that through the events of the cross the divine identity of Jesus was revealed and

the crucial question of his divine origin and identity answered. The cross and resurrection are where the *glory of Jesus is revealed, illustrating his intimate relationship with the living God. Among other things, references to his being lifted up (*hypsōō* [Jn 3:14; 8:28; 12:32]) might refer to the revelation of his glorious identity (Jn 7:39; 8:54; 11:4; 12:16, 23; 13:31–32; 17:1, 5). Thus, the soteriological riddle of “where God is” is solved. In and through Jesus God is present. In this light, it can be understood why revelation, through the cross events (among other things), forms a cornerstone of the soteriological process. The salvific power of the cross lies in its revelatory function, leading people to Jesus.

The use of *hyper* (“for, on behalf of”) in John’s Gospel might suggest some form of substitution, since it is used mainly in contexts where one person dies for another (Jn 6:51; 10:11, 15; 11:50–52; 13:37–38; 15:13; 18:14). That *hyper* implies substitution might, however, not simply be assumed. Only in John 11:50–52 is *hyper* without doubt used in the sense of substitution. In John 10:11, 15, where the *shepherd dies for his sheep, and John 15:13, where Jesus dies for his friends, it may be interpreted in a substitutionary way, but not necessarily so (it need not be “in their place”; it can also be “because of them”). We might therefore conclude that although John does not emphasize or focus on substitution or sacrifice, there are some insinuations in that direction.

John the Baptist called Jesus the “Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of this world” (Jn 1:29, 36). The link between sin and the Lamb in this expression is very suggestive of sacrificial atonement for sin. No consensus, however, exists among scholars on the interpretation of this expression. Whether John has the Paschal lamb in mind, or perhaps a more generic view of lambs in general that are sacrificed, is not clear (see Lamb of God). Even if it is implied that Jesus died as the Paschal lamb, it might not be sacrificial, since the main function of the Paschal lamb was to protect (Schlund), not to substitute. Again it must be concluded that this theme is not developed in detail or focused on in John’s Gospel.

Concepts such as sacrifice, atonement and substitution are not developed as central theological concepts in John’s Gospel. This “underdevelopment” should not be interpreted in the sense that John develops a separate Christian tradition that denies these soteriological aspects; rather, it illustrates that his soteriology is not formulated in an ahistorical manner. His soteriological message is formulated with a specific situation of conflict between the opponents and the followers of Jesus in mind (Jn 1:9–

13), and this situation directly influenced his choices of soteriological terminology and themes and therefore restricts the themes that he addresses. The basic issue in John's Gospel does not concern the way in which individual sins are reconciled or cleansed by the blood of Jesus, or related points. The issue rather has to do with where God, as the source and aim of salvation, is to be found: is it with the disciples of Moses or with the disciples of Jesus? The mistake should therefore not be made to conclude from this particular focus and the absence of terminology of or references to blood, sacrifices, reconciliation, expiation of sins, and so on that John either was unfamiliar with these soteriological traditions or rejected them (such language is used in, e.g., 1 John 1:7; 4:10). These types of conclusions are drawn when the soteriology of John's Gospel is read in abstraction.

See also DEATH OF JESUS; ESCHATOLOGY; EXILE AND RESTORATION; FAITH; FORGIVENESS OF SINS; GOSPEL: GOOD NEWS; HEALING; ISRAEL; JUBILEE; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; LIFE, ETERNAL LIFE; NEW BIRTH; RESURRECTION.

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J. G. van der Watt and D. S. du Toit

SAMARIA. See SAMARITANS.

SAMARITANS

In NT times the Samaritans were a substantial religious group inhabiting parts of the central hill country of Samaria between *Galilee to the north and Judea to the south, but with diaspora communities in addition. Physically, they focused on Mount Gerizim, close to the ancient town of Shechem, while religiously, the focus of their faith was on a form of the *law of Moses, the Pentateuch, which differed only slightly, but in one or two respects crucially, from the form of the Pentateuch familiar to us from its Masoretic recension.

1. Sources and Their Difficulties
2. Origins and Early History
3. Varieties of Samaritanism and Principal Beliefs
4. Samaritans in the Gospels

1. Sources and Their Difficulties.

Despite the explosion in recent years in the publication of Samaritan texts and secondary discussions based upon them, considerable problems still confront us regarding most questions relating to the Samaritans in the first half of the first century A.D.

1.1. Samaritan Sources. Apart from the Samaritan Pentateuch itself, all Samaritan sources date from periods considerably later than the NT. Moreover, many of these sources, whether historical, doctrinal or liturgical, are known only from manuscripts of far more recent date still. In addition, it must be remembered that the Samaritan community has survived in unbroken continuity to this very day, and that during its history it has developed internally and, being usually a minority group, has inevitably been influenced by external pressures in its quest for survival. Scholars thus disagree, often quite widely, over the extent to which these

sources can help in reconstructing early Samaritan history and belief.

Among the more important texts that incorporate valuable earlier traditions are (1) the *Memar Marqah*, a fourth-century composition that also includes later material; it is an expansive retelling of the biblical account of Moses, incorporating many *midrashic supplements; (2) the *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh* ("annals") of *Abu'l-Fath*, composed in A.D. 1355, and now generally recognized as the most valuable of the various Samaritan "Chronicles"; and (3) the Samaritan *Targum. Of course, even though the greatest caution has to be exercised before historical conclusions can be drawn from these and other such Samaritan sources, they have considerable significance on their own account in terms of heightening our appreciation of the Samaritans' sense of self-awareness.

1.2. Jewish Sources. Pride of place here belongs to *Josephus, who both recounts a version of the origin of the Samaritans and includes frequent references to them in his *Jewish Antiquities* and *Jewish War*. This material has to be evaluated in the light of Josephus's evident anti-Samaritan stance and his historical confusion (which can be independently verified) surrounding especially the last part of the Persian period and the start of the Hellenistic period, precisely the time in which he locates the most important step in the development of the Samaritan community.

There are also references of varied significance in the intertestamental literature and in the later Mishnah and Talmud (see Rabbinic Traditions and Writings). Although such references generally are negative, scholars have frequently remarked on the fact that several of these are a good deal more ambivalent than might at first have been supposed, reflecting, no doubt, the fact that the status of the Samaritans was extremely problematic from a Jewish point of view.

1.3. Other Sources. The NT itself contains important material from an historical point of view. In the context of the present discussion, particular awareness of the dangers of circular argumentation is required. Some of the early church fathers also include potentially relevant material. Finally, archeology is a particularly important source of information in an area where the textual data are so uncertain. Shechem has been extensively excavated, and work has been undertaken from the 1980s on, unearthing the remains of a substantial Hellenistic town on Mount Gerizim itself. (The excavator has also claimed that there was a Persian period temple there.) In the latter case, we await proper publications of the excavation results, so

that we may hope for further advances in our understanding in the coming years. Almost four hundred inscriptions and fragments of inscriptions from Gerizim were published in 2004, and they provide valuable material. Also, two Samaritan inscriptions from the island of Delos in the Aegean Sea are important. All the inscriptions can be dated to 200–150 B.C. (Kartveit).

A full survey of much of these sources is available in *The Samaritans*, a magisterial compendium by a number of leading experts edited by A. D. Crown.

2. Origins and Early History.

Several views of Samaritan origins are attested in antiquity. Although each contains problems from a modern perspective, they retain their importance as evidence for how the situation was perceived in the first century A.D. The following survey represents a heavy simplification for the sake of clarity.

2.1. Samaritan Views. The Samaritans have always believed that they are the direct descendants of a faithful nucleus of ancient Israel. From their perspective, Israel's apostasy began as early as the time of Eli (eleventh century B.C.), when the nation's cultic center was removed from Gerizim to Shiloh (and thence eventually to Jerusalem); in the Middle Ages they thus would have regarded themselves not as the remnant of the old northern kingdom of Israel, but rather as original Israel, whereas the Jews descend from a splinter group. For them, therefore, the question of origins should be directed more toward *Judaism than to themselves.

2.2. Jewish Traditions and Josephus. Josephus links the origins of the Samaritans with the account in 2 Kings 17:24–41, which tells of how, following their conquest of the northern kingdom, the Assyrians colonized the area by settling it with people from a number of Mesopotamian towns, including Cuthah. These colonists adopted the Israelite faith alongside their own religion (2 Kings 17:41), and their descendants, often called "Cuthaeans" in Jewish polemical sources, are the Samaritans of later times. The hostilities between Judah and its northern neighbor recorded in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah demonstrate the antiquity of the division between the two groups but do not confirm the correctness of Josephus's interpretation of 2 Kings 17.

Building upon information in Nehemiah 13:28, Josephus adds a further significant ingredient: at the end of the Persian period the priest Manasseh was expelled from Jerusalem, and a sanctuary was built for him shortly after at the start of the Hellenistic period by Sanballat, his father-in-law, on Mount

Gerizim. Over the course of time other priests from Jerusalem joined him there. Josephus thus recognizes a certain degree of Samaritan priestly legitimacy (at least in terms of descent), and his account helps him explain the Jewish character of much Samaritan practice.

2.3. Critical Reconstruction. After decades of discussion (which cannot be surveyed here), and as new pieces of evidence have come to light, scholars are now agreed that none of these positions can be maintained as an accurate reflection of the situation. Although disagreement inevitably remains, there is a widespread measure of agreement on some of the salient issues, the upshot of which for the present discussion is that the situation as reflected in the NT developed far more recently than had previously been thought, and that the division was by no means as clear-cut as the earlier views might be thought to imply. The following four points deserve notice.

First, the account in 2 Kings 17 should be discounted in discussions of Samaritan origins. (1) The word *haššōmērōnīm* in 2 Kings 17:29, often translated “the Samaritans,” seems merely to mean “inhabitants of (the city or province of) Samaria,” and this fits the context best. (2) There is no evidence to link the later Samaritans with the city of Samaria. All the earliest certain references to them point clearly to their residence in the region around Shechem, as we should expect on the basis of their theology (Sir 50:26; 2 Macc 5:22-23; 6:2), and one of Josephus’s sources refers to them as “Shechemites” (*Ant.* 11.340-347; 12.10). Shechem perhaps was inhabited until the early Hellenistic period. (3) Despite earlier mistaken suggestions, it is now clear that nothing of later Samaritan religion and practice owes anything to the proposed pagan influence of 2 Kings 17 or Ezra 4.

Second, it is not known for certain precisely who lived in Shechem and on Mount Gerizim at the start of the Hellenistic period. Most probably, an important element comprised a group of religious purists who were descendants of the original Israelite population in the north who had not been exiled by the Assyrians (that there were some is recognized by the OT itself [see, e.g., 2 Chron 30; 34:6; Jer 40:5]). Following the severe suppression of a revolt in Samaria in the time of Alexander the Great and the complete Hellenization of this city, the ancient site of Shechem would have been an obvious place to settle. “It often happened that when a Greek colony was established, native villages under its control formed a union around an ancestral sanctuary” (Bickerman, 43-44). The discovery of over two hundred skeletons in a cave in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh is generally thought to

reflect part of this same upheaval.

A less certain but attractive suggestion is that they were joined, or even preceded, by a group of priests from Jerusalem who had been forced to leave the *temple service there because of the rigorous policies of those who succeeded Ezra and Nehemiah. Josephus’s account may include some memory of this; there is strong circumstantial evidence in the OT for a major reorganization of the Jerusalem priesthood at about this time; it would help account for Samaritan claims to a legitimate priesthood, their close association with a number of inner-Jewish developments (e.g., in halakah), and the apparently continuing inner-Samaritan tensions between the priesthood and the laity (see below). The later establishment of the Qumran community (see Dead Sea Scrolls), this time by a stricter group of priests and their followers, forms an interesting parallel development.

Third, the formation of this community and the building of a temple soon after would not of themselves have caused a decisive breach or schism. J. Purvis, however, notes four possible reasons for a steadily deteriorating situation during the third and second centuries B.C.: (1) political tensions because of different alliances with the Ptolemies and the Seleucids; (2) Jewish resentment because of Samaritans’ acceptance of a greater degree of Hellenization and their consequent failure to join in the resistance to Antiochus Epiphanes; (3) tensions between their respective diaspora communities; and (4) Hasmonean expansion (Purvis 1986).

This last element probably was decisive, for in 128 or 109 B.C. John Hyrcanus captured Shechem and destroyed the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim. Apart from natural resentment, this drove the Samaritans to a closer religious rationale of their situation (compare the effect of the destruction of the *Jerusalem temple in A.D. 70). As Purvis has tried to show, it was at this period that the Samaritan Pentateuch began its own separate history in terms of script, orthography and, crucially, textual tradition and recension (Purvis 1968). From this point on, therefore, though one certainly should continue to regard Samaritanism as a form of Judaism (“sect” would be an anachronistic term to use), it became crystallized as by far the most distinct by virtue of its wholesale rejection of the Jerusalem-centered *Heilsgeschichte*, something that cannot be said of any other variety of Judaism in antiquity.

Fourth, not surprisingly, relations continued thereafter at low ebb, and isolated events that are recorded from the first century A.D. may be regarded as symptomatic, though told from a Jewish stand-

point. For instance, between A.D. 6 and 7 some Samaritans scattered bones in the Jerusalem temple during Passover (Josephus, *Ant.* 18. 29-30), while in A.D. 52 Samaritans massacred a group of Galilean pilgrims at En-Gannim (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.118).

3. Varieties of Samaritanism and Principal Beliefs.

It is clearly mistaken to speak of “normative” Judaism in the first century A.D., given the number of groups that often differed quite sharply from one another, and recent research has suggested that the same probably is true of the Samaritans (see Kippenberg; Isser).

3.1. *The Dositheans.* Because of the fragmentary nature and late date of all our relevant sources, it is not possible to go beyond informed conjecture, but S. Isser has made out a strong case for the view that “Dositheus was an early first century A.D. eschatological figure among the Samaritans, who applied the ‘Prophet like Moses’ passage of Dt. 18 to himself” (Isser, 163). He further argues that Dositheus became prominent within a Samaritan sect that had already been formed during the previous century and, as a *synagogue-based lay movement, was somewhat akin to the Pharisaic movement within Judaism, in contradistinction to the more Sadducee-like orthodox Samaritans, who no doubt were predominantly priestly and centered on Gerizim.

Such distinctions need to be borne in mind when evaluating references to contacts between the Samaritans and Jesus or the first Christians as well as between Jews and Samaritans, for the degrees of affinity between different groups across the divide may have varied far more than our severely fragmented knowledge allows us to recognize.

3.2. *Principal Beliefs.* The previous remarks also mean that it is difficult to speak in general terms about Samaritan beliefs. However, from the Samaritan Pentateuch, whose primary recension should be dated, as we have seen, earlier than the first century A.D., a few comments may be made. From the text-type of the Pentateuch that they elected to adopt for themselves, it is probable that already the passage in Deuteronomy 18:18-22 about a future “prophet like Moses” had been joined to the Exodus version of the Sinai account (following Ex 20:21). They themselves, however, will have added to the Decalogue the commandment, based on Deuteronomy 27, to build an altar on Gerizim.

Thus, we can be reasonably certain that the following elements of their later creed were already established in early times: belief in one God, in Mo-

ses the prophet, in the law and in Mount Gerizim as the place appointed by God for sacrifice. The other two elements of the creed are less certain: the day of judgment and recompense, and the return of Moses as the Taheb (the “restorer” or “returning one”). The latter is of particular interest in view of what we have seen about Dositheus, while in addition we may note the unrelated report by Josephus (*Ant.* 18.85-87) that in A.D. 36 a Samaritan fanatic assembled a crowd on Gerizim, promising to reveal the sacred vessels thought to have been hidden there by Moses. These indications, coupled with the Samaritan Pentateuch, suggest that from early times an important element of Samaritan belief, especially amongst the laity, was the coming of the “prophet like Moses,” but that only later did this develop into the more crystallized concept of the Taheb (see Dexinger 1989); beyond that, it would be hazardous to speculate.

4. Samaritans in the Gospels.

Although this article has sought not to go beyond the available evidence in its treatment of Samaritan history and belief, there is probably now sufficient data to do justice to the references to the Samaritans in the Gospels.

4.1. *The Synoptic Gospels.* In the first three Gospels there are references to the Samaritans in Matthew 10:5; Luke 9:52; 10:33; 17:16. All of these can be understood against the background described above, once it is additionally borne in mind that they are told from a predominantly Jewish standpoint. Thus, in order to make a point similar to that in Luke 7:1-10, the foreignness of the grateful Samaritan is emphasized in Luke 17:11-19, even though he is instructed according to Jewish law along with the other nine lepers in Luke 17:14. Similarly, Jesus’s instruction to his *disciples to go only to “the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (Mt 10:6) is contrasted not only with the negative command concerning the *Gentiles, but also, as in a separate and distinctive category, with “any city of the Samaritans” (Mt 10:5). The incident in Luke 9:51-56 reflects typical Jewish-Samaritan personal antipathies of the time, though it is of interest to note both here and elsewhere that Jesus did not always bypass Samaritan territory (by taking a circuitous route through Transjordan) as many Galilean pilgrims to Jerusalem did. At the same popular level, the selection of a Samaritan for the positive role in the parable told in answer to the question “Who is my neighbor?” (Lk 10:25-37) is telling, and in a veiled manner it anticipates the Jewish acknowledgement (recorded much later) that the Samaritans were often

more punctilious in their observance of the law than were the Jews (*b. Qidd.* 76a).

4.2. John. John 4 gives the most extended account of an encounter of Jesus with the Samaritans (the only other reference in this Gospel being Jn 8:48). Despite its popularity, the title “woman of Samaria” is misleading. The incident takes place at Sychar (Jn 4:5), clearly identified as being close to Shechem and Mount Gerizim (cf. Jn 4:5-6 with Jn 4:20; see LXX Gen 48:22). The parenthetical comment in John 4:9 about Jewish-Samaritan relations, which follows the woman’s expression of surprise that Jesus asks her for a drink, probably is not a general statement but rather reflects a halakic ruling (mid-first century?) that “the daughters of the Samaritans are menstruants from their cradle” (*b. Nid.* 31b), and hence that vessels handled by them are unclean. If so, the comment may reflect more the time of the evangelist than of Jesus himself, and the woman’s surprise may not have been so specifically motivated. The woman’s question about the right place to *worship (Jn 4:20) is, as we have seen, entirely appropriate as reflecting the issue that stood at the heart of Samaritan identity, and it is exactly the kind of easily grasped popular polemic that someone of her status might have been expected to raise. Her response to Jesus’s reply (Jn 4:25), however, is more problematic; talk of a “messiah” probably would have been foreign to a Samaritan (though the caveat issued in 3 above about diversity in this particular area of eschatology must be borne in mind). If historical tradition lies behind the saying, its present expression must be regarded as a Johannine paraphrase for his more Jewish-oriented readership. A reference to the prophet like *Moses in the context of a discussion of the right place and mode of worship would have fitted well here, as is clear from the earlier discussion.

See also JUDAISM, COMMON.

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H. G. M. Williamson and M. Kartveit

SANHEDRIN

The Sanhedrin was the supreme Jewish religious, political and legal council in *Jerusalem in NT times. The term was also used of the smaller courts governing the affairs of the Jewish communities throughout Palestine and the Diaspora.

1. Terminology
2. Theories
3. Origin and History
4. Membership
5. Powers and Functions
6. Times and Procedures

1. Terminology.

1.1. Synedrion. In the LXX *synedrion* (*syn* [“together”] + *hedra* [“a seat”]) had no fixed meaning and translated a variety of Hebrew words: *ma* (Ps 25:4 [MT 26:4; ET 26:4]), *sôd* (Prov 11:13), *dîn* (Prov 22:10), *qāhāl* (Prov 26:26). By the end of the Maccabean period, *synedrion* is widespread in the Greek literature to refer to the supreme Jerusalem council. The Hebrew word *sanhêdrîn*, a transliteration of *synedrion*, is also used in the Mishnah for the Jerusalem court (*m. Soṭah* 9:11).

In the Gospels *synedrion* refers to the Jerusalem council (Mt 26:59; Mk 15:1; Jn 11:47; cf. Acts 5:27). In Matthew 5:22; 10:17 (// Mk 13:9) any judicial body may be in mind, such as the Sanhedrin, a local Jewish council or a group in the Christian community. In Luke 22:66 *synedrion* probably refers to the assembly room.

Josephus also uses the term for the Jerusalem council (*Ant.* 14.167-180; *Life* 62) and for the five districts and councils created in Palestine by Gabinius (*Ant.* 14.89-91). In other Greek literature of the pe-

riod a “sanhedrin” was often a council of representatives from various constituencies (e.g., Diodorus, *Bib. hist.* 16.41).

1.2. Gerousia. Generally translated as “senate” or “council,” *gerousia* was a word used mainly for the Greek and Roman nondemocratic senates (Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.6.15) and was an older term than *synedrion* for the Jerusalem council from the end of the Persian period and the beginning of the Hellenistic period (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.138; and especially the Apocrypha: Jdt 4:8; 2 Macc 11:27). In the NT the term is used only in Acts 5:21, most likely for narrative impact, as an equivalent to *synedrion*: the high *priest “called together the council [*synedrion*]—all the senate [*gerousia*]—of the sons of Israel” (cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 2.13.3; *CIG* 2.3417).

1.3. Presbyterion. In Luke 22:66 *presbyterion* (“council of elders”) is probably not the group of *elders (Acts 22:5; 1 Tim 4:14), one of the constituents of the Sanhedrin, but rather the supreme Jerusalem council or Sanhedrin, which Luke specifies as consisting of chief priests and scribes.

1.4. Boulē. Josephus often uses *boulē* (“council”) to refer to for the senate in Rome (*J.W.* 1.284; 13.164), local Roman city councils (*Ant.* 14.230), local Jewish city councils (*Life* 64), the Jerusalem Sanhedrin (*J.W.* 5.532) and its meeting place (*bouleutērion* [*J.W.* 5.144]). However, NT writers only use the word for “plan” or “purpose” (cf. Lk 7:30; 23:51; Acts 2:43; 1 Cor 4:5).

2. Theories.

According to references in Greek literature (Apocrypha, NT, Josephus), there was a single body in Jerusalem. However, the Mishnah says that there were two major courts in Jerusalem: “The greater Sanhedrin was made up of one and seventy [judges] and the lesser [Sanhedrin] of three and twenty” (*m. Sanh.* 1:6). The conflicting sources and multitude of terms has resulted in a number of theories about the Sanhedrin. D. Goodblatt proposed that, for lack of a clearer mark in history, the Sanhedrin is a scholarly myth based on Tannaitic masters projecting views back (see Grabbe). A. Büchler proposed that before A.D. 70 there was a political body (*boulē*), a college of mostly priests (*synedrion*) and the Great Sanhedrin, which oversaw Jewish religious life. M. Wolff argued that the high priest presided over a Little Sanhedrin, and there was also a Great Sanhedrin (*gerousia*) of *scribes that condemned Jesus. S. B. Hoenig’s theory was that there were three Sanhedrins: a political as well as a priestly and also a scribal one, which was the Great Sanhedrin. However, it is difficult to deter-

mine how far the Mishnah has preserved reliable traditions on the Sanhedrin, for it is now generally agreed that it is reflecting the entirely different situation at Jamnia, not that in Jerusalem before A.D. 70. On the other hand, the Greek sources are more contemporaneous to the time of Jesus and are therefore to be favored in reconstructing the history of the Sanhedrin before A.D. 70.

3. Origin and History.

The rabbis at Jamnia legitimized their governing body by tracing it back to *Moses and his seventy elders (Num 11:16; *m. Sanh.* 1:6). However, apart from a supreme law court in Jerusalem (Deut 17:8-13; 19:15-21) and the occasional mention of “elders” (Ex 3:16; Deut 5:23), there is no hint of the existence of such an institution as the Sanhedrin in this period.

The actual seeds of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin in the time of Jesus were planted in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. The high priest Joshua and Zerubbabel, the Davidic governor of Jerusalem, ruled the community together (Hag 1:1; Zech 4:14). The community was headed by a priestly nobility that formed an aristocratic council (Neh 2:16; 5:7) representing the people in negotiations with the Persian provincial governor Tattenai in the reconstruction of the *temple (Ezra 5:5, 9; 6:7-8, 14). After Zerubbabel, the last enthroned Davidic heir (1 Chron 3:19-24), the high priest emerged as the head of the *gerousia* and Jewish state (Zech 6:11; 1 Macc 12:6).

Despite difficulties in his account, from Hecataeus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, we may learn that the council was dominated by the priests: “He [Moses] picked out the men of most refinement and with the greatest ability to head the entire nation, and appointed them priests. . . . These same men he appointed to be judges in all major disputes, and entrusted to them the guardianship of the laws and customs. For this reason the Jews have never had a king, and authority over the people is regularly vested in whichever priest is regarded as superior to his colleagues in wisdom and virtue. They call this man the high priest” (from Diodorus, *Bib. hist.* 40.3.4-5).

Under the relative freedom provided by the Hellenistic kings, the influence of the Jerusalem court increased. The Seleucid king Antiochus III (223-187 B.C.) said that it was his will that the Jewish nation “shall have a form of government in accordance with the laws of their country, and the senate [*gerousia*], the priests, the scribes of the temple and the temple singers shall be relieved from poll tax” (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.142).

From the beginning of the Maccabean Revolt (167 B.C.) the power of the high priest increased (1 Macc 12:6), and with Simon being established as high priest, military chief and ethnarch (140 B.C.), the power of the Sanhedrin was reduced (1 Macc 14:24-49). With the reign of Queen Alexandra (76-67 B.C.), the Sanhedrin's power increased, and the domination of the priests and nobility was exchanged for that of the *Pharisees. Alexandra permitted "the Pharisees to do as they liked in all matters, and also commanded the people to obey them; and whatever regulations, introduced by the Pharisees in accordance with the traditions of their fathers, had been abolished by her father-in-law Hyrcanus, these she again restored" (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.408).

Gabinius, Roman governor in Syria (57-55 B.C.), divided the nation into five districts with councils (*synedria*) in Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho and Sepphoris (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.91). In 47 B.C. Caesar overturned this arrangement so that the high priest and the Jerusalem council were responsible for the affairs of the whole nation, even though these local councils survived (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.192-195). The Sanhedrin became sufficiently confident in its authority that the high priest and ethnarch Hyrcanus II (63-40 B.C.) summoned *Herod to stand trial on capital sentences that he had passed without the Sanhedrin's authority (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.204-215). When Herod took Jerusalem in 37 B.C., he retaliated by killing the entire membership of the Sanhedrin (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.174). However, according to Josephus, only forty-five leading men were killed (*Ant.* 15.6). In any case, the Sanhedrin continued to function (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.173).

Under the Roman procurators (A.D. 6-41) the Sanhedrin's power increased again (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.200, 251). So, in the NT the Sanhedrin is represented as the supreme court of justice (Mk 14:55).

After the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple in A.D. 70, the Sanhedrin was recreated at Jamnia (Yavneh in the OT [2 Chron 26:6]) in the northwest of Judea (*m. Roš. Haš.* 4:1-2) before moving to Usha in Galilee in the second century (*b. Roš. Haš.* 31a-b; *t. Roš. Haš.* 2:11).

4. Membership.

The Mishnah probably is correct in saying that prior to A.D. 70 the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem had seventy-one members (*m. Sanh.* 1:6; cf. Num 11:16; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.482; *Let. Arist.* 46-50).

After the exile the Jerusalem council was composed of Levites, priests and heads of families (2 Chron 19:5-11). In the Maccabean period the

Sanhedrin consisted of lay aristocracy and priests of Sadducean sympathy (1 Macc 7:33; 11:23; 14:28). In the time of Queen Alexandra Pharisaic scribes belonged to the assembly (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.408-409).

Both the NT and Josephus agree that in the first century A.D. the chief priests (*archiereis*) were leading figures in the Sanhedrin (Mt 27:41; Mk 14:53; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.301, 315-342). These probably were the former high priests and members of the priestly aristocracy from which the high priests were chosen and belonged to the party of the *Sadducees (Acts 4:1; 5:17; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.199), who, along with the Pharisees (Acts 5:34; 23:6; Josephus, *Life* 191, 197; *J.W.* 2.411), were also part of the Sanhedrin. In the Persian period all the members of the Sanhedrin (*gerousia*) were called "elders" (*presbyteroi* [1 Macc 14:20; 2 Macc 4:44]). By NT times the term "elders" was used for a group consisting of priests and lay members of the nobility (Mt 26:3; 27:1; 28:11-12) within the Sanhedrin. From observing the synonyms for these elders we learn that they are leading men of the people (Lk 19:47; Josephus, *Life* 194), the leading men of Jerusalem, and the powerful and the dignitaries (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.316, 410; *Life* 9).

There may have been a group of the ten foremost members within the Sanhedrin, for Josephus says that, along with Ishmael the high priest and Helcias the treasurer, ten leading men were sent on a delegation to Nero (*Ant.* 20.194), and some Greek cities in this period had a committee of ten leading men (Livy, *Hist.* 29.15.5; 45.29.1).

The high priest was always the president of the Sanhedrin (1 Macc 14:44; Mt 26:57; Acts 5:17; 24:1; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.194; *Ant.* 20.200, 251). From the time of Herod the Great the high priest was often appointed arbitrarily and out of political considerations. Otherwise, the office was hereditary (Num 3:32; 25:11-13; 35:25, 28; Neh 12:10-11), and the Palestinian Talmud says that the high priest would not be elected high priest if he had not first been captain of the temple (*y. Yoma* 3:8; 41a. 5; cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 2.409).

Second in rank to the high priest was the captain of the temple (Heb. *sāḡān* or *segen*; Aram. *sēḡan*; Gk. *stratēgos*) (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.131; Lk 22:4, 52; Acts 4:1, 24, 26; *m. Yoma* 3:1). Josephus also mentions a secretary of the Sanhedrin (*J.W.* 5.532).

We know little of how people were appointed to the Sanhedrin, though they may have been co-opted (*m. Sanh.* 4:4) from among those of legitimate Israelite descent (*m. Qidd.* 4:5). Actual admission was through the laying on of hands (*m. Sanh.* 4:4, cf. Num 27:18-23; Deut 34:9).

5. Powers and Functions.

At least theoretically, the Jerusalem Sanhedrin's sphere of authority extended over the spiritual, political and legal affairs of all Jews (*m. Ta'an.* 3:6). Thus, the Mishnah says that where members of a local court disagreed on a point of law, the matter was referred to the Jerusalem court that sat at the gate of the Temple Mount. If the dispute could not be resolved, it went to the court that sat at the gate of the court of the temple. If a resolution was still not found, the Sanhedrin heard the dispute. Thereafter, on pain of death, local judges were to follow the decision (*m. Sanh.* 11:2; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.214-218; *J.W.* 2.570-571). However, the sphere of authority and geographical area over which the Jerusalem Sanhedrin exercised jurisdiction varied greatly over time according to the relative freedom of the Jews in relation to the succession of foreign oppressors.

In the time of the Hasmonean rulers the whole of Palestine was a single political unit over which the Sanhedrin exercised oversight. When Gabinius divided Jewish territory into five areas, the authority of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin may have covered only one-third of Judea (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.91; *J.W.* 1.170). From the death of Herod the Great, Galilee and Perea were separate administrative regions so that the civil jurisdiction of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin did not extend beyond Judea. Thus, while Jesus remained in Galilee, the Sanhedrin had no judicial authority over him. Even so, Luke says that the Sanhedrin authorized Paul to arrest Christians in Damascus (Acts 9:1-2; 22:5). Then Josephus says that in a peaceful period after the first stages of the Jewish War in A.D. 60, magistrates and members of the Sanhedrin dispersed from Jerusalem and collected the Roman taxes from the whole of Judea (*J.W.* 2.405).

In A.D. 6 Augustus appointed a procurator for Judea "with full powers, including the affliction of capital punishment" (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.117). That the Sanhedrin could no longer order and execute a capital sentence is reflected in John 18:31 and in the rabbinic literature (*y. Sanh.* 18a; 24b; *b. Sanh.* 41a; *b. Abod. Zar.* 8b). On the other hand, Josephus (*J.W.* 5.193-194) says that the second court of the temple was surrounded by a stone balustrade on which at regular intervals stood slabs giving warning in Greek and Latin: "No foreigner is to enter within the forecourt and the balustrade around the sanctuary. Whoever is caught will have himself to blame for his subsequent death" (*CII* 1400 no. 85). This could be a special case granted to the Jews. In any case, it is more likely to be a warning against being lynched (cf. Acts 6:8-8:2; Jn 10:31).

Also, Josephus says that the Sanhedrin condemned James, the brother of Jesus, to be stoned. In this case the procurator, Porcius Festus, had died, and Ananus took the opportunity of convening the Sanhedrin before Albinus, the new procurator, had arrived (*Ant.* 20.197-203). Further, the Mishnah relates the burning of a priest's daughter convicted of adultery (*m. Sanh.* 7:2). Those who argue that the Sanhedrin did not have the power of death under the Roman procurators suggest that this took place during the brief reign of Agrippa I (A.D. 41-44), when the Jews had their own independent state. Whether or not the Sanhedrin was able to execute capital punishment, the Romans maintained the right to intervene when a political crime was suspected (Acts 22:30; 23:15, 20, 28).

6. Times and Procedures.

The Sanhedrin probably met on the western boundary of the Temple Mount (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.144; 6.354) in the "Hall of Hewn Stone" (*liškat ha-gāzīt*), indicating that it was next to the gymnasium, or Xystus (*gāzīt* = *xystos* [1 Chron 22:2; Amos 5:11]).

The night meeting in Mark 14:53 (// Mt 26:57; Lk 22:54) probably was to be considered a preliminary meeting in the high priest's palace because trials could be held only in the hours of daylight (cf. Mk 15:1; *m. Sanh.* 4:1).

No record remains of the proceedings of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin. However, the Mishnah gives details of the judicial procedure of the lesser Sanhedrin of twenty-three, which may reflect procedure of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin before A.D. 70. Members sat in a half-circle so that they could see each other. Before them stood two scribes, one writing down what was said in favor of, and the other what was said against, the accused. Before them sat three rows of students who could participate in noncapital trials (*m. Sanh.* 4:1-4).

Noncapital trials began with either case, but capital trials were to begin with the case for acquittal. A majority of one was sufficient in noncapital trials to acquit the accused of a capital charge. A majority of two was required for a guilty verdict on a capital charge. Verdicts could be reversed, but not from an acquittal to a conviction in a capital trial. Those participating in the case could speak for and against the accused in noncapital trials. In capital trials a speaker in favor of conviction could only change and argue in favor of the accused, not the reverse. In noncapital cases the daytime trial could be followed by reaching a verdict that same night. In capital

cases the verdict for an acquittal could be reached that night, but a verdict of conviction had to wait until the following day (*m. Sanh.* 4:1). In that way, members of the Sanhedrin could go off in pairs to eat a little (no wine was permitted) and discuss the matter all night before meeting in court early next morning (*m. Sanh.* 5:5). Therefore, trials were not to be held on the days before a *Sabbath or a festival (*m. Sanh.* 4:1). In capital cases voting began with the most junior members standing, each giving their verdict (*m. Sanh.* 5:5).

See also PHARISEES; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; SADDUCEES; SCRIBES; TRIAL OF JESUS.

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G. H. Twelftree

SATAN. See DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN.

SCANDINAVIAN SCHOOL. See ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION.

SCRIBES

Scribes appear frequently in the Synoptic Gospels as a major Jewish leadership group in opposition to Jesus. However, their precise historic role and status in the Jewish leadership structure, their relationship to other prominent groups, and the reasons for their antagonism toward Jesus in the Gospels are far from straightforward. It is thus necessary to consider a wide range of evidence for the development of the scribal office to ascertain more adequately both their historic identity in the first century A.D. and the evangelists' portrayal of them.

Scribes in the ancient world were officials who wrote, copied and preserved written documents ranging from common transactions and records to national archives and sacred texts. The preexilic OT scribe held an important position in the royal courts and worked closely with the priest on temple matters (2 Kings 22:3-13). Jeremiah describes a range of scribal roles and shows scribes as influential leaders closely associated with the written Torah and prophetic revelation (Jer 8:8; 32:12; 36; 43:3). In the Second Temple context, scribes increasingly became identified as interpreters and teachers of Scripture and as intellectual leaders in Jewish society.

The standard terms for "scribe" in the biblical texts and other ancient Jewish literature are the Hebrew *sōpēr*, Aramaic *sāpar*, and the Greek *grammateus* (for the synonymous usage of *nomikos* and *nomodidakalos*, see 2.3 below). Although the LXX consistently translates *sōpēr* with *grammateus*, it also uses the same term for the Hebrew *śōtēr*, referring to midlevel officials. The Greco-Roman use of *grammateus* denotes an official in government administration and does not entail the strong association of scribes with sacred texts or their prestigious status as in the Jewish context (Schams, 143). This may help to explain the absence or relative rarity of the term in some Greek Jewish literature written outside of Palestine (Philo) or aimed for Roman readership (Josephus).

Earlier scholarship (Schürer; Jeremias; Hengel) portrayed scribes during the NT era as lay Torah scholars who had taken over teaching and leadership roles from the *priests. More recently there have been challenges to various aspects of this scenario (Saldarini; Sanders; Schams), in which there is often criticism of the Gospel evidence as biased or inaccurate. However, it should be remembered that as a matter of literary necessity, the authors of the Gospels, like other writers of antiquity, generalized their portraits of larger groups. Although the Gospels do not attempt to provide a definitive, nuanced description of scribes, they do contribute to a balanced historical reconstruction.

1. Scribes in Second Temple Judaism
2. Scribes in the Synoptic Gospels
3. Conclusion

1. Scribes in Second Temple Judaism.

1.1. Recent Scholarship. C. Schams's comprehensive treatment of scribes in the Second Temple period provides a strong critique of previous scholarship and presents a general view of scribes as officials and writers. However, she acknowledges more specific nuances of function and status, including expertise in Scripture interpretation, that depend on linguistic and geographic factors. Despite a somewhat minimalistic approach, Schams contributes a helpful corrective and shows the growing diversification of scribal roles in the Roman period.

Recent work by R. Horsley (Horsley 2007; 2010), building on sociological models (cf. Saldarini), depicts scribes as "officials who assist the rulers in governing society," as well as guardians of Judea's "cultural repertoire" (Horsley 2007, 10). Due to imperial oppression and the competing factions of Jerusalem's ruling elite, scribes often were caught between service to their powerful patrons and being faithful to Jewish tradition and the commandments of God. This conflict sometimes resulted in a scribal resistance expressed through the writing of apocalyptic and wisdom texts. Although Horsley at times overemphasizes politics to the exclusion of theology, his contextualization of scribal roles in the Hellenistic and Roman periods provides a helpful background for the Gospels' depictions of scribes as both part of the central ruling establishment and teachers of the people.

1.2. Primary Evidence. The prominence of Ezra, identified repeatedly as both priest and scribe, exemplifies an increase in importance of scribes in the postexilic community (Ezra 7; Neh 8). Ezra's scribal role is defined by his study, doing and teaching of the Torah (Ezra 7:6, 10). The increasing significance of scribes is also perceptible in the work of the Chronicler where Levites are designated as *temple scribes (1 Chron 24:6; 2 Chron 34:13). Some Levites also assisted Ezra in Torah interpretation and teaching (Neh 8:7-9), suggesting that they too were scribes.

Ben Sira details scribal engagement with the wide range of authoritative Hebrew traditions (Sir 38:24-39:11), including the authoritative written texts of Israel (Sir, prologue). In addition to intense study and interpretation of sacred texts, Ben Sira claims for the scribe (and himself) divinely guided wisdom and prophetic teaching (Sir 24:33; 39:6-11), some of which was present in the book he wrote for

the instruction of others (prologue). Although there is no evidence that Ben Sira was a priest, he belonged to the Jerusalem ruling establishment (Sir 39:4; 50:27), locates divine wisdom in the temple (Sir 24:8-11), and confirms the teaching and authority of the priesthood (Sir 45:17; 50).

Scribes are synonymous with Hasideans in 1 Maccabees 7:12-13, a distinct group of leading citizens loyal to the temple who may have been forefathers of the Pharisees (Kampen). Another Maccabean-era leading citizen and prominent scribe was the martyr Eleazar (2 Macc 6:18-31). His story is retold and expanded in the first-century A.D. Diaspora work 4 Maccabees (4 Macc 5-7), where he is called a "priest" but also is characterized as skilled in the law (4 Macc 5:4; Gk. *nomikos*). Since Luke uses *nomikos* synonymously for *grammateus* (Lk 11:45-53), the word likely had strong associations with scribal identity in the Jewish Diaspora, suggesting a blurring or overlap of priestly and scribal identities.

Despite the surprising rarity of the term *sōpēr* in the *Dead Sea Scrolls (only 11Q5 outside the biblical and Enochic manuscripts), most would view Qumran as something of a scribal community. The manuscripts show scribal activity beyond mere copying, including expansions, retellings of existing texts and production of new sectarian texts (Tov). Many view the leadership of Qumran to have been a rival priesthood to that in *Jerusalem, suggesting that it was a priestly-scribal group. A priestly-scribal overlap is also evident in *Testament of Levi* (T. Levi 8:17), where priests, judges and scribes come from Levi's offspring and possess teaching authority in the temple. It is likely that the writer behind this pseudepigraph himself was a priestly or Levitical scribe.

Apocalyptic literature portrays Enoch as a scribe, writer and authoritative figure (4Q203; 4Q206; 4Q530; 1 En. 12:4; 15:1; Jub. 4:17-26; T. Ab. [B] 11:3-4). Likewise, the names of eminent OT scribes Baruch and Ezra were used recurrently as pseudonyms. Both Ezra and Baruch are portrayed as authoritative writers (4 Ezra 14:19-48; 2 Bar. 77:11-87:1). The authors behind these pseudepigraphal works may have associated their texts with these scribal personalities as extensions of their own scribal identities (Orton, 77-120). Similarly, in the first-century A.D. *Testament of Moses* Moses uses scribal terminology and is identified as a great teacher (T. Mos. 1:15-18; 11:16). Targumic tradition confirms this perception by referring to him as "the great scribe" (Tg. Onq. Deut 33:21; cf. Mt 23:2).

Elsewhere in the *Targums scribes are portrayed as authorities and teachers in Israel (Tg. Onq. Gen

49:10; Num 21:18; *Tg. Jon.* Judg 5:9; Is 29:10; Hos 4:4). In *Targum Jonathan* the Aramaic *sāpar* (“scribe”) is often used in place of the MT’s *nābi’* (“prophet” [1 Sam 10:5, 10-12; 19:20, 24; 28:15; 2 Kings 17:13; 23:2; Is 3:2; Ezek 22:25]). Many of these passages associate scribes with priests and other leaders (Is 3:2; 9:14; 28:7; Jer 6:13; 8:10; 14:18; 18:18; 23:11, 33-34; 26:7-8, 11, 16; 29:1; Ezek 7:26; Zech 7:3) and with prophetic characteristics, including insight regarding the future (*Tg. Jon.* 1 Sam 28:6, 15) (Hayward, 220-21). The Mishnah also contains numerous recollections of Second Temple *sōpērīm* as authoritative Torah experts and teachers (*m. Pe’ah* 2:6; *m. ‘Or.* 3:9; *m. ‘Abot* 6:9; *m. Yebam.* 2:4; 9:3; *m. Sanh.* 11:3; *m. Kel.* 13:7; *m. Parah* 11:4-6; *m. Tehar.* 4:7, 11; *m. T. Yom* 4:6; *m. Yad.* 3:2) and as officials (*m. Ned.* 9:2; *m. Giṭ.* 3:1; 7:2; 8:8; 9:8; *m. Sanh.* 4:3; 5:5). Although both the Mishnah and *Targums Onqelos* and *Jonathan* are later than the first century A.D., they contain some authentic strata that confirm and extend the trajectory of the first-century evidence.

Josephus locates teaching and judicial authority with the priests (*Ag. Ap.* 2.187) (see Sanders), but he also mentions nonpriestly teachers and group overlap (*Life* 1-10, 196-97). In *Jewish Antiquities* Josephus mostly follows the LXX use of *grammateus*, although his retelling of Ezra 7:24-25 (*Ant.* 11.128) suggests that he associated scribes with the temple leadership (cf. *Ant.* 12.142). His report concerning Eleazar (*Ant.* 20.208), both a scribe and son of the high priest, again illustrates the overlap of scribal and priestly roles (cf. *J.W.* 5.532). However, Josephus’s reference to “village scribes” (*J.W.* 1.479) shows the term’s broad range. Intriguing is his use of *hierogrammateus*, “sacred scribe” (*Ant.* 2.205, 209, 234, 243, 255; *Ag. Ap.* 1.289-90), which refers to Egyptian and Hebrew scribes known for predicting the future. Josephus reports that some of these rightly interpreted an astrological event over Jerusalem as a sign of coming judgment (*J.W.* 6.291 [cf. Mt 2:1-6]).

Josephus’s relative silence regarding scribes may be due to his Greco-Roman readership’s understanding of *grammateus* (see above). Josephus does use other terms, such as *sophistēs* (*J.W.* 1.648-56) and *sophos* (*J.W.* 6.313), a “wise or learned one,” that can at times be construed as a reference to scribes. However, if many scribes were in fact priests or Levites, Josephus may have simply preferred to call them “priests” and referred to nonpriestly scribes by party affiliation (*Life* 197).

There are few references to scribes in the NT outside the Synoptic Gospels. Paul refers once to scribes, paralleled with sages and debaters (1 Cor

1:20). John’s lone use (Jn 8:3) is in a passage not found in the earliest manuscripts and is thought by most to be a later interpolation. Whatever its origins (see Keith 2008), it conforms to a typical Synoptic scribe-Pharisee scene. Scribes appear five times in Acts, once in reference to a Greek clerk (Acts 19:35). In Acts 4:5; 6:12 they persecute the disciples along with the priests. However Gamaliel, called a *nomodidaskalos* (see 2.3 below), Pharisee and *Sanhedrin member, is portrayed more positively (Acts 5:34). This shift in Luke’s presentation of Pharisaic scribes comes full circle in Acts 23:9, where some of them defend Paul in the Sanhedrin.

2. Scribes in the Synoptic Gospels.

In the Synoptic Gospels terms referring to scribes occur sixty-five times. Scribes usually appear as a group and as associated with other groups, mainly the Pharisees and chief priests in different contexts (but these three are never portrayed together), in opposition to Jesus, who is highly critical of their hypocrisy and greed (Mt 23:1-12 // Mk 12:38-40 // Lk 20:45-47). Key to each evangelist’s portrait is how scribes are portrayed when they appear alone and how their relationship to associated groups is presented.

2.1. Mark. In Mark’s Gospel the Pharisees are the main opposition group to Jesus in Galilee. On two occasions where purity issues are being contested scribes appear with Pharisees. On one occasion they are referred to as scribes “of” the Pharisees (Mk 2:16), and on the other they are said to have come from Jerusalem (Mk 7:1-5; also Mk 3:22). The latter group could be the same scribes otherwise associated with the chief priests on numerous occasions. It is unclear whether or to what extent Mark is presenting the Jerusalem scribes as Pharisaic. It appears that Mark, unlike Matthew, does not wish to emphasize a Pharisaic connection with Jerusalem (only in Mk 12:13 do the Pharisees appear there) but links the Pharisees with Galilee and the scribes with Jerusalem (Mowery).

The Jerusalem priest-scribe (elder) alliance is always referred to either in the context of Jesus’ death (Mk 8:31; 10:33; 11:18, 27; 14:1, 43, 53; 15:1, 31) or where they challenge his *authority (Mk 11:15-19, 27-33). Jesus’ authority and Scripture interpretation are central issues whenever scribes are mentioned alone. In Mark 1:22 their teaching authority is questioned in comparison to that of Jesus, indicating that scribes functioned as the normative teachers of the people. Scribes alone question Jesus’ authority on other occasions (Mk 2:6; 3:22), while elsewhere Jesus engages them on questions of Scripture interpretation (Mk 9:11-13; 12:28-37). Two of the three scriptural issues

have to do with particularly *eschatological questions (the identities of the coming Elijah and of the Messiah). Mark thus shows some differentiation between Pharisaic and Jerusalem scribes, but mostly he associates scribes with Jerusalem and Jesus' death, along with their lack of teaching authority and sometimes a wrong eschatological Scripture interpretation. They function literarily, according to E. Malbon, as "flat" and "bad" characters, defined by their opposition to Jesus.

2.2. Matthew. Matthew mentions scribes more than any other evangelist (23x), but his portrayal of scribes differs significantly from those of Mark and Luke. Matthew places scribes alongside the Pharisees in Jerusalem (Mt 23:2-34; cf. Mt 15:1) as objects of sharp criticism. Matthew's arrangement of this scene immediately before the lament over Jerusalem and the apocalyptic discourse insinuates that for Matthew these two groups in particular bear the responsibility for the eschatological judgment (Mt 23:35-36) or are representative of all Jewish leadership. Matthew also omits scribes several times where Mark includes them as part of the Jerusalem leadership (Mt 21:23; 26:3, 47; 27:1), suggesting that he wanted to distance scribes from those groups. Some view these tensions as indications that Matthew is not interested in distinguishing the groups but rather uses them interchangeably to generally represent Jewish leaders (Rivkin; van Tilborg, 6). However, D. Orton argues that this apparent tension is due rather to Matthew's desire to differentiate between the "scribes per se," of which he approves, and Pharisaic scribes, upon whom his most stringent criticism falls (Orton, 15-38).

Matthew also provides important unique material and significant redactions of scribal passages. Matthew alone narrates Herod's gathering of scribes and chief priests in response to the magi's report of the astrological sign of the Messiah's birth (Mt 2:4)—another instance of scribal involvement with eschatological interpretation and also recalling the sacred scribes of Josephus (see 1.2 above). He redacts Mark 1:22 from "the scribes" to "their scribes" (Mt 7:29), suggesting that scribes were known to have different affiliations, or that Jesus himself is perceived as a scribe (see Keith 2011, 180).

Three times Matthew presents scribes as followers of Jesus. First, a scribe is portrayed as a disciple of Jesus in Matthew 8:19, where Luke (Lk 9:57) omits *grammateus*. Second, Jesus designates his disciples as scribes who understand (Mt 13:52), a passage that some see as implying the evangelist's scribal identity (e.g., Orton). Similarly, in Matthew 23:34 Jesus

promises to send "prophets, sages, and scribes," where the Lukan parallel reads "prophets and apostles" (Lk 11:49 [cf. Jer 18:18; Ezek 7:26 in the MT and the Targumim]). Earlier in the same chapter Matthew has recognized the legitimacy of scribes as sitting on Moses' seat (along with the Pharisees). D. Orton views the scribes in this passage, as well as those referred to in Matthew 17:10, whose interpretation of *Elijah Jesus has agreed with, as references to older, authoritative *sōpërim*, not the current Pharisaic group (Orton, 32-35). But by the end of the chapter (Mt 23:34) Matthew has made clear that only the scribe who is sent by Jesus retains this kind of authority. Matthew's arrangement and presentation of the woes may also serve as warnings to his Christian readers (see Mt 23:8-12) who have scribal-like roles (Garland, 212-15).

2.3. Luke. Luke follows much the same pattern as Mark, associating scribes with the Pharisees only in the Galilean and journey sections. Yet the pairing is much more prevalent in Luke. In Luke 5:17-21 Jesus' authority to forgive sins is questioned by Pharisees and scribes from all over Galilee and Judea, including Jerusalem, thus linking the scribes from all geographical locales. In Luke 5:30 the evangelist follows Mark (Mk 2:16) in explicitly designating these scribes as Pharisaic scribes, whose concerns are often centered on purity issues, and who sharply criticize Jesus for his identification with *sinners and outcasts (cf. Lk 7:34; 15:2). Scribes and Pharisees are also linked in encounters over the Sabbath (Lk 6:7; 14:3) and in Jesus' criticism of their rejection of John (Lk 7:30).

Luke provides some variation to the Synoptic scribal picture by using two synonyms of the standard *grammateus*: *nomodidaskalos* (Lk 5:17; cf. Acts 5:34 above) and *nomikos* (Lk 7:30; 10:25; 11:45-52; 14:3; cf. Mt 23:25). These are often translated as "teacher of the law" and "lawyer" respectively, but Luke makes clear in two contexts that the *grammateis* were the same group as the *nomodidaskaloi* and *nomikoi* (Lk 5:17-21; 11:45-53). The use of these terms may make more explicit for Luke's Gentile readers the role of scribes as teachers of Jewish *law (see 1.2 above on Eleazar in 4 Maccabees). Half of Luke's uses of *nomikos* are found in Luke 11:37-53, where he both associates and differentiates scribes and Pharisees so that Jesus speaks three woes to each group separately. The woes against the Pharisees deal with purity issues and hypocrisy, criticism that the scribes also receive (Lk 11:45), but the woes directed against the scribes center on their leadership and teaching failures (burdensome application of Torah, complic-

ity in the killing of prophets, hindering the people from knowledge). The use of *nomikos* here may draw more attention to their role as teachers of Scripture. D. Gowler argues that Luke purposefully wants to distance the Pharisees from any association with Jesus' death, another reason why Luke may have kept the two groups separate.

The Pharisees disappear once Jesus reaches Jerusalem, but scribes continue to be present as part of the Jerusalem priestly-scribal alliance that challenges Jesus' authority (Lk 20:1) and plots his death (Lk 19:47; 20:19; 22:2, 66; 23:10). Luke mentions scribes alone only on two occasions (Lk 10:25-29; 20:39-44), both of these regarding Scripture interpretation. Luke thus appears to generalize the scribes more than the other evangelists, for the most part depicting them as antagonists of Jesus both with the Pharisees in Galilee and the priestly establishment in Jerusalem, but also singling them out as the teachers of Jewish Scripture (*nomikoi*) in Luke 11:45-53.

3. Conclusion.

From the village scribe of Josephus to the wisdom scribe of Ben Sira and the scribal authors behind the Qumran and apocalyptic texts, there was a broad range of Second Temple Jewish scribes. However, they shared in common a role as the keepers, interpreters and teachers of Israel's Scriptures and traditions that often led to their prominent roles in society and politics (Goodman). They were closely aligned with and, in many cases, overlapped with the priesthood and temple establishment, as well as with parties like the Pharisees, and their positions afforded them both religious and political authority. According to the Synoptics, Jesus criticized the scribes for abuse and neglect in this authority as well as for failing to rightly interpret the eschatological fulfillment of Scripture and recognize Jesus' messianic identity and authority. Nevertheless, Matthew maintains that there is still a role for the scribe disciplined in God's kingdom (Mt 13:52).

See also DEAD SEA SCROLLS; ELDERS; PHARISEES; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; SADDUCEES; TEACHER; TEMPLE.

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SECRET GOSPEL OF MARK. *See* GOSPELS:
APOCRYPHAL.

SECTARIANISM. *See* SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC
CRITICISMS.

SECTS, JEWISH. *See* ESSENES; PHARISEES.

SEMITICISMS. *See* LANGUAGES OF JESUS.

SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN

“Sermon on the Mount” is the name traditionally given to the collection of Jesus’ teaching in Matthew 5:3–7:27, which is the longest teaching discourse in the NT (cf. four other such collections in Matthew: Mt 10:1–42; 13:1–53; 18:1–35; 24:1–25:46). The name originates from a commentary, *De sermone Domini in monte* (*On the Lord’s Sermon on the Mount*), which Augustine of Hippo wrote at the end of the fourth century A.D. A similar but much shorter version found in Luke 6:20–49 is called “Sermon on the Plain.”

Arguably the most quoted text from the NT, the Sermon has produced diverse interpretations in every aspect. Most of these discussions have centered around questions related to the Sermon’s literary and theological nature, such as whether it addresses only Jesus’ disciples or a wider group, whether it concerns law or ethics, whether the primary theme is the promise of grace or a stern warning of impending judgment, whether it presents an unrealistic ideal or doable commands, whether its style and tone reflect Greek or Jewish cultural contexts, and much more. Historical questions have also drawn their share of scholarly attention. What are the historical and cultural contexts of the Sermon’s composition? What is the historical relationship between the Sermon on the Mount and Sermon on the Plain, and what does it imply for the questions related to their source and tradition history? Does the Sermon originally come from the historical Jesus?

1. The Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:3–7:27)
2. The Sermon on the Plain (Lk 6:20–49)
3. Historicity of the Sermon

1. The Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:3–7:27).

1.1. Sociohistorical Context. The general scholarly consensus is that Matthew was written in a city in Israel in A.D. 80–90. This suggests three important

aspects of the sociohistorical context of Matthew the evangelist and his primary audience. First, the weight of Roman Empire’s political, economic and cultural power was a fact of life for people living under the Roman occupation, and the Matthean community was no exception (*see* Rome). The presence of imperial officials and soldiers, imperial buildings, temples of *gods and goddesses, statutes of emperors, coins with images and words (e.g., *Judea capta*, “Judea captured”) praising imperial power, all of which people encountered in their daily life, advertised the imperial ideology: Rome was the benefactor and savior of the occupied people; these inferior peoples were to become civilized as a result of their occupation (Carter 2001). Second, after Roman soldiers destroyed *Jerusalem and its *temple, the *priests and the *Sadducees lost their leadership, and the *Pharisaic group became the dominant leaders in Israel. At the same time, several other Jewish groups, including the Matthean community, were competing to claim to be the true Israel loyal to God in the process of reformulating Jewish identity (Overman; Saldarini; Talbert). The parting of the ways between Christianity and *Judaism had not yet happened; the Matthean community, as a part of the formative Judaism, was in conflict with other Jews (especially the Pharisees), who did not believe that Jesus was the Messiah. Third, in an urban setting exposed to various ethnicities, religions and cultures, the Matthean community, as they formulated their identity as the true *Israel, had to be sensitive about their relationship to non-Jewish peoples.

1.2. Literary Context: Setting and Structure. Matthew’s Gospel begins by introducing the messianic identity of Jesus as the true Israel (“son of Abraham” [Mt 1:1]), the new *Moses who will save his people (“Jesus” [Mt 1:21]), the true king of the Jews (“son of David” [Mt 1:1], against King Herod [Mt 2:1–22] who received the title “king of the Jews” from the Roman emperor), and the embodiment of God’s presence (“Emmanuel” [Mt 1:23]) (*see* Incarnation). After going through two rites of passage revealing his true sonship with God—*baptism by *John the Baptist (Mt 3:13–17) and testing by the devil (Mt 4:1–11)—Jesus is ready to begin his ministry. Preceding the Sermon on the Mount (hereafter SM) is a brief summary of Jesus’ activity of teaching the good news of God’s *kingdom, recruiting *disciples and *healing many sick people (Mt 4:17–25). After the sermon itself Matthew reports on Jesus’ various healing events (Mt 8–9).

1.2.1. Setting. Before presenting the SM, the evangelist provides a brief remark about to whom and

where Jesus spoke (Mt 4:25–5:2a). After a statement that huge crowds (*see* People, Crowd) followed Jesus from all around Palestine (Mt 4:25), the evangelist describes the setting with three parallel sentences. They are connected with “and” (*kai*), and each sentence includes one past (aorist tense) participle and one past (aorist tense) verb, suggesting the order of six movements: Jesus saw the crowds, he went up to the *mountain (Mt 5:1a); he sat down, his disciples approached him (Mt 5:1b); he opened his mouth, he taught “them” (Mt 5:2a). In this seemingly well-organized description the reader finds the problem of ambiguity about the word “them” in Matthew 5:2a. To whom does “them” refer? Does it refer to the disciples, the crowds, or both? The last answer seems to be the most plausible. First, regarding the reaction of the audience at the end of the SM, Matthew reports that the crowds recognized Jesus’ extraordinary authority and were amazed by his teaching (Mt 7:28–29). Second, in the next sentence Matthew says that the crowds followed Jesus when he came down from the mountain (Mt 8:1). Given that “following” is an essential element for discipleship in this Gospel (e.g., Mt 4:18–22), one may well say that the crowds, whose following of Jesus is repeatedly described, are potential disciples. The “them” refers to both the disciples and the crowds, who are potential disciples (Talbert, 13).

In Matthew’s Gospel “mountain” is an important motif (*see* Mt 17:1; 28:6). It is on a mountain that Jesus reveals his identity in the *transfiguration (Mt 17:1), and that the risen Jesus commissions his eleven disciples to make disciples of all the world (Mt 28:16). In the OT Moses receives the Torah (the teachings of God’s will) for Israel on the mountain of Horeb (Ex 19–24). In Matthew’s Gospel Jesus, the new Moses, teaches the true meaning of the Torah for the prospective and current disciples on a mountain.

1.2.2. *Structure.* There are various scholarly proposals regarding the SM’s structure. Often the proposal is made on the basis of popular modes of Jewish and Hellenistic literature such as chiasm (Luz; Patte), triads or other number patterns (Allison 1999; Stassen 2003; Betz), Greek education (Betz), and so on. Despite diversity of opinion, scholars generally agree that the SM consists of three parts: introduction (Mt 5:3–16), body (Mt 5:17–7:12), conclusion (Mt 7:13–27).

1.3. *Analysis and Interpretation.*

1.3.1. *Introduction (Mt 5:3–16).* As a poetic abstract of the SM, the introduction sets out its major themes: (1) the good news of the kingdom of God to the marginalized, who suffer from the absence of righteous-

ness; (2) the expectation that these marginalized are to pursue righteousness as the role models of the members befitting God’s kingdom. The introduction consists of two units. The first unit consists of nine beatitudes, although H. Betz, author of a classic commentary on the SM, counts ten, uniquely seeing two beatitudes in the ninth one. The second unit consists of two metaphorical exhortations.

1.3.1.1. *Beatitudes.* The word “beatitude” comes from the Latin Vulgate translation of the Greek *makarios*, and so a beatitude is also called a “macarism.” Its plural form, the “Beatitudes,” has become the customary name for Matthew 5:3–12 and its parallel in Luke 6:20–23. A macarism is a declarative and congratulatory statement about God’s beneficial action to a person. Each of the nine beatitudes is a declaration of God’s promise to the marginalized, giving assurance that God’s kingdom belongs to them (*see* Allison 1999, 30).

Some scholars find a triad (3 x 3) in the nine beatitudes (e.g., Allison 1999), but the general consensus is that the first eight beatitudes are neatly divided into two sets of four (Mt 5:3–6; 7–10), and the ninth one (Mt 5:11–12) is a literary hinge that connects the beatitudes to the following metaphor. There are several literary features that support the idea of two sets of four beatitudes. First, all of the first eight beatitudes refer to the addressees with the third-person plural (Mt 5:3–10), whereas the ninth beatitude refers to the addressees with the second-person plural (Mt 5:11–12). Second, the first (Mt 5:3) and the eighth (Mt 5:10) beatitudes end with the identical phrase “for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,” bookending the first eight beatitudes. Third, each set of four beatitudes has exactly thirty-six words in Greek. Fourth, each word referring to the addressees in the first set begins with Greek letter *pi*. Fifth, each set seems to have a coherent theme. For example, some scholars find that the first four deal with the disciples’ vertical relationship, and the second four with a horizontal relationship (e.g., Talbert). Others find that the first four deal with the marginalized, who are, in difficult conditions, passively waiting for the coming of God’s kingdom, while the second four deal with those who actively work for the coming of God’s kingdom (e.g., Estrada, 188; Powell).

It is important to note that the two phrases “kingdom of heaven” and “righteousness” are used twice in the beatitudes. They obviously are key concepts not only in the beatitudes but also in the SM as a whole. The location of the terms in the beatitudes is conspicuous. “Kingdom of heaven” appears in the beginning and ending of the first eight beatitudes

(Mt 5:3, 10). “Righteousness” appears in the ending of each of the two sets of four beatitudes (Mt 5:6, 10). Furthermore, the frequent appearance of the two terms signifies their significant roles in the SM. The term “kingdom of heaven” and its equivalent expressions, such as “kingdom of God” and “your [God’s] kingdom,” appear eight times (Mt 5:3, 10, 19 [2x], 20; 6:10, 33; 7:31); the term “righteousness” appears five times (Mt 5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, 33).

1.3.1.2. *Kingdom of Heaven.* “Kingdom of heaven” is Matthew’s favorite term for the kingdom of God. What is the “kingdom of God” or “kingdom of heaven” in Matthew? It is clearly contrasted with human kingdoms, in which the audience of the SM, and also Matthew’s audience, experience daily the systemic injustice of the Roman imperial world. The Romans claimed sovereignty over the land, people and resources in the world that they occupied. The ruling classes of the occupied land, such as dispatched officials, client kings and local elites, entangled in the patron-client system, supported the imperial ideology. Deprived of their proper resources, land and dignity under the Roman Empire, ordinary people suffered materially, physically and spiritually. Matthew points out the imperial injustice throughout his Gospel, usually implicitly, but also in some explicit statements. “Herod, the client king of Rome in Judea, massacres all of the infant boys in Bethlehem in an attempt to kill the infant Jesus (Mt 2:1-18), the God-sent rival king of Jews (Mt 2:2). His son Archelaus, who inherited the rulership of Judea, is also a threat to Jesus and Israel (Mt 2:21-23). Antipas the tetrach, another son of Herod, kills John the Baptist (Mt 14:1-12).

In contrast, the kingdom of God is a totally new world and qualitatively different from “all the kingdoms of the world,” which are in the devil’s hands (Mt 4:9). The kingdom of God is a reversal of the kingdoms of the earth (Mt 17:25), whose great kings are tyrants (Mt 20:25), because God the “great king” (Mt 5:35) is the God of *love and *mercy. Debts are forgiven (Mt 18:21-35), and all the marginalized are invited to enjoy the abundant life (Mt 22:1-14). The imperial agents proclaim the oppressive control of Rome as the good news of *Pax Romana*, but God’s agent Jesus proclaims the kingdom of God as the good news of *salvation from the imperial oppression and also embodies it in his ministry (see Gospel: Good News).

1.3.1.3. *Righteousness.* The Gospel of Matthew uses the term “righteousness” (*dikaïosynē*) seven times (Mt 3:15; 5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, 33; 21:32), none of which has a parallel in other Gospels. What does

Matthew mean by “righteousness”? In the OT and early Jewish literature, when used for human character and behavior, “righteousness” and its related words refer to one’s ethical response to God by obeying and doing God’s righteous will. Matthew uses these words in the same way (see Luz, 237-38; Davies and Allison, 452-53; Betz, 190). Earlier in the Gospel narrative, when John the Baptist hesitates to baptize Jesus, believing himself to be unworthy, Jesus convinces him by saying that doing so is the way to fulfill all righteousness (Mt 3:11). Being among the words of the very first sentence that Jesus speaks in Matthew’s Gospel, “righteousness” reveals the most characteristic feature of who Jesus is: Jesus, the Messiah, is the *Son of God, who humbly obeys the will of God. For Matthew, humble obedience to God’s will is not only the core essence of Christology, but also of discipleship. In the SM, therefore, Jesus highlights the importance of righteousness, doing God’s will thoroughly (Mt 5:20; 5:48), for those who long for the kingdom of God (see Davies and Allison, 499, Betz, 130; Powell).

Each of the addressees of the first four beatitudes refers to the marginalized: “the poor in spirit,” “who mourn,” “the meek,” “who hunger and thirst for righteousness.” In the Bible “the poor” denotes a broader category than just the financially impoverished. It refers to those who are economically, socially or politically marginalized, for whom God is the only one who can help (see Rich and Poor). What, then, does Matthew mean by adding “in spirit” to “the poor” (Mt 5:3)? The same expression, “the poor in spirit,” is found in a Qumran document, where it is contrasted with a “hardened heart” (1QM XIV, 7). Assuming that Matthew must use the phrase in exactly the same way as in 1QM XIV, 7, some scholars suggest that “the poor in spirit” in Matthew 5:3 refers not to “the economically marginalized” but rather to “the humble in heart” (Talbert, 51; Luz, 233-34; cf. Davies and Allison, 443-44). This interpretation, however, is unconvincing. Even if the phrase “the poor in spirit” has a connotation of humbleness, it does not necessarily exclude the fundamental semantic value about the oppressed and marginalized condition embedded in the term “the poor.” As Betz says, “The characterization of Matt 5:3a as ‘spiritualization’ and as a softening of Jesus’ original radicalism . . . is misleading” (Betz, 115). The poor in spirit are, then, the people whose spirits or hearts are crushed by their suffering from unjust marginalization. From the socio-historical and literary context of Matthew, it is not difficult to identify who are the poor in spirit. They are the women and men who come to Jesus from all

over to be healed and to follow him (Mt 4:18-22). They suffer from all kinds of illnesses because “they bear in their very bodies the harmful effects of the imperial system,” especially the deprivation of human dignity and of material and spiritual resources under the weight of imperial rule, and because “there is no hope for change” (Carter 2000, 132). The poor in spirit, therefore, mourn the social system that runs against God’s will (Mt 5:4). They are meek because they have none in the world to rely on but God (Mt 5:5). They hunger and thirst for righteousness because their daily life is full of injustice (Mt 5:6) (see Betz, 129). It is to these marginalized people, Jesus proclaims, that God’s kingdom belongs (Mt 5:3), and in this kingdom their lowly status will be reversed. They no longer need to mourn, for God comforts them. They are no longer deprived of resources, for God provides them (cf. Ps 37:11 [in Heb. the “meek” [*ʾānāwīm*] are the poor]). They no longer need to hunger and thirst for the system running in accordance with God’s righteous will, for the life in God’s kingdom is filled with righteousness.

The second set of four beatitudes changes the focus from the human condition that will be reversed in God’s kingdom to human action that manifests the life of God’s kingdom. All of the first three actions mentioned—showing mercy, keeping integrity, peacemaking (Mt 5:7, 8, 9)—are part of “righteousness,” that is, obeying God’s righteous will. Because all of these actions of righteousness are in contrast with the ideology of the imperial system and human kingdoms, they bring persecution (Mt 5:10). As in the first set of beatitudes, those who are doing God’s righteous will are promised God’s eschatological reward.

The second set of beatitudes strongly reveals the connection of Christology and discipleship (*pace* Betz). An obvious example is the theme of mercy, which Matthew highlights throughout his Gospel. In contrast to those who exploit people with political and socioeconomic power (Roman officials and local elites) or those who oppress them with socio-religious power (the Pharisees and scribes), the Matthean Jesus mercifully heals those people damaged by merciless power. People ask mercy of Jesus (Mt 9:27; 15:22; 17:15; 20:30-31), and he shows it to them. Jesus quotes what God says in Hosea 6:6, “I desire mercy, not sacrifice,” on two occasions to correct the merciless Pharisaic leaders (Mt 9:13; 12:7; cf. 23:23). Jesus teaches his disciples to practice mercy as God shows mercy (Mt 18:33). Jesus is persecuted by local elites and killed by Roman officials, but the Son of God was raised by God’s mercy and given “all authority in heaven and earth” (Mt 28:18). As Jesus

the Son of God was merciful, so all the disciples are to be merciful, and they will be called “children of God” (Mt 5:9).

The ninth beatitude (Mt 5:11-12), which is addressed to “you” (a second-person plural), functions as a hinge in three ways. First, beginning with this beatitude, Jesus addresses “you” throughout the SM, and the powerful effect of this direct address on his audience, as well as Matthew’s audience, is obvious. Second, repeating the theme of persecution from the preceding beatitude, it prepares the audience to understand the not-so-easy journey of discipleship, which is at the same time immensely rewarding and thus actually something to celebrate. Third, as both macarism and exhortation, it prepares for the next metaphors, which both commend the disciples and exhort them to keep their integrity.

The metaphors of salt and light (Mt 5:13-16) express the important role of the disciples in the world and their accountability. They are indispensable in the world, like salt, which is an essential necessity for human life (see Sir 39:26), and “light, which brightens darkness. Bearing such important roles, they need to keep their integrity (“not becoming ‘foolish’ salt” that has lost its identity in Mt 5:13) and should be role models for others.

Matthew’s consistent and emphatic reference to God as “your Father” (Mt 5:16, 45, 48; 6:1, 4, 6, 8, 9 [“our Father”], 14, 15, 18, 26, 32; 7:11, 21) in the SM no doubt reflects the context of Matthew. An important question for the reader is for what purpose Matthew highlights God as “your/our” Father. Given the SM’s consistent connection of God’s fatherhood to “heaven” (“the heavenly Father” [Mt 5:48; 6:14, 26, 32], “Father in heaven” [Mt 5:16, 45; 6:1, 9; 7:11, 21]), Matthew may well contrast heavenly God with the earthly emperor. “Conjoining imperial and patriarchal power, [the title ‘Father’] was commonly used of Jupiter/J Zeus . . . and emperors such as Augustus and Vespasian. It denoted origin, kinship, loyalty, and protection” (Carter 2000, 139 [see also D’Angelo; cf. Sheffield]). In Matthew, then, the Father in heaven has a political connotation. Against the emperor’s image of an oppressive and exploitative father, Matthew paints an image of God as the true father, who loves and protects his children with grace.

1.3.2. *Body* (Mt 5:17–7:12). The body consists of several units and subunits and includes a few thematically interrelated literary hinges: true righteousness (5:20); true righteousness as love originating from God (5:48); the Lord’s “prayer” (6:9-13); and the Golden Rule (7:12). Some hinges are, as a succinct

abstract of the preceding unit, transitional summaries (5:20, 48; 7:12), but the Lord's Prayer (6:9-13) takes a special role as the centerpiece of the SM.

1.3.2.1. *Matthew 5:17-20*. As its introduction, 5:17-20 presents the major themes of the body (5:21-7:12): (1) Jesus' teaching is about fulfilling God's will, which is represented in the Jewish scriptural traditions (Law [Hebrew: Torah] and Prophets); and (2) true righteousness is the way to enter God's kingdom.

1.3.2.2. *Matthew 5:21-48*. Traditionally, this section has been called the "antitheses." This title is inappropriate because it reflects the problematic interpretation that Jesus rejects the Jewish law that he quotes from the OT and provides a new law to the Christians. This is an incorrect and unethical interpretation. First, not all of Jesus' quotations are from the OT. The quotation about divorce, "Whoever divorces his wife, let him give her a certificate of divorce" (Mt 5:31), is not exactly what Deuteronomy 24:1-4 says. The Deuteronomy text is about the prohibition of remarriage with one's ex-wife, and in describing the context, the text mentions the certificate, but not as something that one is required to do. Also, the quotation about the commandment to hate one's enemy (Mt 5:43) is not found anywhere in the OT. Those quotations, then, seem to reflect some popular oral traditions in first-century A.D. Jewish society in Palestine. Second, this interpretation assumes the complete separation between Judaism and Christianity by the time of Matthew's composition. As current scholarship increasingly suggests, however, the parting of the ways had not yet occurred, and the Matthean community was a part of formative Judaism (see 1.1 above). Third, the interpretation implies supersessionism that has unethically instigated anti-Judaism. Since he claims to have come to fulfill the Torah (Mt 5:17), Jesus does not reject the Jewish Torah. Instead, Jesus teaches, using six examples or case studies of popular understandings of righteousness, the life of true righteousness (Mt 5:20, 48) that "the children of God" (Mt 5:9, 45; cf. Mt 7:11) must pursue.

Although some scholars see this section as polemical or debate material (e.g., Betz, 173-97), this section shows a well-designed, experience-based teaching on one's relationship with other people for the crowds and disciples. G. Stassen offers helpful language in describing the consistent teaching pattern that Jesus uses in the six case studies. Jesus begins with a popular or conventional understanding of righteousness, which the crowds and the disciples witness, practice or expect in their daily life. Then he offers a "diagnosis of a vicious cycle" that the con-

ventional righteousness incurs. Finally, he explains a different kind of righteousness as a "transforming initiative," which stops the vicious cycle and leads to a life befitting God's kingdom (Stassen 2006).

Anger (Mt 5:21-26), man's lust or abandoning one's wife on the basis of seeing women as sex objects or dispensable objects (Mt 5:27-32), dishonesty (Mt 5:33-37), retaliation "between persons of unequal power and status" (Mt 5:38-42) (see Reid, 244), discrimination against outsiders—that is, those who are not kin or friends or who are debtors (Mt 5:43-48) (see Betz, 591-92)—incur a vicious cycle that leads to a hate-based, violent world and ultimately to hell (cf. 4 *Ezra* 7:36; 2 *Bar.* 59:10; 83:13) rather than to God's kingdom at the last judgment (Mt 5:22, 29-30). In contrast, reconciliation, respecting the dignity of everyone, integrity, forgiveness, love for outsiders and debtors will stop the vicious cycle of the daily life and transform the world into a place of love and forgiveness. It is through these acts that children of God (Mt 5:45) will be rewarded (Mt 5:46). Jesus assures that true righteousness is possible because it comes from God (Mt 5:45-48; cf. Deut 30:11-19).

1.3.2.3. *Matthew 6:1-18*. At the end of the preceding section Jesus mentions a reward for righteousness in relation to others (Mt 5:46). In this section Jesus teaches on personal righteousness in relation to God and the reward from God, "your Father" (Mt 6:1, 4, 6 [2x], 8, 15, 18 [2x]). The point is that only genuine righteousness, not hypocritical righteousness, will be rewarded by "your Father" in heaven.

The teaching includes three examples of practicing "righteousness" (*dikaïosynē*, translated as "piety" in some English Bibles) in one's relationship with God: almsgiving (Mt 6:2-4), prayer (Mt 6:5-8 [plus the Lord's Prayer in Mt 6:9-13]) and *fasting (Mt 6:16-18). Similar to the six examples on one's relationship with other people in the preceding section (Mt 5:21-48), the teaching uses a consistent pedagogical pattern. It begins with a criticism of hypocrites who purposely draw public attention when giving alms, praying and fasting. Then Jesus determines that they have already received their "reward" (Gk. *misthos* [Mt 6:1, 2, 5, 16]) from public recognition, implying that they will not get any reward from God. Next Jesus exhorts his audience to give alms, pray and fast privately, without any public display. Jesus concludes with a promise: "Your Father will give [*apodidōmi*] you your appropriate reward" (Mt 6:4, 6, 18; cf. Mt 5:26, 33; 12:36; 16:27; 18:25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 34; 20:8; 21:41; 22:21; 27:58).

Does Jesus' use of "hypocrites" (Mt 6:2, 5, 16) in this section refer to a specific group? Both literary

and historical contexts may well suggest the Pharisees. Historically, the Matthean community experienced conflicts with the Pharisaic group, which gained power after the destruction of the temple. Later in the Gospel Matthew includes a collection of Jesus' harsh words against the Pharisees and scribes in which he criticizes them as hypocrites (Mt 23:13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29) who teach about the will of God (i.e., righteousness) but fail to practice it (Mt 23:3). Jesus also calls the Pharisees "hypocrites" in other places (Mt 15:7; 22:18). It is also notable that in setting out the central theme of righteousness in the introduction to the body of the SM, Jesus singles out the "righteousness" of the Pharisees and scribes as inadequate for God's kingdom (Mt 5:20).

The subsection on prayer (Mt 6:5-15) in this passage is unique because it includes additional material (Mt 6:7-15): the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:9-13) and a teaching on *forgiveness (Mt 6:14-15). On the one hand, the additional material shares the same format with the three examples of almsgiving, prayer and fasting, moving from a criticism of ineffective prayer (Mt 6:7-8), to an explanation of what constitutes desirable prayer (Mt 6:9-13), and finally to a promise of a reward from God (Mt 6:14-15). On the other hand, there are multiple differences between the additional material and the preceding example on prayer. In Matthew 6:5-6 two opposite kinds of praying are contrasted between the Pharisaic group and Jesus' community, thus within Jewish people, but in the Lord's Prayer the contrast is between non-Jewish people ("Gentiles" [Mt 6:7]) and Jesus' community as Jewish people. In the former, the wrongness of the inadequate prayer is not the content of the prayer, but rather the desire to receive public attention. In the latter, it is the content and theological assumptions: the use of too many words, as if God can be manipulated into listening. Jesus says that since "your" Father, the God of Israel, knows already what people need even before they ask, they do not even need to mention it (cf. Is 65:24).

The Lord's Prayer consists of two parts. The first part includes three petitions regarding God ("you"), and the second part includes three petitions regarding the petitioning community ("we"). The major debate in the history of interpretation has been whether the prayer is eschatological or not, and recent scholarship has moved toward the eschatological interpretation. It is important, however, to recognize that in the NT the eschatological kingdom of God contains both present and future aspects, and the Lord's Prayer petitions for both the present kingdom of God, already launched, and its culmination

in the future (Betz, 377-82; Davies and Allison, 590-614; cf. Luz, 373-85).

In the human kingdoms of the petitioning community people do not recognize the sacredness of God's name; rather, they worship the names of those who rule over them, such as emperors, kings and mammon. The human kingdom of the Roman Empire does not obey God's will of love, mercy and justice. Instead, it exploits God's people, oppresses them, and causes them to accumulate debts. With this characteristically and thoroughly Jewish prayer, very similar to other Jewish prayers (e.g., Kaddish, Eighteen Benedictions), God's people as a community ("we") invoke God to bring about the kingdom, where the sacred name of God the Great King is honored, where people thoroughly obey God's righteous will, where people are free of hunger and debt and are rescued from all evil (see Carter 2000, 162-68). While longing for this new, everlasting world, God's people petition for help not to succumb to daily temptation, as well as to the end-time tribulation, and to be deemed fit to enter the kingdom at the final judgment.

1.3.2.4. *Matthew 6:19-7:12.* Whereas scholars generally agree with the division of the several units in this section, there is no consensus about the structural relationship among the units. The widely diverse proposals range from a suggestion that there are eight separate units without any cohesive structure (e.g., Betz, 423) to a proposal of a well-organized structure (e.g., Allison 1999; Talbert). An alternative is to see that each unit is loosely connected to the others as an elaboration of the life that God's people who pray the Lord's Prayer are to practice. In this interpretation the "Gentiles" (*ethnikoi* [Mt 5:47; 6:7] and *ethnē* [Mt 6:32], meaning "nations" or "peoples") may be understood not to mean all the peoples who are not Jews, but rather those who promote and are committed to the imperial ideology instead of to "God's kingdom and God's righteous will" (Mt 6:33).

Matthew 6:19-34 focuses on the importance of the genuine commitment to God's righteous will, and not to "mammon" (NRSV: "wealth" [Mt 6:24]), a personification of uncontrollable greed for wealth and materialism. The Gentiles, by serving mammon, are controlled by the discourse of human kingdoms and imperial ideology. They are continually anxious to compete with each other for more treasure and better food, better drink and better clothes, and they "worry about tomorrow" daily. God's children must not adopt this lifestyle. They do not need to be anxious and worry about anything, because their good Father in heaven always knows what they need and

provides it (Mt 6:25-34). Instead, they should strive first for God's kingdom and God's righteous will (Mt 6:33-34) by praying for the kingdom of God and living a life befitting God's kingdom, as Jesus has taught (see Davies and Allison, 661; Betz, 483). Jesus teaches that anyone whose heart is turned toward mammon rather than God will have a life full of darkness (Mt 6:22-23) and ceaseless anxiety (Mt 6:25-26), and any wealth that such a person accumulates is prone to be lost (Mt 6:19-21). A greedy heart cannot serve God; it can serve only mammon. A righteous heart can serve only God.

In Matthew 7:1-5 we learn that the privilege of being children of the heavenly Father does not mean that they may play God. God is the one who judges, and at the end time Jesus will judge everyone and separate the "righteous"—those who are worthy for the eschatological kingdom and everlasting life—from those designated fit for everlasting punishment (see Mt 25:31-46). The community of disciples is among those who will be judged, and not among those who may judge others. Instead of judging, one may help another to correct a fault only after examining one's own faults and removing them first.

In Matthew 7:6 does Jesus, after issuing a mandate not to judge, say that one should judge those who are referred to as "dogs" and "swine" and deny them what is holy (Mt 7:1-5)? Many commentators say that due to the lack of context, the verse is impossible to interpret (Luz, 418-19; Betz, 454). Others interpret it variously as, for example, a prohibition of mission or teaching to outsiders (Davies and Allison, 676) or advice not to correct those who reject one's kind correction (Carter 2000, 182).

Given that the terms "dogs" and "swine" were widely used to express hostility and contempt for enemies or outsiders (Lev 11:7; Prov 11:22; Mt 15:26), and that "pearls" refers to the kingdom in Matthew 13:45-46, one may interpret that the pearls are people of God, the members of God's kingdom, while the dogs and swine are the "Gentiles" who support the imperial ideology. In this interpretation the metaphor in Matthew 7:6 may be an exhortation not to buy into the imperial ideology and those who are committed to it, for they will not provide peace and prosperity, but rather will bring harm and destruction. In other words, "7:6 is exactly about a temptation, . . . the temptation to place our trust and loyalty in the promises of advancement and security afforded by the power structures and values of the Roman Empire" (Stassen 2003, 302).

Matthew 7:7-11 assures us that with continuous prayer and trust to God, the good Father, the com-

munity of disciples will be able to practice a life befitting God's kingdom (Betz, 501-2; Luz, 424; Carter 2000, 183).

The "therefore" in Matthew 7:12 signifies that the Golden Rule, with its inclusion of the "law and prophets" (Mt 5:17; 7:12), concludes the material that began at Matthew 5:17. Jesus identifies the Golden Rule as the Torah and the prophets—that is, the will of God (cf. Mt 7:21-23; 22:40). J. Wattles correctly emphasizes that, as a rule of reciprocity, the Golden Rule must be interpreted in its context. It is important to note that in Matthew the Golden Rule is located right after the passage on God as the loving Father who generously provides good things when the children ask. "The Golden Rule does not presuppose as its foundation divine or human retaliation but God's initiative of generosity, forbearance, and forgiveness. The disciples are to imitate this divine initiative in the hope that the people who they thus treat will respond in kind" (Betz, 518).

1.3.3. *Conclusion (Mt 7:13-27)*. The conclusion of the SM concerns eschatological judgment, in congruence with the other four teaching discourses (Mt 10:37-42; 13:47-50; 18:23-35; 25:31-46). The point of the conclusion is that those who pursue true righteousness in accordance with Jesus' teaching will be led to life, while those who do not will be led to destruction and death (cf. Lev 26; Deut 11:26; 30:15-20; Jer 21:8). The conclusion starts with a general *parable (Mt 7:13-14), moves to a parable related to a specific example (Mt 7:15-23), and then returns to a general parable (Mt 7:24-27).

1.3.3.1. *Parable of Two Gates (Mt 7:13-14)*. The first parable, about two gates, begins with the assumption that the life of true righteousness—that is, the life of loving the enemy with one's sole trust in God—is inconvenient and difficult (the narrow gate and road), whereas the life of complying with the human kingdoms and imperial ideology is convenient and easy (the wide gate and road). Jesus teaches that the community of disciples must choose the former because it leads them to God's kingdom, whereas the latter actually leads to death, both in the present world and at the end time.

1.3.3.2. *Parable of Two Trees (Mt 7:15-23)*. The second parable, about two trees, concerns the false prophets who look innocent like sheep but actually are evil like ravenous wolves. Some scholars identify the false prophets as "Gentile" Christians among the Matthean community who confess Jesus as "Lord" (Betz, 546). Some identify them as Jewish rivals of the Matthean community, such as the scribes and Pharisees (Harrington, 111). Considering that

“prophets” are listed as a part of the community leadership in Matthew (Mt 5:12; 10:41; 23:34), it may be more plausible to identify the false prophets as certain disciples who are active in teaching, healing and other mighty works but fail to practice true righteousness as Jesus taught. Since they are “doers of lawlessness [*anomia*]” (NRSV: “evildoers”) and fail to do God’s will (to produce “good fruits”), Jesus will judge them at the last judgment as not belonging to the kingdom of God.

1.3.3.3. *Parable of Two Houses* (Mt 7:24-27). As the final words of the SM, the third parable, about two houses, once more highlights the importance of “practicing” true righteousness as Jesus taught over and against just “hearing.” The latter is like a “foolish” person who builds a house on a sandy foundation, which is disastrous. Those who actually do what they hear will remain standing at the end time, no matter how difficult the obstacles in their path may be. The final lines exhort the audience to act, not just listen, and also warn them of the dangers of failing to act.

2. The Sermon on the Plain (Lk 6:20-49).

The Sermon on the Plain (hereafter SP) in Luke is much shorter than the SM in Matthew (thirty verses versus 109 verses), and most of the passages in the SP have parallels in the SM. The analysis and interpretation here will avoid duplicating what was presented in the Matthean counterpart above, except when it is important to understand the issues or theology specific to Luke.

2.1. *Sociohistorical Context.* Written around A.D. 80-90, the Gospel of Luke shares a historical context with Matthew: the world controlled by the evil of Roman imperial ideology and power. However, since it was written outside of the land of Israel, Luke’s readers included non-Jews, as well as Jews who were much more adapted to a non-Jewish cultural environment than their compatriots in the homeland.

2.2. *Literary Context: Setting and Structure.* Luke begins his Gospel with the birth stories of John the Baptist, who is an eschatological prophet like *Elijah, and Jesus, who is the Messiah (see Christ), Savior, *Lord (Lk 2:11) and *Son of God (Lk 1:32). The stories are framed by a conspicuously political background. It takes place in the time of King Herod (Lk 1:5) and Quirinius, the Roman governor of Syria (Lk 2:2). Caesar Augustus is the Roman emperor (Lk 2:1), whom the empire honors as the lord, benefactor, and savior of the world. From the moment of birth, Jesus directly experiences the power of the

Roman Empire, expressed through the census, which aims to measure human and economic resources. Jesus, however, is bringing in a new world, characterized by a reversal of socioeconomic status (Lk 1:48, 51-53; 2:7), in which people will experience joy (Lk 1:14, 44, 58), mercy (Lk 1:25, 50, 54, 78), forgiveness (Lk 1:77) and peace (Lk 1:79; 2:14). Jesus begins his ministry of teaching and preaching about the good news of God’s kingdom, calling disciples and manifesting the presence of God’s kingdom through healings and exorcisms. In his inaugural sermon in his hometown Jesus proclaims himself as the fulfillment of Isaiah’s prophecy of the one anointed to liberate the oppressed (Lk 4:16-30; cf. Is 61:1-2; 58:6). While experiencing rejection from his hometown and opposition from Pharisaic Jewish leaders, Jesus successfully continues his ministry for many oppressed people, calling disciples and naming twelve of them “apostles” (Lk 4:31–6:16).

2.2.1. *Setting and Audience.* In Luke 6:17 the evangelist describes the setting of the SP as “on a level place” (thus the conventional name for the Lukan Sermon) and lists three categories of people as those who are present with Jesus: (1) the twelve apostles and other disciples who come down from the mountain with Jesus; (2) a great crowd of Jesus’ disciples; (3) a great multitude of people from various regions in Palestine (Lk 6:18; 6:27). The phrase that introduces the SP, “looking up his eyes at his disciples, he said” (Lk 6:20a), does not mean that Jesus addresses only his disciples. The evangelist’s description of the audience at the end of the SP, “in the hearing of the people” (Lk 7:1), recalls the description of the great multitude of people as the ones who “came to hear Jesus” (Lk 6:18). All those listed in Luke 6:17 must be the audience (see Green, 262; Carroll, 147-48).

2.2.2. *Structure.* There are many diverse proposals on the structure of the SP, from a neatly ordered structure (Topel) to a “loose and wobbly” organization (Fitzmyer, 628). Nevertheless, most scholars find a threefold division of introduction, body and conclusion, with great disagreement on the demarcation between the body and the conclusion, as well as the subdivision within the body. One of the favored structures divides the SP as introduction (Lk 6:20-26), body (Lk 6:27-42) and conclusion (Lk 6:43-49). This parallels the structure of the SM and, given that Luke arranges the SP in almost the same order as the SM, seems to be a reasonable solution.

2.3. Analysis and Interpretation.

2.3.1. *Introduction* (Lk 6:20-26). The introduction consists of four beatitudes and four woes, creating a symmetry in which the content of each beatitude is

exactly opposite to the content of each woe. Addressed to “you,” a second-person plural, they effectively engage the audience to relate themselves to the beatitudes, the woes, or both. One may understand that each of the four beatitudes and its counterpart woe deals with a different group of people (the poor versus the rich, the hungry versus the filled, the weeping versus the laughing, the defamed versus the honored). A more plausible understanding may be to see the first pair as an overarching summary and the following three pairs as its elaborations. The broad concept of the term “the poor” (*hoi ptōchoi*) in the Bible directs us toward this understanding. As a relational term, “the poor,” denotes in the OT various people who are marginalized or oppressed due to poor health, low status or lack of economic or other social resources, whom God alone can help (e.g., Ps 35:10; 37:14). In accordance with the OT traditions, Luke uses the term “the poor” and its counterpart “the rich” as a “comprehensive” term (see Green, 267; cf. Topel, emphasizing the economic concept). The first beatitude and woe pairing, then, is a general proclamation that the kingdom of God belongs to those who suffer from marginalization and oppression, while those who marginalize and oppress others have no place in God’s kingdom. The remaining pairs elaborate on this theme by specifically naming the marginalized groups and their counterparts and promising the reversal of their earthly status. Those who lack basic resources for subsistence (“who are hungry now” [Lk 6:21a]), who are in severely distressful situations (“who are weeping now” [Lk 6:21b]), and who are defamed because they follow Jesus (Lk 6:22) will all enjoy the privileges that their counterparts keep now, and vice versa.

God’s promise of the reversal of status in the symmetry of the beatitudes and woes strongly reminds the reader of two preceding pericopes: Mary’s song (Lk 1:46–55) and Jesus’ visit to his hometown (Lk 4:16–30). The thematic similarity between Mary’s song and the symmetry of the beatitudes and woes is remarkable. *Mary’s song is full of praises of God’s mercy and justice. By God’s mercy (Lk 1:50, 54) the lowly person becomes the blessed one (Lk 1:48), and the places of the proud, the powerful and the rich become the places of the lowly and the hungry (Lk 1:51–53). When Jesus visits Nazareth, he proclaims the reality of his embodiment of the Isaiah text (Is 61:1–2; 58:6), which announces the good news to the “the poor”—that is, the liberation of those who are oppressed economically, physically, politically, socially, religiously or any other way (Lk 4:18–21). The

people’s response to Jesus is one of strong rejection. The first three pairs of beatitudes and woes strongly evoke the Isaiah text, and the fourth pair evokes the violent response of the Nazareth people to Jesus (Lk 4:28–29). One may say, then, that as the introduction to the SP, the beatitudes and woes connect the theology revealed in Mary’s song and the Christology revealed in the Nazareth event to the body of the SP, which focuses on discipleship.

2.3.2. *Body* (Lk 6:27–42). The body consists of four sections (Lk 6:27–31, 32–36, 37–38, 39–42), each of which elaborates on one central theme of the way of discipleship: loving enemies. The last pair of beatitudes and woes has already hinted at the life of the disciples, which runs against the conventional norm. God’s kingdom, as the new world contrasted against the Roman Empire, requires its members to practice a different lifestyle by imitating God and by not adopting imperial practices and ideologies.

The first unit (Lk 6:27–31) focuses on loving one’s enemy. By “But I say to you that listen,” Jesus makes clear that he is now moving to his central teaching, and that they need to pay attention to it. The teaching starts by succinctly stating its “thesis” with just a few words: “Love your enemies.” Jesus continues with several specific examples about how to love those who wrong you. All the examples are in contrast to the social values or norms of the imperial world, such as patronage, exploitation of human and material resources by those who have power, and the accumulation of debts. By practicing a new norm of loving one’s enemy, the vicious cycle of dehumanizing one’s neighbors will stop, and life will be transformed. Jesus summarizes this new life with the Golden Rule (Lk 6:31).

The second unit (Lk 6:32–36) provides more examples of the life of loving one’s enemy by specifically contrasting it with the patronage system. If you give favors, gifts or loans only to those who will pay you back with an earthly reward, like those who are “alienated from God” (*hamartōloi*) (Topel, 164; cf. Green, 273; Fitzmyer, 640), you will get no reward (*misthos*) from God. As God is “merciful” (*oiktirmōn* [cf. Lk 18:13; see also Ex 34:6; Deut 4:31; Joel 2:13; Jon 4:2]) even to the evil, the disciples must be merciful by loving, doing good, and lending to their enemy without expecting anything in return.

The third and fourth units (Lk 6:37–38, 39–42) continue the teaching on loving one’s enemy with more specific examples from the conventional norm. In a society where debts accumulate due to exploitation by those who have power and who share resources only within a small circle of kinship

and friends, debtors are targets of constant judgment. They are *sinners because they cannot repay their debts, and they must beg for even more loans. Jesus teaches that rather than judging those who cannot repay, debt holders must forgive debts and give abundantly. For this, they will be rewarded appropriately. At the same time, they must know that their faults are even greater than those in whom they find fault.

2.3.3. *Conclusion* (Lk 6:43-49). The SP concludes with several maxims and parables to highlight the importance of doing what Jesus has taught, much like the SM (Lk 6:43-49).

3. Historicity of the Sermon.

Most passages included in the SP have parallels in the SM. The exceptions are Luke 6:24-26, 34, 35a, 37b-38a, 39-40, 45b. The last two have parallels outside the SM in Matthew, and Luke also includes several parallels to the passages in the SM outside of the SP. The scholarly consensus is that the common source of SM and SP is Q, while some (e.g., Betz) propose that Matthew and Luke used different versions of Q (Q_{mt} and Q_{lk}). Regardless, it is noteworthy that the two sermons generally have the same order, and both begin with the beatitudes and end with the parable of the house builders. This does not necessarily prove, however, that Jesus actually delivered the sermon in that order.

In the studies of the sayings of the historical Jesus, scholars generally have focused on determining their authenticity on the basis of the likelihood of Jesus' exact wording. The usual process has been to peel off any redactional materials by comparing parallels and examining characteristics of the evangelist's theology and literary style. Recently, however, several scholars (e.g., Allison 2010; Horsley; Le Donne) have begun to pay attention to the importance of understanding oral communication and social memory in the study of the historical Jesus. According to this new direction, the historical Jesus can be constructed by studying the Gospel traditions as the social memory of Jesus' followers. In this regard, the general consensus of the scholarship that there is a strong continuity between the Sermon and the historical Jesus is correct. As the role model of true righteousness, the historical Jesus resisted imperial power and ideology and gave abundantly to the marginalized without expecting any earthly reward. When killed by the imperial power, he received a reward from God: to be eternally present with those who follow him. The Sermon certainly holds the community of disciples' strong memories of Jesus, a devout Jew, who thor-

oughly obeyed God's will and thoroughly embodied what he taught to his followers.

See also BLESSING AND WOE; ETHICS OF JESUS; JUSTICE; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; LAW; RICH AND POOR; RIGHTEOUSNESS.

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S-A Yang

SERVANT OF YAHWEH

The Servant of Yahweh or Suffering Servant is a figure traditionally drawn from four passages in Isaiah seen to delineate the vocation of one whose task is to serve both Israel and the nations through acts of Spirit-anointed justice and suffering. In the Gospels this figure and these passages underlie various aspects of Jesus' identity and *mission, perhaps most notably his vicarious suffering and death.

1. Isaiah
2. Second Temple Judaism
3. The Gospels
4. Conclusion

1. Isaiah.

Isaiah 40—55 ("Second Isaiah") is the literary context for the "Servant Songs" of Isaiah 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13—53:12, first grouped as such by B. Duhm in 1892. Duhm argued that they were a later addition to the text of Isaiah and suggested an interpretation without reference to literary context. Many older commentators have followed him, although a growing trend in Isaiah studies is to see them as integral to the larger text of Isaiah and to analyze them within it (e.g., Mettinger).

This servant figure historically has been a point of great interest for interpreters, with some identifying the servant as Israel or a remnant of Israel, following the book's own lead in labeling Israel as the servant at various points (e.g., Is 41:8; 44:1, 2, 21 [2X]; 45:4; 48:20). Others, however, point to the unnamed servant of the Servant Songs themselves, as well as his apparent individualistic suffering (e.g., Is 50:4-9), and prefer a historical figure such as Cyrus or Isaiah the prophet.

Those who favor a literary reading often link the unnamed speaker in Isaiah 61 with the servant, suggesting that from a literary and functional perspec-

tive this figure speaks in the voice and takes on the role of the servant from especially Isaiah 42 and Isaiah 49 (e.g., both are anointed by Yahweh's spirit, proclaim freedom for captives, and console the faint). Even if traditional historical-critical distinctions are held, and Isaiah 61 is thus seen as part of "Third Isaiah," it may be argued that the plural "servants" (e.g., Is 65:8) as a community have claimed servant traits and experiences (from Is 40—55) for themselves. Already in this early period, then, there is a (historically) later group that utilizes the servant figure in the service of their own identity, an important reality that must be noted in studies of the servant motif in the NT.

2. Second Temple Judaism.

Many older commentators have stressed the tentativeness of our understanding of the servant motif in Second Temple Judaism, though the often minimal results that such tentativity creates are not necessarily the only possible conclusion. For example, it likely is important that Second Temple authors appeared to interpret Isaiah as a whole (i.e., as the work of Isaiah the prophet, without the traditional distinctions between "First," "Second" or "Third" Isaiah) and eschatologically. The nonatomistic thrust can be seen in Ben Sirā's "Hymn of the Fathers" (Sir 44:1—51:24), composed around 200 B.C., where Isaiah the prophet is described as trustworthy. Sirach then discusses Isaiah's vision of the last things and his words of comfort to mourners, clearly alluding to Isaiah 40—66. The eschatological use is evident from the Isaiah pesharim (4Q161; 4Q162; 4Q163; 4Q164; 4Q165) at Qumran, where the passages are directly related to the sect's existence at the end of the age (*see* Dead Sea Scrolls).

The servant passages, then, almost certainly were not seen as a separate group of texts, though it is still likely that readers and hearers of Isaiah would have picked up on the conceptual and linguistic similarities in what modern scholarship calls the "Servant Songs." In fact, texts that use Isaiah (especially at Qumran) are adept at utilizing the servant motif as culled from several different passages (e.g., Is 42:1-4; 52:13—53:12). All of this justifies the approach of analyzing the function of the servant in Second Temple texts within the larger grid of (at least) Isaiah 40—66.

The figure of the Isaianic servant often was used in this period, though at points the servant was interpreted individually, and at other points corporately (though an individual would still represent the corporate people). This generalization holds true across the spectrum, even for Isaiah 53. The old ad-

age that Hellenistic Judaism interpreted the servant in Isaiah 53 corporately (e.g., in the LXX, which clarifies the servant's identity as Israel, adding "Jacob" and "Israel" in the song in Is 42:1 and including an explanatory note about servant Israel's task in Is 49:5), while Palestinian Judaism interpreted the figure individually (e.g., the Dead Sea Scroll 11Q13 [the work of J. Jeremias has contributed to this understanding]), does not seem to adequately represent the evidence. For example, at least some of the Qumran texts that utilize Isaianic servant material take it in a corporate sense (e.g., 1QS V, 6; VIII, 5-7). In other words, the interpretive milieu of Jesus and the NT writers allowed them to treat the servant as both an (often representative) individual and a corporate (as the faithful people of God/remnant) figure and to claim fulfillment or embodiment of Isaiah's servant texts in their own communities.

3. The Gospels.

Perhaps the best-known discussion of the servant motif in relation to Jesus is by M. Hooker. However, her larger concern is not simply the NT use of the OT but the atonement, and whether the doctrine originated with Jesus or his followers. The atonement thus brackets her discussion, making Isaiah 53, with its notion of vicarious suffering, an important and problematic passage in Isaiah as well as the NT.

Although Hooker is careful to point out that in Isaiah the servant is predominantly the collective figure of Israel (Hooker, chap. 2), her minimal investigation of the Second Temple sources restricts her ability to see the presence and function of the servant motif in NT texts (Hooker, chap. 3). It is not surprising, then, that her final results are negative: the Synoptics do not give conclusive proof that Jesus saw himself as the servant (Hooker, 102), and other NT works such as Acts and Paul's letters give "little evidence that the Servant-Christology held any important place in Christian thought of the New Testament period" (Hooker, 128).

Hooker may be critiqued as being too preoccupied with Isaiah 53 and the servant's suffering, as this limits her ability to see the multifaceted nature of the servant's experience and task. Also, her insistence that in order for a servant allusion to be present no other possible OT text may be in view (Hooker, 62) may unnecessarily tighten the parameters and be minimalistic, especially in light of the recent developments in intertextuality between the Testaments that stress the complex nature of the NT use of the OT (which includes conceptual as well as linguistic parallels, the importance of a cumulative case, and

taking quotations as pointers to larger narrative or allusive uses).

3.1. The Synoptic Tradition. Many scholars have argued that in the Gospels an important part of Jesus' messianic consciousness was his awareness of fulfilling or embodying the servant task from Isaiah, seen especially in his insistence that it is "written" or "necessary" that the Son of Man must suffer and die (and be raised) (Mk 8:31; 9:12, 31; 10:33-34 par.) (for the connection to "Son of Man," see the discussion of the ransom saying in 3.2 below). Scholars such as P. Doble have argued that messianic psalms give "written" proof that one who serves *God (as servant) must suffer, but most commentators find the OT background for Jesus' *passion in the Isaianic servant.

3.2. Mark. In Mark's Gospel the Isaianic servant probably stands behind the voice from heaven at Jesus' *baptism: "You are my beloved son, with you I am pleased" (Mk 1:11 [// Mt 3:17; Lk 3:22]). Jesus is not called "servant" here, and there is no exact verbal overlap between the two passages, but there is still a likely allusion to one of the servant texts, Isaiah 42:1. Scholars generally agree on the servant basis here because the servant is anointed with God's Spirit in Isaiah 42:1 and is chosen and/or called in the literary context (e.g., Is 42:6-7).

Also, at Jesus' *transfiguration the voice from the cloud calls him "my Son, my beloved" (Mk 9:7 [// Mt 17:5; Lk 9:35; in the latter text Jesus is "chosen" rather than "beloved"; cf. the servant as "chosen" in, e.g., Is 49:7]). At the *Last Supper Jesus declares, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many [*pollōn*]" (Mk 14:24 [// Mt 26:28, which adds "for the forgiveness of sins"; cf. Lk 22:20]), recalling the servant's sacrifice in Isaiah 53:12.

Particularly relevant (and problematic) in Mark is the famous "ransom saying" (Mk 10:45 [// Mt 20:28]), where Jesus claims of himself, "For the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many" (cf. esp. Is 53:10, 12). Contextually, the ransom saying follows Jesus' third major passion *prediction (first, Mk 8:31 [// Mt 16:21; Lk 9:22]; second, Mk 9:31 [// Mt 17:22-23; Lk 9:44]; third, Mk 10:33-34 [// Mt 20:18-19; Lk 18:31-33]) and James and John's request for personal honor; it thus functions as a description of Jesus' self-understanding regarding his death as well as a critique of his disciples' desire for greatness, for their leadership must be servant-oriented.

Many scholars connect the ransom saying with the servant in Isaiah 53 because of its notion of service, especially the giving of life "for many." However, others dispute the connection (e.g., Hooker) on

the grounds of only minimal verbal parallels between the saying and LXX Isaiah 53. Two other possible sources for the ransom saying are the *Son of Man of Daniel 7 (because Jesus calls himself "Son of Man" in the saying), though Daniel does not carry the idea of vicarious suffering. However, in the Second Temple text 1 *Enoch* 37–71 the Son of Man from Daniel 7 is a conglomerate figure, combined with the servant from Isaiah, suggesting that such a move is possible here in the ransom saying. The other suggested background of the ransom saying is the Second Temple martyr tradition, which at least sometimes was connected with atonement (evidenced in, e.g., 4 Macc 6:28–29), though the servant from Isaiah may be the "original" biblical basis for such atoning martyrdom in this period.

The question of the ransom saying's authenticity is also debated, with some scholars claiming that its origin is not Jesus but rather the early church. Arguments marshaled here include a supposed break in the Jesus-disciples parallel in the context (for this ransom would apply only to his death), the newness of this aspect of Jesus' death (i.e., ransom/atonement is not seen elsewhere), and that the Lukan parallel to Mark 10:42–45 and Matthew 20:25–28 (Lk 22:25–27) does not include it. The second concern is most easily answered, for Jesus apparently was aware of a scriptural reason for his impending violent death (e.g., Mk 8:31; 9:12; Lk 18:31–33; 24:25–27, 46), and he connects at least some aspects of his passion with the servant (e.g., Is 53:12 in Lk 22:37), making a further tie likely.

Regarding the first and third concerns, Luke appears to have drawn Luke 22:24–27 from his special source (rather than Mark) and may be describing a different event than the other Synoptic writers. Also, in light of Luke's concern to parallel the mission of the disciples with that of Jesus (esp. in Acts), any minimization by him of the atoning nature of Jesus' death (which is, of course, unique to Jesus and does not apply to the disciples) finds its warrant.

Finally, extrabiblical sources show that the word "ransom" (*lytron*), which occurs in the NT only here in the ransom saying (cf. *antilytron* in 1 Tim 2:6), seems to stress the cost of the deliverance wrought by Jesus, the Son of Man and servant. With the servant texts from Isaiah in view (esp., Is 50; 53), the cost is vividly painted in terms of severe rejection, physical, mental and emotional suffering, and death. Also, the servant in LXX Isaiah 53:12 bears the sins of "many" (*pollōn*) in death; Jesus in the ransom saying claims to give his life as a ransom for "many" (*pollōn*).

3.3. Matthew. One of Matthew's unique devices

is his use of formula quotations, and in two of them he cites servant texts. In Matthew 8:17, after Jesus *heals "all the sick" and drives out *demons, Matthew writes that Jesus' actions fulfill "what was spoken through the prophet Isaiah: 'He took our infirmities and bore our diseases.'" The reference is Isaiah 53:4, though many scholars have noted that the Matthean emphasis is on Jesus' deliverance from physical ailments as opposed to his atoning suffering and death.

Matthew 12 details more healings (as well as Jesus' nonconfrontational approach, another possible servant link), and Matthew connects these acts with the first Servant Song, Isaiah 42:1–4 (quoted in full in Mt 12:18–21). His quotation of Isaiah here strengthens the probable servant background to the baptism and transfiguration scenes (at Mt 3:17; 17:5) (see 3.2 above), for he appears either to use a Greek text at Matthew 12:18 that parallels some of the vocabulary from the other scenes or to align his translation of Isaiah to stress the links. Again, the scholarly concern for the author's apparent lack of focus on the atoning nature of the servant's work appears, though it could be argued that the modern academic concentration on the atonement, especially as it relates to the Isaianic servant, is unwarranted in light of the multifaceted nature of the servant's task in Isaiah (which includes bringing justice, being a light to the nations, and enduring physical suffering).

3.4. Luke. It is commonly acknowledged that Luke also takes up Mark's use of the Isaianic servant background at Jesus' baptism and transfiguration (see 3.2 above), and Jesus defines his mission in the synagogue in Nazareth in Luke 4:18–19 by reading Isaiah 61:1–2 (with Is 58:6). Isaiah 61:1–2, though not one of Duhm's four famous Servant Songs, literarily is closely connected with those passages (see 1 above.)

One of the final chapters of Luke includes another clear citation, for in Luke 22:37 Jesus quotes from Isaiah 53:12 in reference to himself, claiming that the servant's lot of being "numbered with the transgressors" must be fulfilled in him (cf. the quotation of Is 53:7–8 in Acts 8:32–33).

However, it is also true that elsewhere Luke has been accused by H. Conzelmann and many scholars after him of downplaying the servant motif's notion of atoning or substitutionary suffering. Luke's supposed "theology of glory" (as opposed to "theology of the cross") is argued on the basis of several passages. For example, the only two texts in Luke–Acts that appear clearly to ground Jesus' death in terms of atonement, Luke 22:19–20 and Acts 20:28, have textual uncertainties. The former passage, Luke 22:20

(the parallel to Mk 14:24; Mt 26:28), also apparently removes at least one key lexical pointer to Isaiah 53 (though the idea of service is still present). Finally, Mark's "ransom saying," which many see alluding to Isaiah 53, is paralleled in Matthew but omitted in Luke. All this leads to the possible conclusion that Luke chose to focus on other aspects of the servant's task, such as his innocence or exaltation.

Many other probable uses of Isaianic servant material exist both in Luke and Acts (e.g., the references to Israel and the nations in Lk 2:29-32, recalling Is 42:49), and this leads to a second possible explanation for Luke's apparently minimal acknowledgement of Jesus' death as substitutionary. Luke demonstrates a clear interest in connecting the mission of the disciples with Jesus (especially in Acts, but also in Luke; cf. esp. the parallels of Peter, Stephen and Paul with Jesus; cf. also the way in which Paul and Barnabas quote the servant text Is 49:6 in reference to themselves in Acts 13:47), and the atoning nature of the servant's death is true only for Jesus, not his followers.

3.5. John. The only quotation from the Servant Songs in John's Gospel is in John 12:38. After the prediction of Jesus' death, John mentions the many signs performed by Jesus and then sums up the Jewish response to him by claiming fulfillment of Isaiah 53:1: "Lord, who has believed our message? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?" Scholars have pointed out that the Isaiah passage, although from the famous Servant Song of Isaiah 53, refers not to the servant's atoning work but rather to the unbelief of the Jews. Again, the scholarly interest in the substitutionary aspect of the servant's suffering may be a bit misdirected, since the servant's work is much broader in Isaiah. At least indirectly, Jesus is associated with the servant through the use of Isaiah 53:1 here.

Other famous Johannine passages often linked to the Isaianic servant include John the Baptist's labeling of Jesus as the "Lamb of God" (Jn 1:29, 36). The suggested background is the reference in Isaiah 53:7, where the metaphor of a lamb led to slaughter is used of the servant. Because the Passover lamb was not directly connected with the removal of sin, it appears likely that the sacrifice of the Isaianic servant is in mind here. Finally, the language of Jesus being "lifted up" (*hypoō* in various forms) in John 3:14; 8:28; 12:32 may refer to the servant's exaltation/lifting up (a form of *hypoō*) in LXX Isaiah 52:13.

4. Conclusion.

The servant figure of Isaiah's famous Servant Songs is important for understanding the mission and pur-

pose of Jesus. However, much work remains to be done in this area. A wave of recent scholarship emphasizes the larger narrative framework and themes of Isaiah (such as the "new exodus" restoration of especially Is 40–55) and their placement in the Gospels (highlighted by, e.g., the use of Is 40:3-5 and its link to John the Baptist). Significantly, Isaiah 40–55 is the primary literary context of the servant's work, which is integral to the restoration; the servant's mission being embodied is, to a great extent, how the new exodus occurs or finds fulfillment.

If, then, a larger Isaianic paradigm is present in the Gospels, it gives warrant to a methodology that affirms the presence of the servant motif even in the absence of clear quotations (however important those may be). Indeed, in contrast to the narrower methodological parameters of times past, many scholars are prioritizing the presence of conceptual and thematic ties, as well as lexical links to words closely associated with the servant and his activity in Isaiah (e.g., chosen, witness, being delivered or handed over). Such suggested connections are especially significant if they appear in a cluster or in close association with a more explicit reference or an allusion to a servant passage. In other words, it is perhaps true that for the Gospel writers the servant motif grounds the identity of Jesus in a much larger way than often realized, and that various NT doctrines (such as salvation) would benefit from the exploration of these avenues in greater detail.

See also CHRISTOLOGY; DEATH OF JESUS; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; PASSION NARRATIVE; PREDICTIONS OF JESUS' PASSION AND RESURRECTION; SON OF MAN.

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H. Beers

SEVENTY, MISSION OF THE. See **MISSION**.

SHEPHERD, SHEEP

The agrarian and cultural background of shepherd-ing in the biblical world functions as the backdrop for understanding Jesus as shepherd in the Gospels. Shepherds were essential in the ancient world, caring for their own animals yet also hired to tend the large flocks of other owners. The main concern of the shepherd was to provide the sheep or goats with food, water and protection from wild animals or thieves. This common way of life is an obvious source for the shepherd/flock imagery prevalent throughout the Bible. The OT is replete with pastoral imagery as a way to depict God's relationship with God's people, and this is carried over into the NT for Jesus and his disciples. Although the symbol is most often used in the OT for describing God's care for Israel, Israel's rulers were also viewed as shepherds. The image takes on a positive role when it comes to God as the ideal shepherd (Ezek 34:5-6; cf. Is 40:11; Ps 23), but Israel's leaders are condemned for their neglect of the flock (Jer 10:21; Zech 11:15-17; 13:7-9). The Gospel writers most certainly borrow the image of shepherd for Jesus from their Scriptures and their social location, but then they situate the imagery in the larger narrative context of their interpretations of Jesus' ministry. Taking cues from the literary world of the individual Gospels and each Gospel writer's portrait of Jesus affords a number of possible meanings for this image of Jesus.

1. Matthew
2. Mark
3. Luke
4. John

1. Matthew.

Matthew's use of this imagery for Jesus is rooted in the messianic expectation of a new ruler or shepherd from the line of David (Ezek 34:23; 37:20, 22; cf.

Ps 78:70-72) whose rule over God's people will be as a shepherd for his flock (Mt 2:6) (see Willitts). Matthew depicts Jesus as having compassion for the crowds because they are "like sheep without a shepherd" (Mt 9:36; 26:31 [cf. Num 27:16-17; 1 Kings 22:17; Is 40:11; Ezek 34:5]) (see Son of David). This saying appears immediately before the missionary discourse, where Jesus gathers the *disciples, the twelve disciples are named, and Jesus sends them out with instructions for their *mission (Mt 10:1-11:1). In Matthew 10:6 the disciples are portrayed as shepherds themselves when Jesus says to them, "But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Jesus will refer to his ministry in the same way later in the Gospel: "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 15:24). At the same time, the disciples are viewed as sheep: "See, I am sending you out like sheep into the midst of wolves" (Mt 10:16). Jesus' commissioning of the Twelve anticipates the Great Commission, which concludes Matthew's Gospel (Mt 28:18-20) and suggests that a vital aspect of discipleship is to take on the role of shepherd. Jesus predicts his death and the denial of the disciples by quoting Zechariah 13:7: "You will all become deserters because of me this night; for it is written, 'I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered'" (Mt 26:31). After Jesus is raised, he will go ahead of the disciples to *Galilee and gather the scattered disciples, just as a shepherd goes ahead of the flock and gathers the sheep that have strayed (Mt 26:32).

Matthew also includes the *parable of the lost sheep (Mt 18:10-14). Matthew's account of this parable is situated in the larger context of discussions concerning community life located in Jesus' fourth teaching discourse (Mt 18:1-35). Matthew 18 begins with the disciples asking Jesus, "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" Although Jesus responds with general teachings about getting along with others, the primary focus of his address is the challenge to the understanding of social status that God's *kingdom upends. The kingdom of heaven requires one to "become like a child" (Mt 18:3) and care for the "little ones" (Mt 18:10, 14) (see Child, Children). Jesus tells the parable of the lost sheep to illustrate this point, and the ending of Matthew's version of the parable reiterates this focus: "So it is not the will of your Father in heaven that one of these little ones should be lost" (Mt 18:14 [cf. Zech 13:7]).

2. Mark.

Mark's use of shepherd imagery is limited to Mark 6:34; 14:27. In Mark's Gospel Jesus' response to the

great crowd, having “compassion for them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd,” occurs within the story of the feeding of the five thousand (Mk 6:34). The crowd, having come from “all the towns,” is gathered on the shore to wait for Jesus and his disciples, who have tried to find a deserted place to rest. Although the disciples urge Jesus to send the crowd away because of the late hour, he responds with “You give them something to eat” (Mk 6:37), and the *miracle of feeding the crowd of five thousand with five loaves and two fish follows (*see* Table Fellowship). Jesus makes evident that his role as shepherd, along with the disciples because they distribute the food to the crowd, is to provide the sheep with the essential need of pasture/food. In Mark 14:27 Jesus quotes Zechariah 13:7, predicting his own *death and the desertion of the disciples in the narrative context of the foretelling of Peter’s denial.

3. Luke.

The imagery of shepherd and sheep is minimal in the Gospel of Luke, particularly with reference to Jesus. Unique to Luke’s story of Jesus is the appearance of *angels announcing Jesus’ birth to shepherds out in the fields who are watching their flocks at night (Lk 2:8-20). The first characters who hear of the *birth of Jesus are these lowly shepherds, who then take initiative and go to see “this thing that has taken place.” The response of the shepherds to the event of Jesus’ birth is glory and praise of *God, a major motif in Luke’s Gospel (*see* Worship). Luke includes the parable of the lost sheep in the wider narrative context of Luke 15. The parable of the lost sheep is the first of three parables having to do with an overall theme in the Gospel of Luke of concern for the lost (cf. Lk 19:10). The setting for Luke 15 finds Jesus surrounded by tax collectors and *sinners, with the *Pharisees and the *scribes “grumbling” about Jesus as one who “welcomes sinners and eats with them” (Lk 15:1-2). By responding to the distaste of the Pharisees with the parables of the lost, Jesus intimates that by welcoming and eating with sinners he is like the character in each of the parables who finds and welcomes the lost, rejoicing in their being found.

4. John

The Gospel of John provides the most extensive description and interpretation of Jesus as shepherd in the four Gospels (Jn 10:1-18, 22-29; 18:1-13) and depicts discipleship as taking on the role of shepherd in Jesus’ absence (Jn 21:15-19) (*see* Lewis). The primary image of Jesus as the “good” shepherd is found

in John 10:1-18, Jesus’ discourse in response to his healing of the man *blind from birth. John 10:22-29 shares similar imagery with John 10:1-18, but there is a change in time from the Festival of Booths (mid-autumn) to the Feast of Dedication (early December), so that John 10:22-29 is not part of the narrative unit John 9:1—10:21 (*see* Feasts). The shepherd discourse is Jesus’ interpretation of the miracle that he has just performed, the healing of the blind man. When, as a result of his being healed by Jesus, the blind man is thrown out of the *synagogue, Jesus, having been absent from the story since John 9:7, returns in John 9:35 and finds the man and brings him into his fold. Jesus and the blind man “act out” Jesus’ words in John 10 before Jesus says them. The blind man is a true disciple, one who listens to the voice of the shepherd (Jn 9:7; 10:4) and represents the “other sheep” of which Jesus speaks in John 10:16. In John 10:22-29 the Jewish leaders are portrayed as not belonging to Jesus’ sheep because they do not listen to Jesus’ voice. This section reiterates the “blindness” of the Pharisees in John 9 in their failure to recognize who Jesus is.

The thieves and the robbers described in John 10:1-18 are like the false shepherds outlined in Ezekiel 34, the wicked shepherds of Israel. As a result, the “Jews”/Pharisees, who are members of Jesus’ audience, are equated with Israel’s past leaders. The good shepherd, Jesus, is the Davidic Messiah of Ezekiel 34. There seems to be little doubt that Ezekiel is a primary source for John’s portrait of Jesus in 10:1-18, as well as the means by which to understand and interpret the imagery. Throughout the history of scholarship Ezekiel 34 has been the lens through which to read John 10:1-18 and has functioned to fill out the imagery with details not provided by the Fourth Gospel.

The motif of Jesus as shepherd and his followers as sheep is also present in John’s version of Jesus’ arrest and crucifixion. After Jesus has washed the feet of the disciples and they have shared a meal (Jn 13—17), Jesus and his disciples cross the Kidron Valley and enter a garden (*see* Gethsemane). Jesus initiates his own arrest by coming out of the garden, leaving the disciples (the sheep) safely in the garden (the fold). Jesus thus clearly identifies himself as the good shepherd, who lays down his life for the sheep (Jn 10:11-18). The good shepherd also protects the sheep from the thief who tries to climb in by another way (Jn 10:1), and who comes to steal and kill and destroy. Apart from John 10:1-10, the only other occurrence of the word “thief” in the Gospel of John describes Judas in John 12:6. Judas, the thief, stands

outside the garden, and the good shepherd will not allow the thief to get into the sheepfold. The crucifixion of Jesus also reveals how the good shepherd “lays down his life.” Jesus is “the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world” (Jn 1:29, 36). In John’s Gospel Jesus dies on the Day of Preparation for Passover, not on the day of Passover itself. As a result, he dies at the same time as the slaughter of the lambs for Passover (see Lamb of God).

Shepherd and sheep imagery is reworked in the conversation between Jesus and Peter in John 21:15–19 as well. A threefold interaction between Jesus and Peter repeats a threefold pattern: (1) the question by Jesus to Peter, “Simon [Peter] son of John, do you love me?”; (2) Peter’s response to Jesus, “Lord, you know that I love you”; (3) Jesus’ instructions to Peter to take care of his sheep. Several aspects of this brief passage resonate with the shepherd discourse. First, the use of the verb “to shepherd” in John 21:16 echoes the image of the shepherd in the discourse of John 9:39–10:21. The single occurrence of this verb in John 21:16 and the use of its cognate noun form “shepherd” only in the shepherd discourse (Jn 10:2, 11, 12, 14, 16) suggest that these episodes should be read together. The term for “sheep” in John’s Gospel is used only here (Jn 21:16–17), in John 10 and John 2 (Jn 2:14–15). The use of “sheep” in Peter’s conversation with Jesus in John 21, and Jesus’ words to Peter, “Follow me,” also recall John 10:27: “My sheep hear my voice. I know them, and they follow me.” Peter is restored to a relationship with Jesus after his threefold denial (Jn 18:15–19), but his discipleship is also reinstated. In the Gospel of John Peter does not deny knowing Jesus (cf. Mt 26:69–75; Mk 14:66–72; Lk 22:57), but rather denies his own discipleship: “You are not also one of his disciples, are you?” He denied it and said, “I am not” (Jn 18:25). The mutual interpretation of these passages indicates that the good shepherd is not Jesus alone. In Jesus’ last question to Peter the verb for “love” switches to the word root “friend,” thus linking the phrase “The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep” (Jn 10:10) with the claim “No one has greater love than this, to lay down one’s life for one’s friends” (Jn 15:13) and with Peter’s laying down of his own life (Jn 21:18–19). The relationship between the shepherd and the sheep in John 9:1–10:21 provides the thematic basis for discipleship in John 21 by supplying the vocabulary and framework of love, knowledge and care of the sheep that Jesus as shepherd and Peter as sheep embody in their dialogue. With John 21:15–19 in view, the intimate relationship between Jesus and “his own” (Jn 10:14) implies that following Jesus also means engag-

ing in the same activity as the good shepherd. The mutuality of the shepherd and the sheep moves beyond recognizing the shepherd to doing the shepherding. Being in relationship with Jesus is not only following Jesus, as a sheep follows its shepherd; it means taking on shepherding, caring for the sheep, and even laying down one’s life for the sheep. Jesus’ claim to be the good shepherd is as much for the disciples (Jn 9:2) as it is for the apparent audience (Jn 9:39–41). When Jesus says, “I have other sheep not of this fold, and I will bring them also,” at stake is not simply the identity of the other sheep, but the ongoing activity of the shepherd by the disciples (cf. Jn 14:12) for the sake of the promise of abundant life (Jn 10:10) and the mission of the gospel (Jn 20:30–31).

See also DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; LAMB OF GOD; SON OF DAVID.

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K. Lewis

SICKNESS. See HEALING.

SIGN OF JONAH

Matthew and Luke report Jesus’ declaration to those seeking a “sign” (*sēmeion*) that no sign will be given except the “sign of Jonah” (Mt 12:38–42; 16:1–4; Lk 11:29–32; cf. Mk 8:11–13). In Matthew 12:38–42 Jonah’s rescue from the belly of the fish is highlighted, while in Luke’s account the focus is on Jonah’s role as a sign to the Ninevites.

1. The Data
2. Critical Approaches
3. Meaning of the “Sign of Jonah”

1. The Data.

In Matthew’s Gospel Jesus is twice asked for a sign (Mt 12:38; 16:1). The latter request, for a sign from heaven, is described as an attempt to test or trap (*peirazō*) Jesus (cf. Mk 8:11). In both pericopes Jesus rebukes an “evil and adulterous generation” for their request and adds that “no sign will be given to it ex-

cept the sign of Jonah (the prophet)" (Mt 12:39; 16:4). Matthew 12:40 continues, "For just as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the sea monster [cf. LXX Jon 2:1], so for three days and three nights the Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth."

In Luke's Gospel Jesus similarly describes "this generation" as evil and denies any sign "except the sign of Jonah" (Lk 11:29). Luke 11:30 explains, "For just as Jonah became a sign to the people of Nineveh, so the Son of Man will be to this generation."

Both Matthew 12:38-42 and Luke 11:29-32 conclude with a double saying in which the Ninevites, who "repented at the proclamation of Jonah," and the Queen of the South, who "came from the ends of the earth to listen to the wisdom of Solomon," stand in eschatological condemnation of "this generation" because "something greater than Jonah is here" and "something greater than Solomon is here." The two evangelists reverse the order of these sayings (Mt 12:41 = Lk 11:32; Mt 12:42 = Lk 11:31).

2. Critical Approaches.

Verbal equivalents in Matthew's and Luke's accounts suggest that they made use of a common, probably written, source (*Q), while marked dissimilarity in how the sign of Jonah is related to Jesus by the two evangelists has led to varying interpretations of the meaning of the sign. Interpreters also differ over the way in which Jonah himself serves as a sign—that is, how the genitive construction "sign of Jonah" should be taken: appositive ("the sign which is Jonah" = his rescue from the fish = Jesus' resurrection), subjective ("the sign Jonah gave" = Jonah's preaching = Jesus' preaching, either its action or content) or objective ("the sign given to Jonah" = the repentance of the Ninevites = contrasting eschatological judgment for those who refuse Jesus' message). Proposals by B. Bacon and others that "Jonah" is a misreading of "John," on the basis of word play by Jesus or confusion in Q between *ywnh* ("Jonah") and *ywn* (possibly an abbreviated form of *ywhnn*, "John"), and thus that the sign originally referred to John the Baptist, have received little support.

The sign of Jonah reflects at least three stages of tradition: Jesus, Q and the evangelists. Source-critical and *redaction-critical studies (von Harnack; Manson; Vögtle; Tödt; Edwards) have focused on retrieving its form and meaning in Q, viewed by the majority as best preserved in Luke's version. R. Edwards suggests that the doublet in Matthew's Gospel is a result of Matthew following Q's order in Matthew 12:38-42 but Mark's order in Matthew 16:1-4. J. Anderson, however, takes a narrative approach to Mat-

thew's doublet, observing that while the request in Matthew 12:38 may be genuine, the request in Matthew 16:1 is specifically identified as testing or entrapment, indicating to the implied reader the growing animosity of the Jewish leaders toward Jesus. Anderson notes similarly the narrative impact of the lack of interpretation of the sign in Matthew 16:4: "None is necessary. The implied reader learned its meaning from the first episode and is expected to recall it in retrospect. The Pharisees have not learned a thing" (Anderson, 80).

3. Meaning of the "Sign of Jonah."

Recent studies (Anderson; Chow; Powell) emphasize the separate narrative interests of each evangelist in differing historical and literary contexts. Such studies suggest that Matthew, with a Jewish Christian audience in view, builds on contemporary Jewish interpretations of Jonah that treat Jonah's fish experience as a symbol of God's deliverance and, in some texts, rebirth or resurrection (cf. Jon 1—2 [for surveys of relevant Jewish literature, see Jeremias; Chow; Sherwood]). In contrast, Luke's interest in the *Gentile mission leads him to interpret Jesus' words in light of Jonah's prophetic role (cf. Jon 3—4), portraying the Ninevites as representatives of his readers, "signifying Gentiles who turn their back on their former beliefs and submit themselves to the message of Jesus" (Chow, 115).

Thus, in Matthew 12:38-42 (presumed in Mt 16:1-4) the sign of Jonah indicates Jesus' death and resurrection, of which the OT prophet Jonah's three days and three nights in the fish serve as a type (see Typology). That Jesus did not spend three full days and nights in the tomb is explained by interpreters in terms of cultural conventions in counting days or as poetic license. As Edwards notes, "Whatever the possible origin of the 'three days' or 'on the third day' tradition, by the time we reach Matthew it has become an integral part of the passion kerygma" (Edwards, 99). In Luke 11:29-32 the sign of Jonah is Jonah's preaching to and/or the subsequent repentance of the Ninevites, corresponding to Jesus' own message and the response required: "In both the narrative and the reader's own situation the only thing which is given, greater than Solomon and Jonah, and which invites 'this generation' to repent, is the preaching of Jesus and of the Church" (Chow, 116).

See also OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; RESURRECTION; TYPOLOGY.

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S. L. Black

SIGNS. See MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES.

SILLOAM. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

SIN, SINNER

Palestinian Judaism generally followed its scriptural heritage by warning of conduct that was deemed “sinful” and persons who were regarded as “sinners.” Yet these were not simply moral terms for violators of God’s *law. What was regarded as “sin” and who was a “sinner” were matters of legal dispute among Jewish leaders. In many cases, “sin” and “sinner” were freighted terms within Jewish sectarianism and were deployed in order to denounce or exclude persons for behavior that did not meet the perceived norms of certain Jewish factions. Jesus entered the conversation about what conduct and what persons were deemed unacceptable to *God. Jesus’ statements on this topic appear to represent a controversial challenge to the dominating views of the day about “sinners.” According to Jesus, it is the restoration of sinners through *repentance, rather than the exclusion of sinners from communal life, that is God’s intended purpose for sinners.

1. Terminology
2. Social Context
3. Usage in the Gospels

4. Jesus and the Sinners
5. Sinners in the Gospel of Luke
6. Conclusion

1. Terminology.

In the biblical witness sin is what occasions the rupture in the relationship between God and human-kind. The concern with sin in the OT reflects the ethical nature of Israel’s faith and its concern for identifying and then removing moral impurity from the covenant community. Several Hebrew words are used to indicate sin. The most common term is *ḥaṭṭāʾt*, which refers literally to missing a goal or mark (e.g., Gen 18:20). Such “misses” become an offense to God because one incurs guilt by failing to perform some duty or by engaging in wrongful behavior. In the LXX this term often is rendered with the Greek word *hamartia*, which appears frequently in the NT. The word *hamartia* has a fairly broad range of meaning, including a departure from a divine norm, the consequences for committing an offense, the state of being in moral error, or a destructive power exerted upon a person. It possesses semantic connotations of guilt, liability and even impurity (BDAG 50-51; LN 1:776). The second most common Hebrew term for “sin” is *rāšāʿ*, which is used to describe a wicked person. The word *rāšāʿ* was used to signify persons who lived without respect for the law of God and were generally considered impious (e.g., Ps 1:1). In the LXX *rāšāʿ* usually is translated by the Greek word *hamartōlos*, meaning “sinner.” In the Hellenistic world *hamartōlos* was a negative term that connoted the negation of right order and conduct (Rengstorf, 320). In the LXX the primary referent of *hamartōlos* is persons or behavior that does not measure up to the moral and cultic obligations of the Mosaic law. The Jewish tradition from the Torah to the Talmud regards sinners as persons known to be lawless, idolatrous, impious, violent and oppressive to the poor.

2. Social Context.

The terms for “sin” and “sinner” continued in the Greek and Roman periods to designate acts and actors who violated prescribed norms of behavior (e.g., Sir 1:25; 2:12; 15:12; 21:10; 27:30).

Hellenistic notions of sin as involuntary or deliberate offenses against the deity were accentuated in Jewish contexts that focused on Israel’s holiness and uprightness amidst a wider pagan culture. National sin could be expunged from the community when it confessed its guilt before God for failing in its covenantal conduct (e.g., Neh 9:2, 27; Tob 3:3; 2 Macc

12:42). The content of sin could be anything that violated the commandments of God. Sometimes particular attention was given to those acts that compromised the integrity of Israel's worship and impinged upon separation from the nations (e.g., 2 Macc 5:17-18; 4 Macc 5:19). Jewish wisdom literature from Proverbs to Sirach makes lengthy exhortations about fearing God and avoiding the dangerous results of sin. The act of sinning inevitably brought dire consequences for both the individual and the community, which had to punish sin, atone for sin, and ensure a change in conduct from sin.

Usage of "sinner" was not restricted to a description of people who were regarded as being especially impious, wicked or corrupt. It was also used in the factional context of Jewish sectarianism, where "sinner" was a label attached in order to imply deviancy from a perceived norm. In other words, to call someone a "sinner" was to render a judgment about a person's exclusion from a specific religious group. Those beyond the boundary of a group were regarded as intrinsically wicked. In Jewish literature we see *Gentiles being regarded as quintessential "sinners" as opposed to "righteous" Israelites (Ps 9:17; Tob 13:8; *Jub.* 23:23-24; *Sib. Or.* 3:303; cf. Gal 2:15). Yet the same distinction could be made within Israel, so that some Jews came to be regarded as outsiders despite still claiming ethnic descent from Israel and adhering to the law of Moses. A sinner could be a person who did not follow the law in the precise manner that some Jewish sect thought it should be followed. Those derided as sinners could include (1) those who failed to understand Daniel's revelation in contrast to the "wise" who do comprehend it (Dan 12:10); (2) apostate Jews who followed Greek customs and effectively abandoned Judaism (1 Macc 1:34; 2:44, 48); (3) Jews who did not hold to the distinctive interpretations, calendars and rituals of a particular Jewish sect (e.g., Enochic Judaism [*1 En.* 82:4-7]; Qumran community [*1 QpHab* V, 1-12; *1 QS* V, 7-11; *1 QH^a* VII, 12]; non-Pharisaic Jews [*As. Mos.* 7:3, 9-10]; *Pharisees [*Pss. Sol.* 2:34; 17:5-8, 23, 36]; *Priestly/*Essenic Judaism [*Jub.* 16:4]); and (4) more generally, those said to be opponents of the pious and the devout (Sir 13:17; 33:14; *Pss. Sol.* 17:5-8, 23; cf. Jude 15).

The identity of the sinners whom Jesus addressed in his ministry (e.g., Mk 2:17; Lk 19:9-10; 15:1-2) has been disputed in modern scholarship. J. Jeremias argued that "sinner" was a specific term in Jesus' day for people who engaged in despised trades and for the general "people of the land" (the *'am hā'āreṣ*). These persons were thought to be uneducated, igno-

rant and lax concerning the law. This bucolic impiety was a stumbling block to their salvation in the eyes of the Pharisees (Jeremias, 109-12). The problem with Jeremias's proposal is that he assumed a formalistic *Judaism based on a theology of merit. He also caricatured the dominant perspective as being that the people of the land were mostly irreligious, and for his reconstruction he was overly dependent on later rabbinic sources that postdate the NT (see Rabbinic Traditions and Writings). Thus, while all sinners could be "people of the land," not all "people of the land" were therefore sinners (Wright, 265). N. Perrin regarded a sinner to be a Jew who had effectively made himself as a Gentile (Perrin 1967, 93-94). Perrin's designation fits with the widespread application of the label "sinner" to Gentiles (e.g., 1 Macc 2:58; Gal 2:15) and to Hellenized Jews during the Seleucid period for being sinners who were in association with Gentiles (e.g., 1 Macc 2:44). Yet the application of the title to intra-Palestinian debates about keeping the law means that it cannot be restricted to Jews compromised by *Hellenism. J. Crossley underscores the socioeconomic aspect, with sinners comprising of persons regarded as generally lawless but chiefly known for their exploitation of the poor (Crossley, 75-96). In which case, sinners are not the poor who are exploited, but the exploiters of the poor. Crossley is correct about an economic element to the category "sinner" in Jewish literature, but in most cases in the Gospels it is either the moral or sectarian connotation of the designation "sinner" that seems to be the most prominent.

E. P. Sanders maintained that "sinners" simply means "wicked" or "law-breakers" (Sanders, 177-82), which is why the designation is linked so frequently with tax collectors. The offense of Jesus' ministry was that he was consorting with persons known to be deliberate transgressors of the law and promising them entry into the kingdom without requiring repentance of them. In Sanders's favor is that the Greek word *hamartōlos*, is based on the Hebrew word *rāšā'* for those who break the law (e.g., Ex 23:1; Deut 25:2; Prov 17:23). Yet what constituted a violation of the law seems to have differed from sect to sect. There was no objective law code as to how the law of Moses should be followed and applied to daily Jewish life. Questions about what it meant to be a faithful Jew, how to move from contamination to holiness, how the nation should live corporately, and even how the temple should operate were disputed in Jewish legal interpretations of the day. The commandments of the Torah (i.e., Genesis through Deuteronomy) were applied according to halakhah (i.e.,

a specific manner of interpretation). Consequently, “sinner” can be a general term used to indicate wickedness of character (e.g., Lk 5:8; 6:32-34; 7:37; 13:2; 15:7, 10; 18:13), but it also functioned as a factional term to label deviant behavior. In the context of Jewish sectarianism to call a person a “sinner” was to issue a vituperative insult and an allegation of socio-religious deviancy. To designate someone a “sinner” was to imply that the person had violated a group consensus as to how one should live a law-abiding life before God. So when Jesus is accosted for partaking of the company of sinners, it is because he and his disciples failed to adopt the particular way of life regarded as valid by the self-described “righteous” of a particular sect such as the Pharisees (e.g., Lk 18:9-14). Sanders failed to fully take into account the sectarian nature of Judaism when it came to labeling persons as “sinners” or “righteous.” He also failed to take full account of Jesus’ prophetic message, which, like that of the biblical prophets, made repentance central (see Crossley, 89-95). Jesus was more critical of those who dismissed the sinners than of the sinners themselves because he saw in the efforts to marginalize persons a way of life that competed with his own message of the *kingdom of God (Dunn, 532).

3. Usage in the Gospels.

The word *hamartia* appears thirty-seven times in the Gospels alone. In its various appearances we learn that the *baptism of John was a baptism of repentance for the *forgiveness of sins (Mt 3:5-6; Mk 1:4-5). Jesus controversially mentions the forgiveness of sins in relation to his *healing of a paralytic (Mk 2:5-10; Mt 9:2-6; Lk 5:20-24). In Matthew’s infancy narrative it is stated that Jesus came to save his people from their sins (Mt 1:21). Matthew also includes reference to *blasphemy and sin against the Holy Spirit (Mt 12:31). At the *Last Supper it is said that Jesus’ blood is shed for the forgiveness of sins (Mt 26:28). In material unique to Luke, Zechariah prophesies that his son will give knowledge of *salvation for the forgiveness of sins (Lk 1:77). Jesus’ ministry is summarized as preaching repentance for the forgiveness of sins (Lk 3:3). At the house of a Pharisee, Jesus forgives the sins of a woman (Lk 7:47-49). Luke’s version of the Lord’s Prayer includes mention of the forgiveness of sins as opposed to Matthew’s “debts” (Lk 11:4). Luke also includes preaching the forgiveness of sins to all nations in Jesus’ resurrection commission to the disciples (Lk 24:47). The Johannine teaching on sin is similar to the Synoptics. There is common reference to the forgiveness of sins (Jn 1:29;

20:23). There is a constant allegation made that Jesus’ opponents are steeped in sin because of their antagonism toward him and their lack of faith, which leaves them without excuse (Jn 8:21, 24, 46; 9:34, 41; 15:22, 24). Elsewhere, those who sin are slaves to sin (Jn 8:34). In his farewell discourse, Jesus promises to send the Holy Spirit to convict people of sin (Jn 16:8-9). Judas is also guilty of a greater sin for delivering Jesus to the Judean authorities (Jn 19:11).

The verb *hamartanō* is used less frequently, appearing only eleven times in the Gospels and never in Mark. It pertains to the performance of sin and its concomitant effects of dislocation from divine favor and covenantal standards of conduct. It appears in Matthew pertaining to sin and reconciliation among *disciples (Mt 18:15, 21) and in Judas’s regret for his actions in betraying Jesus (Mt 27:4). Luke utilizes the word as well in relation to reconciliation as seen in the parable of the lost son (Lk 15:18, 21) and in the restoration of erring persons among the disciples (Lk 17:3-4). John uses the verb simply as a designation for immoral conduct (Jn 5:14; 8:11) and pertaining to the question of whose sin was responsible a man being born blind (Jn 9:2-3).

The word *hamartōlos* occurs forty-seven times in the NT. That breaks down into thirty-three occurrences in the Gospels and fourteen occurrences in the Epistles. In the Gospels this usage appears in fourteen individual units. In four of these units the word is used adjectivally to describe “sinful” persons, and in ten units the word is used in substantive form to designate “sinners.” The adjectival form occurs when Jesus describes persons from this “adulterous and sinful generation” who are ashamed of his words (Mk 8:38); Peter admits that he is a “sinful man” in response to Jesus’ miraculous ability to enable him and his colleagues to catch an immense number of fish (Lk 5:8); the woman who enters the house of a Pharisee and washes Jesus’ feet with her tears is described as a “woman who was a sinner” (Lk 7:37); and the risen Jesus informs the travelers to Emmaus that it was the appointed vocation of the *Son of Man to be handed over to sinners, be crucified, and to rise on the third day (Lk 24:7). The substantive form of *hamartōlos* as a noun is found in the following ten units:

1. All three Synoptic Gospels record the story of Jesus’ call to a tax collector to leave his tax booth and to immediately follow him (Mt 9:9-13; Mk 2:13-17; Lk 5:27-32). Thereafter, Jesus and his disciples go and dine in the company of “tax collectors and sinners.” This prompts a question from the scribes and Pharisees about why Jesus does this when such behavior is

unbecoming for a good rabbi. Jesus answers, "It is not the healthy who need a doctor, but the sick. I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners" (Mk 2:17). The first part of his answer quotes what probably was a well-known proverb in the ancient world: doctors help the sick, not the healthy. Jesus comes like a physician with a ministry of restoration, reconciliation and repentance for these sinners. The "righteous" are not the forensically righteous before God but rather those who regard themselves as holding to a pattern of life that alone constitutes a legally valid appropriation of the Torah. Jesus addresses his call (of repentance [Lk 5:32]) to the sinners who are marginalized by the Pharisees and *scribes on account of their collaboration with idolatrous foreigners and their general wickedness.

2. An accusation is made by opponents of Jesus that he is a glutton, a drunkard and a friend of "tax collectors and sinners" (Mt 11:16-19; Lk 7:31-35). In response, Jesus tells a parable in which he likens his critics' objections to him to a children's game in which a cohort of children sing a wedding dance and perform a funeral dirge, and other children refuse to play along. The Pharisees refuse to go along with Jesus' ministry of seeking out the poor, marginalized and sinners and restoring them to covenant standing. Furthermore, John the Baptizer's ascetic manner of life and warnings of *judgment are contrasted with Jesus' open table fellowship with sinners that symbolized the eschatological *joy associated with his message. Jesus partakes of the company of sinners and eats meals with persons of ill-gotten wealth who were thought of as irreligious. Yet the inclusion of them in his personal company is far more in keeping with the purpose of God than the Pharisees and Scribes, who rejected the Baptizer's message (Lk 7:30). Amidst the socioreligious games of accusation and counteraccusation, Jesus and John will be vindicated as God's children because their respective messages, though in some ways diverse, are part of the one purpose of God that can be identified with divine wisdom (Lk 7:35).

3. In the Sermon on the Plain the Lukan Jesus exhorts his followers to love others, to do good to others, and to freely lend to others (Lk 6:32-35; cf. Mt 5:46-47). Jesus urges a generosity beyond the closed circle of relationships between patrons and debtors that characterized much of the Mediterranean world. They are not to restrict their benevolence to those who love them, to those who do good to them, or to those who lend to them—even the "sinners" do that—rather, his disciples are to show love, goodness and generosity to those regarded as being outside of the covenant com-

munity. The only "credit" that can be gained (Lk 6:32) is when one chooses to be better *than* sinners by being better *to* sinners. By doing so, Jesus' followers become a living embodiment of the mercy of God.

4. When Jesus dines at a banquet in the house of a Pharisee named Simon, a sinful woman enters and begins washing Jesus' feet with her tears and anointing his feet with expensive oil (Lk 7:36-50). The woman most likely was known as a local prostitute, given the description of her as a "woman having been sinful in the city" and her access to expensive perfume. Simon supposes that if Jesus were a genuine prophet, he would know what type of woman she was—a sinner. In response, Jesus tells the parable of a creditor who had two debtors, and the creditor unexpectedly canceled the accounts of both debtors. The debtor who owed the most was, of course, the more grateful for this undeserved act of generosity. In the same way, the sinful woman by her actions was simply showing her gratitude to Jesus for the forgiveness of her sins. This episode addresses readers who ordinarily would sympathize with Simon's concerns about group boundaries and upright behavior, and it urges them to adopt the expansive love that characterized Jesus' actions. It is all too easy to dismiss this woman as immoral, unclean and deviant, but taking that position fails to appreciate the complex web of sociocultural factors that led to her disempowered and desperate predicament. It is to sinners like this woman—poor, vulnerable, exploited—to whom Jesus announced the good news (Green, 308-9).

5. Jesus asks his audience if the Galilean pilgrims whom Pilate had killed in the temple were worse sinners than anyone else in Galilee (Lk 13:1-3). Whereas it was commonly assumed that calamity and misfortune fell upon those who somehow deserved it, Jesus shows that judgment will overtake everyone who fails to repent. Thus, the issue is not whether one is a sinner, but whether one has repented.

6. The *parables of the lost sheep, lost coin and lost son are narrative explanations of why Jesus welcomes tax collectors and sinners and even eats with them (Lk 15:1-32). The parables are weapons of discourse between Jesus and his interlocutors. Jesus provides a threefold narrative defense of his actions by recounting God's concern for the restoration of those estranged from him, God's earnest quest to seek out those who have strayed from the covenantal pastures, and the heavenly joy that accompanies the repentance of a sinner. The Lukan cycle of parables defends Jesus' *table fellowship with sinners on the grounds that the *love of God is foremost concerned with the restora-

tion of sinners as opposed to celebrating their exclusion from a purified covenantal community.

7. Jesus tells a parable about the Pharisee and the tax collector who pray in the temple, in which he implodes the worldview of some “who trusted in themselves that they were righteous and regarded others with contempt” (Lk 18:9-14). What made the Pharisee “righteous” in the eyes of some were his show of personal piety and his separation from others less observant than him. Yet the sinful tax collector remained far more humble and showed genuine contrition for his life as a wayward sinner. The shocking outcome of the parable is that it is the tax collector, not the Pharisee, who goes away justified (i.e., vindicated as a covenant member in good standing) by the fact of his contrite disposition and self-humiliation. The striking message of the parable is that it is those who recognize God as a gracious benefactor and not themselves as worthy of divine benefaction who possess the appropriate mindset for those who seek to be at peace with God (Green, 643).

8. In Jericho a crowd grumbles when Jesus goes to dine in the house of Zacchaeus, a sinner and chief tax collector (Lk 19:1-10). The comical picture of Zacchaeus climbing a tree in desperately seeking to see Jesus is matched by Jesus’ purpose being to “seek out and to save the lost.” Zacchaeus is a child of Abraham, and salvation comes to his house because he makes the appropriate response to the offer of God’s mercy, which is to be generous to the poor and to recompense those whom he has defrauded. The short story highlights further that one’s status before God is not predetermined, even for sinners, but instead is open, based on how they respond to Jesus’ message. There is hope for those ordinarily thought to be a lost cause. Furthermore, the story shows that Abrahamic sonship is determined by one’s relationship with God through Jesus, not by the religious leaders’ definition of group boundaries.

9. In John’s Gospel the Pharisees interrogate a man who had been born blind, whom Jesus had healed (Jn 9:1-41). Twice during the story they refer to Jesus as a “sinner” because he healed on the Sabbath (Jn 9:16, 24-25). There was considerable debate among Jewish leaders of the day over what activities were acceptable on the Sabbath and what activities were not (e.g., in contrast to the Pharisees, the Qumranites did not regard relief of animal suffering as a permissible action on the Sabbath [CD-A XI, 13-14]). Evidently the pharisaic halakah known to John clearly censured such healings that Jesus performed. Here Jesus is labeled as a sinner not because he was regarded as immoral or idolatrous, but because he

failed to keep the Sabbath the way that some Pharisees thought it should be kept. In the Johannine narrative the “signs” that Jesus performs speak for themselves and demonstrate that he is not a sinner, but rather is one sent by God.

10. In *Gethsemane Jesus disturbs his sleeping disciples by announcing to them that “the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners” (Mt 26:45; Mk 14:41) when Judas leads a mob of armed men into the garden to arrest Jesus. Here “sinners” is used in a general sense denoting those who commit a malevolent deed. More specifically, it perhaps refers to Gentiles, or at least those acting as the instruments of Gentiles, who will kill Jesus, as Jesus himself had predicted (Mk 10:33; Lk 18:32; 24:7). We can also detect an echo of the biblical notion of the hands of the wicked and violent who commit sinful deeds against the righteous (e.g., Ps 26:10; 104:4; Is 31:7; 59:6; Jer 23:14; Jon 3:8), suggesting that Jesus located his own story in OT parameters.

4. Jesus and the Sinners.

What should be clear from the foregoing survey is the somewhat fluid and plastic nature of the label “sinner.” In many instances it constitutes a moral judgment upon a person’s behavior, as in the case of the sinful woman who anointed Jesus’ feet (Lk 7:36-50). On other occasions it signifies a mixture of oppressive and idolatrous conduct, such as collecting taxes on behalf of the Roman governor (e.g., Mt 9:10-11; 11:19; 18:17). Elsewhere the term is clearly used in a factional sense of not following the specific legal interpretation of a particular Jewish sect such as the Pharisees (e.g., Jn 9:16, 24) or in outrageous behavior that transgresses perceived norms concerning the limitation of fellowship with outsiders (e.g., Mk 2:14-17). A sinner can be either one of the oppressed or one of the oppressors who are known to violate the divine legislation and its accompanying halakic interpretation on how to live an obedient life under God.

Jesus’ ministry to sinners was distinctive in two senses. First, he saw the restoration, rather than the condemnation and exclusion, of sinners through repentance to be the chief intention of God. Second, he regarded table fellowship with sinners, especially the bitterly despised tax collectors, as an enacted parable demonstrating the open invitation to enter the kingdom to anyone who would receive his message. Jesus’ table fellowship also demonstrates the inaugurated character of his eschatology. In Israel’s sacred traditions and in Second Temple literature banqueting imagery is utilized as a metaphor of the

vindication that awaits God's people (Is 25:6; Ezek 39:17-19; 1Q28a II, 11-22; 1 En. 62:14; 2 En. 42:5). The subversive element of Jesus' praxis is that he is celebrating the messianic banquet in advance, but celebrating it with the wrong people. Jesus' action in dining with sinners was much like serving the figurative hors d'oeuvres of the messianic feast and foreshadowing exactly who would be vindicated in the renewed *Israel that he was creating around himself. This coheres with a statement found in Matthew: "Truly I tell you, the tax collectors and the prostitutes are going into the kingdom of God ahead of you" (Mt 21:31). It is these sinners whom, because of their faith, repentance and contrition, Jesus regarded as his banqueting partners in the future kingdom. Jesus shakes up the standard stereotypes of who is an insider and who is an outsider when it comes to the dramatic advent of God's kingdom.

5. Sinners in the Gospel of Luke.

Out of all of the Gospels, it is the evangelist Luke who has the most material about the sinners in Jesus' ministry (see Neale; Adams). This group, much like the "poor," is the special object of God's care and concern in the Luke's Gospel. That is because in Luke's depiction, Jesus' gospel to the poor includes the marginalized and those of low social status. It is sinners who become the paragons of discipleship as they illustrate their alignment with Jesus and the kingdom by what they do in response to encountering Jesus. Levi leaves everything and throws a banquet in Jesus' honor (Lk 5:27-32), while Zacchaeus makes fourfold restitution to those whom he has wronged and gives half of his possessions to those in need (Lk 19:1-10). Luke consistently presents an inversion of values and expectations as the social outcasts are granted privileged status in the kingdom, while those thought to be religiously privileged find themselves on the outside. Jesus' embrace of sinners buttresses Luke's portrayal of salvation as the status reversal that occurs when grace intrudes upon the perceived norms of social and religious boundaries. God's acceptance of sinners is not contingent upon the agreement of religious leaders about whom he should accept and how and when he should do so. That is because the Isaianic script for the Gospel of Luke is that salvation is destined for "all flesh" (Lk 3:6) and "all nations" (Lk 24:47).

In sum, sinners are crucial to the narrative sequence and theological framework of Luke on these grounds: (1) they are the quintessential example of God's care for the outcasts; (2) they demonstrate the dramatic nature of salvation as status reversal;

(3) they are models of discipleship in their faith, repentance, remorse, attitude toward riches, and commitment to Jesus; (4) they are proof that the Isaianic hope for salvation has finally dawned; (5) they prefigure the influx of Gentiles as the ultimate sinners in the book of Acts. As D. Neale puts it, "For Luke the 'sinners' are one of the most important symbols of the purpose of Jesus' earthly ministry and their repentance was an essential part of what Jesus was called to accomplish" (Neale, 190).

6. Conclusion.

The sinners to whom Jesus ministered represented a diverse array of persons who found themselves on the margins of society for a number of reasons, ranging from victimization to willful disobedience to God. Pharisees might not necessarily object to the restoration and repentance of sinners, but they themselves ordinarily would be unwilling to undertake such a venture at risk of being morally and ceremonially contaminated, and they still would have reservations about the status of a reformed Jew with a history of wickedness. Jesus' interaction with sinners in healing them, dining with them, and pronouncing the forgiveness of their sins demonstrates how the kingdom's arrival impacts Israelites in the present. For Jesus, God's view of his people does not necessarily correspond with the palisade and walls that some Jewish leaders raised up to mark out the limits of fellowship and the identity for God's people. Jesus modeled before the people, who also could grumble against his openness to sinners, what the compassion of God looks like in action. Ultimately, the kingdom is a matter of *mercy rather than the enforcement of conventionally approved boundaries. For Jesus, covenant loyalty is defined by response to his message of God's kingdom. As such, whenever and whoever responds appropriately will be assured of a place in God's kingdom in the final assize.

See also BLINDNESS AND DEAFNESS; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN; EXILE AND RESTORATION; FORGIVENESS; GENTILES; HARDNESS OF HEART; JUSTICE, RIGHTEOUSNESS; LAW; MERCY; REPENTANCE; TABLE FELLOWSHIP.

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SINAI. See MOUNTAIN AND WILDERNESS.

SLAVE, SERVANT

Slavery and service are distinct but overlapping categories, which are referenced frequently in the Gospels. There are both historical and fictional depictions, including portraits of literal slavery or service, as well as metaphors for a disciple's relationship with God. In the Greco-Roman world slavery was a legally defined, absolute category, while "service" was a relative term and could be applied to people of any social status. Accordingly, not all those who served were slaves; not all service was servitude.

1. Vocabulary, Translation and Interpretation
2. Background to the Gospels
3. Slavery in the Gospels
4. Service in the Gospels
5. Footwashing

1. Vocabulary, Translation and Interpretation.

The first-century A.D. multilingual context in Palestine employed Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek and Latin (see Languages of Palestine). Although each of these languages has "slave"/"servant" vocabulary, each of their ranges of meaning varies. The Gospels principally use ten Greek word groups to convey the overlapping categories of slavery and service, some of which occasionally reflect meanings beyond these simple categories. The most frequent nouns include *doulos* ("slave") and *diakonos* ("servant, attendant, agent, intermediary"), but also *pais* ("young person, boy, child, servant, slave") and *hypēretēs* ("helper, assistant, servant"). Some of these terms are occasionally interchanged in the same passage (e.g., *pais* and *doulos* in Lk 7:1-10; *doulos* and *diakonos* in Mt 20:26-

27 // Mk 10:45-46). The principal verbs are *diakoneō* ("to serve, be of service, attend, minister") and *douleuō* ("to be a slave, be subjected").

In Matthew 12:18, quoting Isaiah 42:1, there is underlying dependence on a significant Hebrew word in the OT, *ʿebed* ("slave, servant, subject, worshiper [of God]"). Jesus is presented as a prophetic fulfillment of the Servant Songs, in which this Hebrew word is translated into Greek as *pais* in the sense of "servant" (cf. also Mt 8:17). The word *ʿebed* reflects a particularly broad range of meanings that does not map precisely onto any Greek (or English) equivalent. *Pais* is similarly used in the phrases "servant Israel" (Lk 1:54) and "servant David" (Lk 1:69). It is important to note that the original OT usage derives from a different social and cultural outlook to that of first-century A.D. Greco-Roman society. Most often *ʿebed* is translated in the Greek OT as *pais* or *doulos* (*diakonos* is rarely used in the Greek OT.) It is by no means always a degrading term, and sometimes it may reflect a relative, rather than an absolute, rank (e.g., the "servant" of a king may be an honored, freeborn, high-ranking officer [2 Sam 13:24]; or a host may deferentially refer to himself as his visitor's "servant" [Gen 19:2]).

The earliest English translation of the Bible (Wycliffe [late fourteenth century]) did not use the noun "slave." Dependence on the Latin Vulgate, which largely uses *servus* to convey *doulos* and *minister* to convey *diakonos*, may have led to a preference respectively for the similar-sounding "servant" and "minister." In addition, the comparatively late introduction into English of the word group *slave* (from the conquered Slavonic race) meant that this term had less currency in the Middle Ages. While most succeeding English translations of the NT similarly avoided "slave," more recently there has been a tendency to distinguish *doulos* as "slave" and *diakonos* as "servant," while *pais* has been translated variously according to context. There is, nonetheless, a continuing reticence to use "slave" to translate *doulos* in reference either to Jesus or a believer's relationship with God.

Contemporary interpreters of "slavery"/"service" language in the Gospel texts have to contend with two challenges: (1) the theological and ethical difficulty posed by English not having a single word group that is sufficiently multivalent to embrace categories ranging from, on the one hand, humble but voluntary service (e.g., of God) to, on the other hand, forced, oppressive and inhuman slavery; (2) the reality that different cultures, over different periods, both prior and subsequent to the writing of the Gospels, have regarded slavery quite differently.

For example, first-century A.D. social attitudes and practices toward slaves differed significantly from those of the African slave trade in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. Especially since the 1950s there has been a rebirth in historical interest in social and economic questions. This is reflected in changing currents of scholarship, including a widespread and intense critique of almost all aspects of slavery. These changes in perception are reflected in contrasting and polarized scholarly engagements on the topic (see Patterson), which in turn pose significant challenges to the contemporary task of interpreting references to slavery and servanthood in the Gospels in a way that avoids undue anachronism.

2. Background to the Gospels.

Roman society is the principal background to most of the references to slavery in the Gospels. The early Roman Empire continued to operate a long-established, pervasive and legally codified slave economy in which all human beings were classed either as slaves, or former slaves, or freeborn (cf. the contrast between slavery and freedom in Jn 8:33-35). Although the enslavement of the Jewish nation in Egypt is a significant biblical event and motif (cf. Ex 20:2: "house of slavery"), there is little that is distinctively Jewish about the portrayal or treatment of slaves in the Gospels.

Roman slavery may be defined as the absolute subjection of those who are not free. Slaves were under the unqualified power and control of another person and were regarded as human property, which could be sold, lent or bequeathed in perpetuity. Roman slaves were not merely forced labor or bonded workers. They had neither roots nor kinship relations. They had no rights, nor in most cases could they own property (although there are instances of well-positioned slaves accruing personal fortunes or running up debts [cf. Mt 18:23-35]). They were socially excluded, and, in a highly honorific society, they lacked honor. Perhaps most significantly, their very lives were vulnerable to extreme punishment. Exploitation of slaves was considered neither inappropriate nor unethical (Polybius, *Hist.* 4.38.4) and was structurally, legally and visibly embedded in the Roman social order and its economic fabric. Slavery was not a marginal feature; rather, it impinged on virtually every aspect of society and was evidenced not least by a high proportion of slaves among the population (although the actual figures are both uncertain and vary across the empire). In sum, although slavery was enshrined in law, slaves were not protected by it.

Notwithstanding these categoric and absolute features, portraits of Roman slavery are nonetheless diverse, with aspects both of similarity and contrast with other highly dependent, disadvantaged, or low-status people. While normally an involuntary state it was possible for individuals to submit themselves to slavery, choosing to exchange extreme poverty as a free laborer in favor of the unguaranteed possibility of shelter, clothing and a regular source of food as a slave. Slaves worked in both public and private settings, including domestic, urban or rural contexts. The settings of the Gospels include a preponderance of images of agricultural slavery (e.g., Mt 13:24-30). The majority of Roman slaves were male, and this is reflected also in the Gospel accounts (contrast the female slave [*paidiskē*] who confronted Peter after his denial [Mt 26:69 // Mk 14:66; Lk 22:56; Jn 18:17]; the one parable that refers to female slaves [*paidiskē*] in contrast to male slaves [Lk 12:45]; and Mary's self-reference as a slave girl [*doulē*] of the Lord [Lk 1:38, 48]). Slaves could be given any task, other than military service, and often were found working alongside the waged, free poor (cf. *misthōtos* [Mk 1:20; Jn 10:12-13], *misthios* [Lk 15:17, 19], referring to a "hired laborer").

While many slaves experienced no amelioration in their circumstances, some did benefit from advancement and even manumission (a master granting free status to a slave—an event not recorded in the Gospels). Consistent with other sources, some portraits of slaves in the Gospel parables describe instances where individual slaves had both influence and responsibility, including financial investments (Mt 25:14-30), managerial duties over junior slaves (Lk 12:42-48), and a means of rewarding success by advancement (Mt 24:45-51; 25:14-30). Many masters enhanced the value of their slaves by ensuring that they received some level of education and involving them in the education of their children. Nonetheless, any such good fortune remained precarious. Although violence and brutality were commonplace across Roman society, ill treatment was frequently the lot of slaves, and they had no protection against harsh treatment or corporal punishment. The Synoptic Gospels record a parable in which a succession of slaves is brutally treated by tenant farmers (Mt 21:33-42 // Mk 12:1-11 // Lk 20:9-17). In Luke's account, while Jesus' audience expects this mistreatment of the slaves, there is surprise at the tenants' mistreatment also of the vineyard owner's son (Lk 20:16). However, portraits of good masters also exist, both in the Gospels (e.g., Mt 18:23-35; Lk 12:37) and other contemporary sources, whose slaves enjoyed relatively benign circumstances, en-

viable both to other slaves and even to the most disadvantaged free.

In ancient Greek texts *diakonos* is often seen in contexts of household duties, especially waiting on tables. However, J. Collins argues that servility, humility, low status and menial tasks are not necessarily dominant features of this word (cf. the parable of the prodigal, in which the older son pleads that he has obediently served [*douleuō*] his father for many years [Lk 15:29]). Rather, the key notions include representation, agency and mediation. The noun *diakonos* may be applied to someone, of whatever social status, who is a subordinate go-between. Such a person may be in a position of *authority but is carrying out tasks on behalf of one yet higher in rank. Collins argues that while the focus in most Greek texts is not on lowly and loving service of others, in the Gospels the principal designation is of some kind of menial attendance.

3. Slavery in the Gospels.

The Gospels include historical, fictional and metaphorical examples of slavery. Slaves and masters encounter Jesus in the narrative of his ministry, but they are also a significant feature in his teaching. While most of the sources about first-century A.D. Roman slavery derive from slave owners, it is significant that neither Jesus nor the Gospel writers are identified as slaves or slave owners. These texts nonetheless tend to treat slaves and slavery incidentally rather than as a core focus. Throughout the early Roman period there was no concerted voice of opposition to slavery, and although the Gospels include occasional commendations of faithful slaves (Mt 24:45) consistent with isolated other contemporary writers, there is no clear disapproval of slave holding or slavery. Indeed, slavery is a frequent metaphor of *discipleship, and *God is repeatedly presented as a slaveholder, even an absentee master (cf. Mk 13:35-36; Mt 6:24 // Lk 16:30; Mt 10:24-25; 20:25-28; 23:11 // Lk 22:26-27; Jn 15:20; also *Mary's self-designation as a slave girl of the Lord [Lk 1:38, 48], and Simeon's understanding that God is a divine *despotēs* ["master"], whom he serves as a slave [Lk 2:29]). However, in distinction, John 15:15 also notes that the disciples begin to be identified as friends rather than slaves. The Gospels, thus, tend to presuppose, rather than challenge, contemporary Roman attitudes toward slavery. They reflect a range of portraits of slavery, including, on the one hand, representations of incongruently good masters (Mt 18:23-35) and responsible slaves (Mt 25:14-30) to, on the other hand, wicked slaves (Mt 18:23-35; 24:45-

51 // Lk 12:42-46; Mt 25:14-30) and depictions of violent exploitation and abuse, including corporal discipline and execution of slaves (Mt 18:34-35).

The evangelists vary in their inclusion of the key vocabulary. While all four use *doulos*, Mark does not use *pais*, whereas John does not use *pais* of slaves, and Luke uses *pais/doulos* interchangeably. Whereas all the Gospels use *hypēretēs* ("helper") and *paidiskē* ("slave girl"), only Luke has the feminine *doulē*. Luke does not use *diakonos*, but all the Gospels use *diakoneō*, and all except Mark use *douleuō*.

Historical examples of slavery in the Gospels include the slaves (*pais*) of *Herod the tetrarch (Mt 14:2), the slaves (*doulos*) of the high *priest (Lk 22:50; Jn 18:10, 18, 26) and the slave (*pais/doulos*) of the centurion (Mt 8:5-13 // Lk 7:2-10). These are comparatively incidental figures.

Domestic, agricultural or commercial slaves and their masters (cf. also the "manager" [*oikonomos*] in Lk 16:1-13) are especially common motifs in the *parables (principally in Matthew and Luke, although cf. also the use of *thyroōros* ["doorkeeper"] in a domestic context in Mk 13:34; Jn 18:16, and an agricultural context in Jn 10:3). Slaves occur as either central or incidental characters. They often are used to present aspects either of faithful or of wicked/lazy discipleship (e.g., the parables of the faithful or unfaithful servant [Mt 24:45-51 // Lk 12:42-46]; the talents and the minas [Mt 25:14-30 // Lk 19:11-27]; the unforgiving servant [Mt 18:23-35]). By contrast, most of the parables about the *kingdom do not refer to slaves (although note the parable of the wheat and the tares [Mt 13:24-30]). It is important to bear in mind, however, that, not unlike other fictional literature of the period, the parables include elements of stock characterization that were deliberately framed to shock or challenge an audience, and thus they should not be regarded as representing normality. Consequently, while some expected norms are fulfilled within a constant worldview, the unusual also happens, and there is a reversal of anticipated norms (e.g., the parables of the unmerciful servant [Mt 18:23-35]; the servant's wages [Lk 17:7-10]; the unjust steward [Lk 16:1-13]; the wicked husbandmen [Mt 21:33-46 // Mk 12:1-12 // Lk 20:9-19]; the vineyard workers [Mt 20:1-16]). In themselves, the parables should not, therefore, be regarded as a reliable portrait of first-century A.D. Roman slavery.

The parables tend to focus especially on the superior-to-subordinate relationship between master and slave and on the responsibilities of the slave within this dynamic. This includes the vulnerability of the slave (especially in Matthew) and what conse-

quences might reasonably be expected of an unfaithful servant (cf. Mt 24:45: “Who then is the faithful and wise slave?”; Mt 25:21, 23: “Well done, good and trustworthy slave; you have been trustworthy”). The audience often is encouraged to emulate the loyal, faithful and obedient slave. This may well suggest that a servile audience was predominantly in mind. However, for the most part, the parables do not subvert the inequality of this relationship. Indeed, in the brief parable of the servant’s wages (Lk 17:7-10) the message is not that a good slave deserves to be rewarded, but rather that a good slave should expect no reward. The contrary is unexpectedly presented in the parable of the waiting slaves, who end up being waited on by their master (Lk 12:35-40). In the parable of the faithful or unfaithful servant (Mt 24:45-51 // Lk 12:42-46), where the reward for the former is to be given responsibility for all his master’s possessions, the punishment for the latter sounds severely harsh to modern ears: he is dismembered by his master.

4. Service in the Gospels.

Terms from the *diakon*- word group occur thirty-one times in the Gospels. This language is principally used to refer to waiting at table in a domestic context, whether the work of household slaves (Lk 17:8), or ordinary family members waiting on Jesus in customary Eastern hospitality (Mt 8:15 // Mk 1:31 // Lk 4:39; Lk 10:40; Jn 12:2), or, in a deliberately shocking motif, a master waiting on his own slaves (Lk 12:37). While Jesus and his disciples are traveling through the cities and villages, proclaiming the kingdom, many *women support them in material ways (Lk 8:3; cf. Mt 27:55 // Mk 15:41). With no necessary menial connotations, *angelic intermediaries also ministered care to Jesus following his days of *temptation in the wilderness (Mt 4:11 // Mk 1:13). These portraits of service, both the literal and the figurative, reflect standard use of the language.

Luke makes particular use of two additional words that refer especially to cultic service of God: the verb *latreuō* (Lk 1:74; 2:37; 4:8 // Mt 4:10) and the noun *leitourgia* (Lk 1:23); John 16:2, in a similar fashion, uses the noun *latreia* of misguided ritual service. These references continue an important OT concept, in which *worship of God is regarded as service (Ex 9:13; Deut 6:13), whether practiced by priestly officials (Lk 1:74; cf. Lk 1:9 [*ierateia*, “priestly service”]) or by others (Lk 2:37). There is no necessary connotation of menial labor, although the associated adjective *latreutos* in the Pentateuch of the LXX does refer to ordinary, menial work, which is

forbidden on the *Sabbath (e.g., Ex 12:16).

In the light of these two contexts of cultic service of God and domestic serving or personal care of others, which are described in the Gospels, it is especially notable that the most common feature of Jesus’ own use of this vocabulary refers both to his own ministry of self-giving service in his incarnation, life and death, and to the ways in which this is a model for his followers to emulate. Jesus came principally to serve rather than be served (Mt 20:28; Mk 10:45; Lk 22:26), and in so doing he set an example that others also ought to focus on serving (Mt 20:26 // Mk 10:43), whether they be masters or slaves. In both his life and teaching the customary hierarchy between the one who serves and the one who is served is either inverted or ignored (Mt 23:11; Mk 9:35; Lk 22:26-27). On this point, the disciples are expressly rebuked for seeking honor according to social norms (Mk 9:33-37 // Lk 9:46-48; Mt 20:20-28). Instead, honor is accorded directly by God to the one who serves (Jn 12:26). A disciple serves Jesus by meeting the needs of the hungry, thirsty, naked, sick, imprisoned or stranger (Mt 25:44). Jesus’ ministry incorporates both suffering and serving those who suffer.

On a different note, Jesus is also indirectly identified as the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53:4 in Matthew 8:16-17 (cf. the quotation of Is 53:12 in Lk 22:37). More explicitly, Matthew 12:18 employs Isaiah 42:1 to describe Jesus as God’s chosen one: “my servant” (*o pais mou*). This important OT motif uses Jewish “servant” language to present Jesus as both a servant and a royal figure—an ideal, messianic, Davidic king working to bring about deliverance and justice for all (see Servant of Yahweh).

5. Footwashing.

One particularly illustrative example of Jesus’ identification as one who serves in a menial capacity as a domestic slave (*doulos*) occurs in John 13, which describes Jesus washing the feet of his disciples. The footwashing takes place during a supper, probably prior to the Feast of the Passover. The act is presented as an act of service, yet also an act of love (“he loved them to the end/utmost” [Jn 13:1]); an act of self-abasement, yet also an act of glorification (the impending “hour” of glorification [Jn 13:1; cf. Jn 12:23]); the act of a slave, yet performed by a master upon his disciples (“Lord and Teacher” [Jn 13:13-14]). It anticipates the betrayal by Judas (Jn 13:2), but also an ultimate victory given into the hands of Jesus by God (Jn 13:3). Throughout there is a repeated emphasis on Jesus’ complete knowledge (Jn 13:1, 3, 11, 17). The account suggests that Jesus anticipated that

his actions would not be immediately understood (Jn 13:7), and yet in the discourse that follows the washing an explanation is outlined for the disciples (Jn 13:12-15). The setting is thus laden with ambiguity, suspense and theological significance.

In the light of this complexity, a number of interpretations of John 13 each identify a different dominant purpose for the passage. Most scholars agree that the account depicts humble service, an act normally carried out by a domestic slave who lays aside his outer garment and takes up a towel. In turn, this is a model for Jesus' followers and a lesson about true greatness. It may also convey aspects of welcoming hospitality, which the later church should embrace. Alternatively, it may be that there are associations also with *baptism, suggested by three things: (1) the only occurrence in the Gospels of the verb *louō* ("to wash, bathe" [Jn 13:10], often used of purificatory washing [cf. Heb 10:22]); (2) Jesus' statement that without this cleansing (the more common *niptō* ["wash"] occurs here and repeatedly in the wider passage) Simon Peter will have no fellowship with Jesus (Jn 13:8); (3) the enigmatic statement that not all of those present were clean (Jn 13:10). In a Gospel that has no reference to a sacrament of the Eucharist this passage may instead suggest that, distinct from initiatory baptism, footwashing is a separate sacrament and ordinance, which should be repeatedly carried out by the disciples (Jn 13:17). A further, widely supported view is that the primary emphasis in the passage is soteriological. The actions of Jesus "rising" from supper, "laying aside" his outer garment, "taking up" a towel and then "washing the feet" of his disciples together presage the salvific work of Christ lifted on the cross, which is alluded to by the opening statements of the chapter.

The Gospels offer a range of different contexts and reasons for wetting or washing or anointing the feet, head or hands, either of oneself or others. In the preceding chapter (Jn 12:1-8), in the house of Mary, Martha and *Lazarus in Bethany, Mary anointed (*aleiphō*) Jesus' feet, in the context of an intimate meal, with a considerable quantity of expensive ointment, and wiped them with her hair as a profound act of homage. In the face of Judas's misguided objection, Mary's action is endorsed by Jesus, although not as an act of menial service. Two further instances of Jesus being anointed in the context of reclining at table are recorded in the Gospels. Mark describes a similar occasion in the house of Simon the leper in Bethany, in which a woman pours (*katacheō*) an ointment of nard over Jesus' head (Mk 14:3-9 // Mt 26:6-13). In the account, the action is in-

terpreted by Jesus as an anointing (*myrizō* or *ballō to myron*) of his body in preparation for burial—an act which will be memorialized wherever the gospel is preached. On another occasion, while sitting at the table of a Pharisee (Lk 7:36-50), Jesus reprimands Simon for providing no water with which Jesus could wash his own feet. Instead, he forgives the sins of a woman whose acts of adoration and love, which included wetting (*brechō*) Jesus' feet with her tears and kisses, anointing them with ointment (*aleiphō*), and then wiping them with her hair, were signs of her faith. These actions of anointing Jesus' feet or head with perfume or ointment carry wider connotations than those simply of menial service in a context of hospitality, and yet they take place in the context of table hospitality.

In yet another frame, Jesus encourages his followers that, when they fast, they should both anoint (*aleiphō*) their own heads and wash (*niptō*) their own faces, in order not to draw attention to their ritual (Mt 6:17); and Mark points out that it is the tradition of the elders that Pharisees and all Jews should wash their hands for reasons of avoiding defilement (Mk 7:3-4; *niptō* and *baptizō*).

J. Thomas explores a range of footwashing settings that are reflected in OT, Jewish and Greco-Roman sources (Thomas, 26-60). Most commonly, footwashing in the OT is an act of hospitality provided by a host but commonly carried out by the host's servants (Gen 18:4; 19:2; 24:32; 43:24; Judg 19:21; 1 Sam 25:41). Such acts represent humble service, courtesy and respect. Also in a domestic context, washing of one's own feet was done simply for reasons of personal hygiene and comfort (2 Sam 11:8). By contrast, Exodus 30:17-21 recounts God's injunction that priests, through the generations, consecrate themselves by washing their hands and feet before offering sacrifices in the holy place. These repeated actions follow a prior, one-time washing (Ex 29:4). Together with the Gospel accounts, these passages highlight that there are a number of reasons for washing the head, hands and/or feet (including, unusually, some cultic actions in domestic settings), with purposes ranging from gracious and courteous hospitality (with menial connotations), to personal hygiene (often self-washing), to ritual purification, and also anointing (for burial).

Within the complexities of John 13, it may be that the dominant motif is a model of service, including a reversal of status, and a plea that such actions and attitudes characterize Jesus' disciples. Simon Peter's objection (Jn 13:8) prompts the introduction of an additional motif of a repeatable rite that purifies and

is distinct from the full bathing (of baptism). It is not clear whether the menial service and the cultic purification elements are to be combined and then continued by the disciples.

See also AUTHORITY AND POWER; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; ECONOMICS; SERVANT OF YAHWEH; SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC CRITICISMS.

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SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC CRITICISMS

Over the last four decades, interest in utilizing social-scientific perspectives to understand the worlds of Jesus and the Gospels has risen exponentially. Sociology and sociocultural anthropology remain the two disciplines most frequently employed within this endeavor. These fields, respectively, have provided exegetes with heuristic apparatus (research frameworks, theoretical perspectives and ethnographic accounts) to navigate the strange and distant worlds that they encounter within the NT and offered means to reach plausible reconstructions of those worlds based on comparative evidence.

While the Pauline Epistles may at first sight seem to offer more directly relevant material for social-scientific investigation, the Jesus movement and the Gospels have in turn also generated important data for this type of analysis. The critical focus of social-scientific criticisms is not limited to the textual evidence, but also includes reconstructions of the social contexts of authors and/or recipients. This allows social-scientific critics to chart how particular texts may reflect, challenge or subvert aspects of the environments of which they are a part. Types of social-scientific inquiry can thus be codified (for a related typology of social-scientific research see Elliott, 18-20):

- *Depiction of social realities*: fundamentally a descriptive activity, outlining some element or elements of ancient contexts with no specific interest in critically scrutinizing this information.
- *Construction of social history*: again a largely descriptive exercise, detailing features of a particular epoch, society or group.
- *Social organization*: evaluation of social dynamics that lead to particular social forms by adopting the resources of social theories.
- *Social-scientific modeling*: research explicitly using social-scientific models to interpret biblical texts.
- *Social and cultural scripts*: studies of the dominant social principles and values functioning in specific cultural settings.

The following discussion documents projects in social-scientific criticism of Jesus and the Gospels under the labels of "sociological approaches" and

“sociocultural anthropology approaches.” This division is in some respects forced, for these disciplines are closely linked through their focus on individuals and the social worlds that they collectively inhabit, though differences in their methodologies to some extent support their separate treatment here. The selection is, of course, illustrative, not exhaustive. (For general introductions to the aims and methods of social-scientific criticisms, see Malina 2001; Esler 1994; Elliott; Horrell 1999; Pilch 1999; 2000; Rohrbach; Stegemann, Malina and Theissen; Lawrence. For social-scientific commentary on Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels, see Malina and Rohrbach.)

1. Sociological Approaches
2. Sociocultural Approaches
3. Points of Contemporary Debate

1. Sociological Approaches.

Sociology generally conducts high-order analysis of the construction, growth, institutions and operations of human societies. It advances an etic standpoint: broad (often quantitative) analysis from an external perspective. This discipline has provided macrolevel analyses of growth rates and conversion in early Christianity, through kinship and social networks, and has charted the transformation from Christianity’s law-observant ethos to one that no longer submitted to Jewish legal systems. It has also enabled biblical interpreters to depict social structures and institutions of the ancient world, the millenarian impulses of the Jesus movement the sectarian character of early Christianity and the construction of its diverse social identities and worldviews. P. Berger and T. Luckmann’s sociology of knowledge, which views all meanings and identities as socially constructed, has traditionally formed an important theoretical framework for studies of this sort. Ideological interests served by “symbolic universes” (in reference to race, gender, politics and social stratification) and the reality of opposition and discordance within them have now also been increasingly acknowledged.

1.1. Social Structure of Ancient Palestine. The social structure of ancient Palestine has been of major interest in studies of the historical Jesus. Some, utilizing E. Durkheim’s structural functionalist model (in which society is viewed as an organic whole, cohesive, ordered and controlled), posit the followers of Jesus as itinerant radicals who left traditional kinship networks and livelihoods to follow a charismatic prophetic leader and embody a utopian vision of brotherly love (Theissen). Others have heavily criticized those adopting functionalist

paradigms for not taking seriously enough the displacement and conflict caused by the political situation of the time (Horsley 1994; 1999). Such “conflict” studies highlight the stark social stratification of these contexts and the position of the nonelite subject to crippling social and economic pressures imposed by the ruling elite. Utilizing political scientist J. Scott’s concept of “little tradition” and the arts of resistance, other historical Jesus scholars have accordingly read Jesus’ ministry as typical of the exploited nonelite who subvert the “great tradition” built and maintained by colonial powers (Horsley 1994; 1999). A variety of Jesus’ teaching and actions can be read in this anti-imperial light: the exorcism of “legion” (Mk 5:9 // Lk 8:30), for example, has been read as a covert allegory for the expulsion of the filthy swine of Rome from the land (Horsley 2001; Moxnes 2003). Likewise, Jesus’ *healings are seen to be conscious social therapies to overcome the social “dis-ease” of Rome’s occupation, and his *parables have been read as “hidden transcripts” offering coded, disparaging critiques of the dominant social order (Herzog). Many others have likewise seen Jesus’ *kingdom of God ideal as the antitype of the Roman imperial regime’s exploitative practices, including burdensome taxation and social atomism (Malina 2001). Others have identified his surrendering of the patronage ideals of the dominant culture and construction of a radical, “brokerless” kingdom of God, in which free access to the divine was enjoyed by all in the present through free healing, sharing of spiritual and material resources and open commensality (Crossan). Through these contextually sensitive analyses Jesus’ ministry has been firmly cast in a social and economic spectrum; his central ethical command of love is accordingly understood not as a personal emotion but rather as one embodied in kinship groups, and likewise hate is conceived as the suspension of such kindred bonds (see Stegemann, 46-51). Jesus, in this light, is seen to have promoted, in contrast to the dominant symbolic universe, social inclusion (not based on traditional family ties), the annulment of debts and a vision for the egalitarian distribution of material and spiritual resources.

1.2. Sectarianism. The sectarian model, which finds its roots in M. Weber’s contrast between protest groups and more traditional groups and E. Troeltsch’s analysis of church and sect (which can be directly compared on issues of recruitment and membership, etc.), has been used to trace the fledgling Christian movement’s eventual split from its Jewish parent body. B. Wilson’s identification of diverse sec-

tarian responses to the world has also been adopted in a number of ways in reference to early Christianity (Elliott, 75-95; Stark 217-18; Scroggs; Theissen, 33-37). M. Gordon's model of assimilation of migrant groups has been useful in charting the cultural integration of Jew and Gentile in the early church, and C. Tilly and A. Oberschall's work on "social movements" has been used to identify the emergence of Christianity apart from Judaism. Matthew's Gospel has accordingly been seen as a sectarian document in which Matthew's mixed race and status *ekklēsia* posits itself as the true inheritor of Jewish traditions (Zetterholm). Because sectarian reflexes are most pronounced in John's Gospel, with its conscious display of distancing language and explicit references to being "out of the synagogue" (Jn 9:22; 12:42; 16:2), it is perhaps no surprise that this text has proved a fruitful mine for analysis. W. Meeks's seminal essay, "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism," for example, linked the symbolic ascent/descent mythology within John's Gospel to the social location of the Johannine community and their disassociation from not only the Jewish leaders but also the world as a whole. Like the Word from heaven, John's community was also in the world but not of it. John's readers were to be born from above and return, like their redeemer, to their heavenly home. Others have since built on this work by adopting M. Halliday's "anti-language" strategy to show how John constructs an antisociety that resists ideas from competing groups (Malina 1985; Neyrey 2009) and inverts their symbolic maps of meaning. For example, *Moses, the friend of God who did not go to heaven, is pitted symbolically against Jesus as the incarnate *Logos, whose home is above. This is read as part of John's sectarian polemic against non-Christian Jews, who sit in darkness, in contrast to the enlightened Johannine Christians (Petersen).

1.3. Deviance Labeling and the Construction of Social Identities. H. Becker and E. Goffman's work on deviance labeling and stigmatization, which are social strategies designed to marginalize those individuals who are perceived to contravene collectively held norms and practices, have shed light on a number of controversy dialogues within the Gospels. Jesus fields accusations from his opponents that he is a lawbreaker, demon-possessed, glutton, drunkard, blasphemer, false prophet and, during the mocking rituals of the trial, the "king of Jews." Such accusations reveal that Jesus is perceived as a threat to his opponents. Moreover, these accusations cluster around those episodes in which Jesus' politically explosive claims that God's kingdom will be found

among the margins of society are made most explicitly (Guijarro 2002). Such approaches construct a "Christology from the side," a horizontal (human/human) pursuit rather than a vertical (divine/human) pursuit (Malina and Neyrey 1988). Labeling has also been traced in reference to the explosive conflicts between Jesus and the *Pharisees in Matthew's Gospel. For example in Matthew 23 Jesus launches a violent diatribe against the religious leaders, the rhetorical function being to discredit, shame and disassociate his listeners from their traditional authority (Malina and Neyrey 1988).

As deviance labeling is used to stigmatize those individuals not associated with a particular group's values, so "social identity" is a sociological concept used to positively construct new group associations and behavior (on both social and psychological levels) and discriminate against other alternative groupings. H. Tajfel's theory of social identity has recently been employed to interpret the community formation embodied within the parable of the good Samaritan. The stigmatized "outsider," the Samaritan, redefines neighborliness and recasts social identity affiliations (Esler 2000b). Similarly, social identity theory has been applied to posit Mary, Martha and Lazarus (the family that "Jesus loves") as representative models of Johannine Christianity (Esler and Piper 2006). Mary, in her symbolic action of *anointing Jesus' feet and its link to the anointing of Jesus' body on the "first day of the week," may well represent the Johannine community's own Sunday *table fellowship. Lazarus himself becomes emblematic of a community awaiting *resurrection. The character of Nicodemus has also been read as representative of the "out-groups" of the Pharisees and Jews (representatives of unbelief) in the Gospel of John. However, Nicodemus is an out-group member who ultimately espouses in-group values. In effect, as an "out-group deviant," he serves to legitimate the Johannine Christians' own perspectives (Hakola).

2. Sociocultural Anthropology Approaches.

It is often said that sociology's main focus is industrialized societies, whereas anthropology tends to focus on tribal societies. However, in reality this division is far more fluid. It is true, however, that the methodologies common to each are different. Sociocultural anthropology, in contrast to sociology, seeks to produce in-depth descriptions (ethnographies) of communities' lives, values and practices, based on participant observation and cross-cultural comparison. It includes an emic perspective: interpretations of a specific culture from an insider's perspective,

alongside its own theoretical perspectives and terminology. These ethnographic resources have provided a means for biblical interpreters to bridge the cultural gap that exists between their own contexts and the ancient Mediterranean. Sociocultural anthropology has also aided the comprehension of various ritual and purity conventions encountered within biblical texts and provided comparative resources to understand anew other elements, including spiritual, visionary and charismatic experiences.

2.1. Cultural Scripts. The adoption of cultural scripts, largely based on ethnographies of the Mediterranean, which try to identify dominant assumptions and values held by the cultures producing biblical texts (e.g., honor and shame, dyadic personalities, limited good, evil eye) have enabled biblical interpreters to consciously evade the hazards of ethnocentrism (judging all contexts from one's own cultural standpoint) and anachronism (chronological misplacement of ideas) within their work. Such approaches presuppose that biblical texts are "high context" literature, in which many elements are assumed to be self-evident by the author and original receivers (e.g., collectivistic, group-orientated and anti-introspective elements) but when encountered in a different context may not be understood in quite the same way (Malina 2001). For example, whereas in an individualistic, guilt-driven context Judas's suicide may be read as an act of despair or escape, through the utilization of cross-cultural comparisons based on ethnographic studies of Gainj of New Zealand, this action can be read as an honorable death that attempts to make amends for the offence of betrayal (Reed).

The *genealogies of Jesus in the Gospels have likewise been understood in light of the cultural values of ascribed honor, and various controversy dialogues have been read as challenge ripostes, in which Jesus outwits his opponents and acquires honor as a result. Similarly, the Jewish leaders' increasingly violent attitudes toward Jesus have been interpreted through an ethos of limited good, typical of peasant societies, in which tangible and intangible resources are perceived to exist in limited supply, and thus reputation and honor are fiercely competitive. The related concept of "evil eye," which was used to injure and harm those perceived as enemies, is also relevant here. Jesus provokes the envy of the leaders, which erupts in conflict and hostility and ultimately in Jesus' enemies calling for his death (Hagedorn and Neyrey).

Jesus' frequent subversion of cultural scripts has often been noted. The patriarchal lines of blood kin-

ship so central to the honor system are destabilized by Jesus, who asserts that fictive kin in faith are one's significant in-group (see Family). For example, in John's Gospel the disciple John being entrusted to Mary and vice versa modifies traditional kinship expectations, allows a certain fluidity within kinship patterns, and illustrates how family is now not an exclusive but rather an assimilative concept in which outsiders can be integrated.

The sexual division of labor has also been brought into greater relief through cultural scripts. Honor and social precedence have been classified as male values associated with public space, whereas positive shame has been associated more with the female private space. In this light, it is interesting how often in the Gospels marginal female characters are pictured in public space, and Jesus frequently interacts with such females in public arenas. The status quo, dominated by the patriarchal agrarian society, is thus replaced by the inclusive household of Jesus. The *women's stories accordingly "served to warn a relatively wealthy, urban community not to capitulate to the magnetic, powerful influences of gender differentiation and stratification so pervasive to advanced agrarian social norms" (Love, 22). A similar dynamic has been traced in reference to Jesus' mother, at the wedding of Cana (Jn 2:1-12), who tries to augment her family's honor by brokering from her son a favor for her hosts. However, rather than being a pawn within patronage frameworks, Jesus reproaches his mother that her worldly concerns are not akin to his otherworldly directives (Campbell) (see Mary, Mother of Jesus).

Medical anthropology also has been utilized in the construction of a social script relevant to Jesus' healing ministry. F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck's work on value orientations demonstrates the profound cultural differences observable between "curing disease" (the aim of Western biomedical science) and "healing illness" (a more folk-orientated approach common in traditional societies in which healing involves social reintegration). The latter seems to be the dominant mode in which Jesus operates: he removes the social stigma associated with certain maladies and incorporates individuals back into society, notwithstanding their ailments (Pilch 2000).

2.2. Ritual. V. Turner's work on ritual (structure and antistructure, liminality and communitas) has been instructive on a number of levels for understanding the Jesus movement and early Christianity. Some have read particular ritual events through this lens. For example, Jesus' *baptism has been interpreted as an initiation rite, and the *temptation in

the wilderness as equivalent to a liminal testing. As a consequence of this ritualized experience, Mark's Jesus is revealed as holy and, as such, "capable of brokering God's patronage on his people" (Guijarro 2003, 28). Others have applied Turner's ideas on a macrolevel to the movement of Christianity, which itself embodies liminality. For example, in the Gospel of Luke the labels "rich" and "poor" serve to identify nonbelievers and believers respectively; however, in Acts these two terms recede. Reasons for this could be that Acts reflects a more structured and settled movement in which it was no longer appropriate to flatly characterize disciples of Jesus as poor and antistructure, for possessions in this later era now represent an individual's personal cost and incorporation into the evolving church's organization (Kraybill and Sweetland).

Purification and feasting rituals have also been a dominant form of inquiry. Anthropological studies of "gastro-politics" (who eats what, when and with whom) have informed studies of Jesus' use of meals in promoting kingdom ethics (see Table Fellowship). The historical Jesus' potentially deviant eating habits, vis-à-vis purity and social boundaries, have been charted in this regard, as have the countercultural overtones of some of his teachings surrounding meal practices, especially in the parables. Food and eating have also been seen to act as powerful symbols for Christian communities. Jesus not only eats with those rendered unclean, but also he is seen by some to flaunt legal obligations surrounding food, and most importantly he offers great gifts to the people in his miraculous mass feedings, acting as a broker of divine resources (Neufeld).

Others have employed ritual analysis to interpret the passion narratives. The crucifixion itself has been seen as a status degradation ritual in which the ruling powers publicly shamed a nonelite individual in order to deter other politically explosive revolutionaries (Neyrey 1996). Others have read it as a "remedial narrative exit rite" (DeMaris 2008, 97) in which Jesus is pictured by the evangelists as ritually carrying away the tribulations of the people and at last reinstating purity. Exit rites of this sort overlap with purification rites in the reestablishment of harmony, unity and holiness in the community.

2.3. Space and Place. Anthropological perspectives on space and place have furnished social-scientific interpreters with fresh insights into the social and ideological aspects of the Jesus movement's operations. Jesus is seen to render problematic common conceptions of place, defying the status quo in terms of not only physical but also social, political

and economic spatial practices. Jesus called people to leave family, homes and livelihoods; moreover, his invitation to society's "out of place" members—eunuchs, children, childless women, sinners, the ill—inevitably meant that entering kingdom space would involve displacement and social tension (Moxnes 2003). Jesus' identity as a fatherless son, his apatriarchal ethos and his insistence on calling God "Abba" have been understood in light of this countercultural stance (Van Aarde). H. Lefebvre's insight that space is a social product, which is not ideologically innocent, and J. Smith's work on symbolic space, real space (built environment) and social space have likewise opened up new vistas on Jesus' conception of the kingdom. Questions surrounding where Jesus expected the reconstitution of the temple in a physical sense are important here, as are also the nature of Jesus' hope to enter a new land and the symbolic resonance of twelve disciples representative of the gathering of Israel's twelve tribes (see Wenne) (see Apostle).

2.4. Spiritual and Charismatic Experiences. Sociocultural anthropology has also offered key resources to interpret certain spiritual aspects of Jesus' own ministry and early Christian communities' experiences. Ethnographies of communities not dominated by an Enlightenment-informed scientific worldview predominant in the West are vitally important in this respect, for they offer comparative examples of cultures in which visions, demons, witches and jinns, travel through a tiered cosmos and intervention of spirits are accepted as realities. Jesus' control of spirits and spiritual and visionary experiences at the baptism, wilderness temptations (DeMaris 2002, 146-49) and transfiguration have been interpreted alongside shaman and shaman healer types (Lawrence, 35-54). Anthropological studies have also informed new interpretations of the resurrection whereby social-scientific interpreters are not straitjacketed into proving whether this was a concrete event, but rather focus on its status and effects as a cultural reality within the worldview of the recipients (Craffert). Jesus' ascension has also been filtered through social-scientific lenses, using ethnographic material that documents individuals undertaking sky journeys and experiencing alternate realities (Pilch 1998).

3. Points of Contemporary Debate.

3.1. Methodology. A number of methodological questions surround the use of social-scientific inquiry in NT studies. Most obviously, biblical evidence is textual. One cannot live among or interview

the peoples whom we meet in the NT, for they are insurmountably distant to us in time and place. Many have also questioned the wisdom of using contemporary social-scientific comparisons for understanding the ancient world. Are such comparisons legitimate, helpful or at all possible? Others have felt uncomfortable with the reductionist impulses inherent within the social-scientific enterprise. Social-scientific giants such as L. Feuerbach, E. Durkheim and S. Freud played a part in proclaiming the maxim that theology, while claiming to be about God, is at base about humanity. In Berger's terms, social scientists are "methodological atheists" (see Berger, 179-85) not interested in correlating their observations to transcendental realities. The necessity and the soundness of the modeling enterprise are also fiercely debated, particularly in light of the scant nature of much of the evidence. Do models masquerade gaps and, like the emperor's new clothes, lull interpreters into seeing elements that actually are not there at all? Are they inevitably determinative, shaping and directing one's investigations and conclusions? There are also questions surrounding the compatibility of the model with the evidence under review. Those defending the inevitability of a model-type approach in social-scientific analysis argue that it is essential to social-scientific inquiry to adopt abstractions and types (models) as heuristic aids (Esler 2000a), while others insist that model-based approaches manipulate the evidence and actually are not the dominant mode of inquiry for most sociologists and anthropologists (Horrell 2000; 2009). Likewise, much work that has adopted static models has been criticized for the inability to trace development over time as well as individual dissent from social patterns. Such insights need to be part of any critical social endeavor, for all cultures involve agency, and all cultures involve agents acting in structured ways. The continuum of structure and agency will also be refigured for each individual according to their hierarchical and ideological place within social structures, since the ability of individuals to exercise transformative agency depends on their position.

3.2. "Community" Assumptions. S. Garrett has noted that the concentration on collective group consciousness, so characteristic of much social-scientific inquiry, may veil the part that individual authors have in initiating transformations, for one cannot blindly assume that texts are productions of communities. R. Bauckham's thesis, that the implied readership of each Gospel is not precise (Mark's community, Matthew's community, etc.) but rather open-

ended, indeterminate and for "any and every Christian community in the late-first-century Roman Empire" (Bauckham, 1) has important implications for social-scientific inquiries that do posit a particular community in a particular location for each Gospel. P. Esler, in his critical response to the thesis, takes Bauckham to task for ignoring the vast cultural chasm that exists between the Gospels and the contemporary exegete. Esler defends the use of particular community knowledge, for discourse, he believes, can be understood only in its context of origin, through the aid of social-scientific material (Esler 1998, 237); without such methods, North American and European frameworks control and maneuver reconstructions in culturally unhelpful ways. Bauckham admits that the context of production will shape particular texts in certain ways, but still he defends a widespread readership for the Gospel texts and argues against adopting a rigid community model that shapes interpretations in unhelpful ways.

3.3. "Critical" Social-Scientific Criticism? All projects utilizing social-scientific criticisms to interpret Jesus and the Gospels must do so with the knowledge that they do not innocently construct ancient social situations. Rather, all interpreters are subject to particular ideological forces that must be openly acknowledged and exposed, through a hermeneutic of suspicion, so that oppressive elements are not intentionally or unintentionally sustained. *Feminists, for example, have warned against the fallacy of believing that one's social-scientific readings in any way present "objective" reality, for all models and frameworks are prescriptive and political, and they create reality as much as describe it (Schüssler Fiorenza). The construction of a specifically "Mediterranean" cultural script could be one example, and it has been the subject of a number of criticisms of this sort. Such scripts seem to negatively stereotype diverse individuals, communities and countries across a wide geographical expanse. J. Crossley, utilizing the insights of N. Chomsky, E. Herman and most particularly E. Said, who, in his celebrated study of Orientalism, exposed prejudices against Arab-Islamic peoples, has taken to task those who employ cultural scripts in NT studies for their latent racism. Crossley argues that stereotypes of Arab cultures "covering vast cultural areas . . . smack of old-fashioned imperialistic anthropology" (Crossley, 112). More provocatively, he submits that some scholars latently retain associations with Anglo-American foreign policy, including political justifications of military actions in Iraq and Palestine. Criticisms such as these powerfully jolt interpreters

into reminding themselves that acknowledgment of their own social location is a crucial starting point for any meaningful social-scientific inquiry.

See also CHILD, CHILDREN; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN; ECONOMICS; FAMILY; FEMINIST AND WOMANIST CRITICISMS; HEALING; LATINO/LATINA CRITICISM; POSTCOLONIAL CRITICISM; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS; TABLE FELLOWSHIP; WOMEN.

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L. J. Lawrence

SON OF DAVID

The phrase "Son of David" (*huios David*), when used as a christological title, signifies Jesus as the Davidic messiah (*see* Christ). It can be traced back to God's messianic promise to David in the OT (2 Sam 7). Such messianism has two aspects: *genealogical and *typological; that is, Jesus the Messiah is a descendant and an antitype of David. This double aspect sheds important light on our understanding of Jesus as "Son of David" in the Gospels.

1. The Background of "Son of David"
2. Jesus as "Son of David" and Davidic Messianism

1. The Background of "Son of David."

1.1. Davidic Messianism in the Old Testament.

The basic concept of Davidic messianism is seen in 1-2 Samuel. Its genealogical aspect is provided in 2 Samuel 7:12-16, where God makes a messianic promise to David that his offspring will establish his eternal kingdom. The typological aspect of Davidic messianism is also seen in Samuel's three songs (1 Sam 2:1-10; 2 Sam 22:1-51; 23:1-7; cf. *Tg.* 1 Sam 2:1; 2 Sam 22:1; 23:1). The three songs, as a "hermeneutical bracket," present the following four characteristics of David: God's chosen, pious, warlike and righteous king. Such poetic texts, which present an idealized David, create a tension with realistic portrayal of the king at the end of Samuel's narrative. Yet, this sort of tension makes the reader expect the coming of a more idealized David-like king in the future in the sense of the aforementioned four characteristics of David. So we see in 1-2 Samuel the basic concept of Davidic messianism, namely, both the genealogical and the typological aspects.

The Davidic messianic expectation continues in the prophetic books. In preexilic prophecies, such as Isaiah 9:6-7; 11:1-9; Hosea 3:5; Amos 9:11, the future Davidic king is the hope of the united kingdom, the solution for the problem of the present divided kingdom. In the prophecies of exile and restoration, such as Isaiah 55:3; Jeremiah 23:5; Ezekiel 34:23-24; 37:24-25, the future Davidic king is also the hope for Israel's return from the Babylonian captivity. In Israel's preexilic and postexilic experiences under corrupt kings, not only the genealogical aspect but also the typological aspect of Davidic messianism is particularly emphasized (e.g., "I will set up over them one shepherd, my servant David" [Ezek 34:23]).

Finally, explicit references to David appear in five psalms: Psalms 18; 78; 89; 132; 144. These five psalms focus on two historical incidents in David's life: God's election of (Pss 78:70-72; 89:20) and covenant

with (Pss 18:50; 89:3-4, 28-37, 49-51; 132:1-5, 10-18) David. Furthermore, some important key expressions, such as “the king(s)” (Pss 18:50; 144:10), “the anointed one (messiah)” (Pss 18:50; 89:51; 132:10, 17) and “God’s servant” (Pss 78:70; 89:3, 20; 132:10; 144:10), appear in these five psalms. The book of Psalms shares the Davidic messianic tradition seen in Samuel and in the prophetic books.

1.2. Davidic Messianism in Early Judaism. Early Jewish writings show diverse views regarding Davidic messianism; some of them have no interest in a messianic concept, even though the Davidic covenant is mentioned. However, it must be emphasized that the Davidic messianic tradition is attested in the early Jewish writings, such as *Psalms of Solomon*, the *Dead Sea Scrolls and the *Targums. Interestingly, both the genealogical and typological aspects of Davidic messianism are seen in them.

Psalms of Solomon (dating to the middle of the first century B.C.) is particularly important; it attests to the only instance in pre-Christian Jewish writings in which the epithet “Son of David” is used in a messianic sense: “Behold, O Lord, and raise up for them their king, the son of David, at the time you have chosen, O God, to rule over Israel your servant” (Pss. Sol. 17:21). The author asks God to destroy the Jewish Hasmonean rulers by the Davidic messiah. Because they do not belong to the Davidic dynasty, the author stresses the genealogical relationship between David and the Messiah (Pss. Sol. 17:4, 21). The author is also anti-Rome; his description of the Davidic messiah who destroys Gentiles is based on the biblical tradition reflected in Samuel (the three songs) and the prophetic books (Is 11; Jer 23; Ezek 34; 37). In Israel’s corrupted situation, therefore, the author expects the ideal David-like messiah.

Davidic messianism seen in the Qumran writings is similar to that in *Psalms of Solomon* 17: the Davidic messiah is descended from David (4Q174 1 I, 7-13; cf. 2 Sam 7:11-14) and leads the eschatological war against Israel’s enemy, namely, Jewish rulers and/or Rome (4Q161 8-10 III, 11-25; cf. Is 11:1-5). Davidic messianism can be further seen in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where historical events in David’s life typologically become the future eschatological paradigm for Israel: his birth (4Q522 9 II, 3); his anointing by Samuel (11Q5 XXVII, 2-10); his foundation for the holy city and preparation for the temple building (4Q522 9 II, 4-6); his bringing the ark to Jerusalem (4Q457b II, 2); and his covenant with God (4Q504 1-2 IV, 5-8).

Finally, the Davidic messiah is depicted in the Targums, especially *Targum Jonathan* of the Latter

Prophets. Genealogically, he is a descendant of David (Tg. Jer 23:5; 30:9; 33:15; Hos 3:5) and of Jesse (Tg. Is 11:1; 14:29). Typologically, he possesses the Spirit (Tg. Is 11:2), observes the Torah (Tg. Is 9:6), judges as a righteous ruler (Tg. Is 11:3-5; 16:5; Jer 23:5; 33:16), destroys the wicked (Tg. Is 11:4; 14:29), reunites the kingdom (Tg. Is 11:11-12; Jer 23:3), brings peace (Tg. Is 9:6; 11:6; Jer 23:6; 33:16) and rules over all the nations (Tg. Is 11:10). Thus, *Targum Jonathan* of the Latter Prophets sees David as the paradigm for the future messiah.

2. Jesus as “Son of David” and Davidic Messianism.

In reviewing Jesus in the Gospels in the light of Davidic messianic traditions, we need to emphasize the typological as well as the genealogical aspect. When Jesus the Messiah is called “Son of David,” one may assume both aspects in the title. But even where the phrase “Son of David” does not occur, one may find Davidic allusions that carry messianic significance particularly in the typological sense.

2.1. Mark. In Mark the phrase “Son of David” occurs only in two accounts (Mk 10:46-52; 12:35-37). However, it seems that Mark presents Jesus as the Davidic messiah throughout his narrative.

In Mark’s first section (Mk 1:16—8:21) Jesus is pictured as the one who delivers the people from the bondage of Satan (cf. Mk 3:20-30). While Jesus’ authority is emphasized in this section, his self-identification with David (cf. 1 Sam 21:1-9, David as a legal authority [cf. *t. Kil.* 5:6]) in Mark 2:23-28 is one piece of evidence of showing his authority. Jesus is “more than David”; he is also “Lord.”

In Mark’s second section (Mk 8:22—10:52) Jesus leads the metaphorically *blind, who do not comprehend true *discipleship, on the way to *Jerusalem. Interestingly, this section is sandwiched between the two accounts of healing a blind man (Mk 8:22-26; 10:46-52), and in the latter account, which tells that Jesus is about to arrive in Jerusalem (Mk 10:46), Jesus is called “Son of David” (Mk 10:47-48) for the first time in Mark.

In Mark’s final section (Mk 11:1—16:8) Jesus arrives in Jerusalem as the Davidic king, and he accomplishes the expected new exodus foretold in Isaiah through his suffering (see Watts). It is significant, after his entering into Jerusalem, that Jesus’ Davidic allusions are primarily seen with reference to three Davidic Psalms. (1) Psalm 118 is fulfilled in Jesus’ *triumphant entry into Jerusalem as the Davidic king (Ps 118:25-26 in Mk 11:9-10) and in his suffering (Ps 118:22-23 in Mk 12:10-11). (2) Quoting Psalm 110:1, Je-

sus raises the christological question in the temple: "David himself calls him Lord; so how can he be his son?" (Mk 12:36-37). Jesus affirms that the Messiah is both "Son of David" (in his Davidic genealogical sense) and David's "Lord." Here, the "Jesus as more than David" theme in Mark 2:23-28 resurfaces. In the previous narrative Jesus is already identified with the authoritative "Son of Man" (e.g., Mk 2:10, 28; cf. Mk 14:62) and with "God's son" (e.g., Mk 1:1, 11; 9:7; cf. Mk 15:39), but his messianic identity, being both "Son of David" and "Lord," culminates in this episode in Mark 12:36-37. (3) Psalm 22, which includes an image of a Davidic righteous sufferer, is employed in the depiction of Jesus' suffering (Ps 22:18 in Mk 15:24; Ps 22:7 in Mk 15:29; Ps 22:1 in Mk 15:34). The whole context of Psalm 22, however, is probably reflected in Mark's describing Jesus' *passion narrative (Mk 15) (see Matera and Ahearne-Kroll).

Thus, while considering the typological aspect of Davidic messianism, it can be said that in spite of the infrequency of the occurrence of the phrase "Son of David," Mark presents Jesus as the Davidic messiah throughout his narrative. Even so, it is true that "Son of David" in Mark, appearing around Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, has an important role as an indication of Jesus' identity as the Davidic messiah.

2.2. Luke. Luke's use of the phrase "Son of David" is similar to that of Mark. In Luke "Son of David" appears, except in the *genealogy (Lk 3:31), only in two parallel accounts with Mark: Luke 18:35-43; 20:41-44. However, as in Mark, it can be said that Luke also presents Jesus as the Davidic messiah throughout his narrative, which includes two volumes in Luke's case.

In Luke's *birth accounts (Lk 1—2) the Davidic messianic motif is prominent. Jesus' Davidic lineage is emphasized (Lk 1:27; 2:4), as he fulfills God's messianic promise to David in the OT. Born in Bethlehem, the "town of David" (Lk 2:4, 11), Jesus is the one who establishes his eternal kingdom (Lk 1:32-33, 69). So, in the beginning of Luke's narrative Jesus' Davidic genealogical aspect is stressed.

In the beginning of the main body of Luke's narrative (Lk 3—24) Jesus is *anointed with the Spirit (Lk 3:21-22), as in Mark; however, in Luke we do encounter the phrase "Son of David" shortly thereafter, in the genealogy (Lk 3:31). Furthermore, as in Mark, Jesus identifies with David (cf. 1 Sam 21:1-9) while Jesus' disciples are accused of violating the *Sabbath (Lk 6:1-5). However, Luke's depiction of Jesus' gathering many troubled people to himself and the Twelve (Lk 6:17-19) seems to recall the same scene of David in 1 Samuel 22:1-2.

In Luke's central section (Lk 9:51—19:27) the phrase "Son of David" appears before Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem (Lk 18:35-43). As in Mark, a blind man calls Jesus "Son of David." Actually, in Luke's central section (Lk 9—19) Jesus is pictured in Mosaic terms (especially Lk 9—13), not Davidic. However, with the episode of Jesus' healing a blind man in Luke 18:35-43, Luke begins to draw the Davidic picture of Jesus. In addition, Jesus' allusion to the image of the Davidic shepherd in Luke 19:10 (cf. Ezek 34:16) and the kingly image in the parable of the pounds (Lk 19:11-27) help the reader to grasp Luke's presentation of Jesus as the Davidic messiah.

In Luke's final section (Lk 19:28—24:53) Jesus is portrayed with allusions to Davidic psalms, as in Mark. Psalm 118 is used in Luke's depiction of Jesus' triumphant entry into Jerusalem as the Davidic king (Ps 118:26 in Lk 19:38) and of his suffering (Ps 118:22 in Lk 20:17). Employing Psalm 110:1, Luke's Jesus also raises the christological question (Lk 20:41-44). Jesus affirms that the Messiah is both "Son of David" and David's "Lord." Finally, Psalm 31 shows Jesus' hope in God in the midst of his suffering as parallel to that of David (Ps 31:5 in Lk 23:46).

Thus, regarding the employment of the phrase "Son of David" and the concept of Davidic messianism in Luke, we may draw the same conclusion as with Mark: Luke portrays Jesus as the Davidic messiah throughout his narrative, and the phrase "Son of David," appearing around Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, functions especially to signify his status. However, Luke's Davidic messianic motif seems to be more apparent than in Mark.

2.3. Matthew. As in Mark and Luke, Matthew presents Jesus as the Davidic messiah throughout his narrative. Significantly, Matthew employs the phrase "Son of David" more frequently than do Mark and Luke. Besides all the references to the phrase in the Synoptic Gospels, the phrase occurs in Jesus' genealogy, his birth and his healing accounts in Matthew.

2.3.1. The Genealogy and the Birth Narrative. From the very beginning of Matthew Jesus is presented as "Son of David": "An account of the *genealogy of Jesus the Messiah, the son of David, the son of Abraham" (Mt 1:1). In the genealogy the name "David" is mentioned frequently (Mt 1:1, 6 [2x], 17 [2x]), and it seems that Matthew's way of describing the genealogy is based on the person David, for the genealogy is made of three series of fourteen generations (Mt 1:17). The numerical value of the sum of the Hebrew consonants ($d + w + d$) in David's name is fourteen ($4 + 6 + 4$). Furthermore, the three series

of the generations can be described as follows: (1) the days of the rise of the Davidic kingdom; (2) the days of the loss of the Davidic kingdom with the Babylonian exile; (3) the days of the restoration of the Davidic kingdom from the Babylonian exile (see Exile and Restoration). Then, Joseph, the earthly father of Jesus, is called "Son of David" (Mt 1:20). This picture of Jesus with the Davidic motif is not unrelated to the OT quotation of Micah 5:2 in Matthew 2:6. Interestingly, the citation includes the words from 2 Samuel 5:2 ("from you shall come a ruler who is to shepherd my people Israel"). Thus, from the beginning of Matthew, Jesus is presented with the Davidic messianic shepherding image (see Shepherd, Sheep) (see Chae). The motif of the restoration of the Davidic kingdom through Jesus in Matthew seems to be corresponded with the new-exodus motif with Jesus in Mark and Luke (see Watts and Pao).

2.3.2. *The Therapeutic Son of David.* The portrayal of Jesus with the Davidic shepherding image is related to Matthew's presentation of Jesus as the therapeutic Son of David in the main body of this Gospel (Mt 9:27-31; 12:22-23; 15:21-28; 20:29-34) (see Healing). Scholars have explained Matthew's emphasis on the therapeutic Son of David in several ways, but they turn mainly to the early Solomon-exorcist tradition (e.g., *T. Sol.* 20:1; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.45; see Charlesworth). Yet, the essential elements of the early Solomon-exorcist tradition cannot be seen in Matthew's portrayal of Jesus as the therapeutic Son of David. An alternative explanation for Matthew's therapeutic Son of David is that it comes from the Davidic messianic tradition in the OT. One scriptural basis comes from the book of Isaiah: Matthew states that Jesus' healing activity is the fulfillment of the OT, using Isaiah explicitly (Is 53:4 in Mt 8:16-17; Is 42:1-4 in Mt 12:15-21) and implicitly (e.g., Is 35:5-6; 61:1 in Mt 11:5) (see Novakovic). In Matthew's portrayal of the therapeutic "Son of David" the Davidic messianic tradition in Isaiah is tied to the Davidic shepherd tradition in Ezekiel 34: "I will seek the lost, and I will bring back the strayed, and I will bind up the injured, and I will strengthen the weak" (Ezek 34:16 [cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:38-40; 4Q521 2 II, 1-14]).

2.3.2.1. *Matthew 9:27-31.* The healing of the two blind men is reported in the context of the coming of the new era (e.g., the wineskins for new wine [Mt 9:17]; raising the dead girl [Mt 9:18-26]). Then, Matthew 9:36 uncovers that the healing recalls Ezekiel 34:1-16; in fact, the whole context of Matthew 9 relates to Jesus' seeking the lost. So Jesus, as "Son of David," fulfills the Davidic messianic promise in the OT.

2.3.2.2. *Matthew 12:22-23.* After identifying himself with David (Mt 12:1-8; cf. Mk 2:23-28; Lk 6:1-5), Jesus heals a demoniac who was blind and mute, claiming that "this was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah" (Mt 12:17 [cf. Is 42:1-4]). The crowd shouts, "Can this be the Son of David?" The Davidic messianic tradition in Isaiah is combined with the Davidic shepherd tradition in Ezekiel. This can be seen in that the shepherding image appears in reference to the relationship between the sheep and the shepherd (Mt 12:11-12); in that many people follow Jesus, the Davidic shepherd (Mt 12:15); and in that Jesus gathers the scattered people as the expected Davidic messianic shepherd (Mt 12:30; cf. Ezek 34:12-13).

2.3.2.3. *Matthew 15:21-28.* Jesus heals the daughter of the Canaanite woman; Matthew emphasizes Jesus' healing, not his exorcizing *demons (cf. Mk 7:24-30). Here Jesus, the messianic shepherd of the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Mt 15:24; cf. Mt 10:6), also heals those outside of the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Yet, this is the picture of the "one" eschatological Davidic messiah who shepherds both Israel and the nations (cf. Mt 12:21; 25:31-46; Ezek 34:23; 37:24; Mic 5:3-4).

2.3.2.4. *Matthew 20:29-34.* Before his arrival in Jerusalem Jesus is called "Son of David" by two blind men. Matthew emphasizes Jesus' having compassion (Mt 20:34) more than does Mark (cf. Mk 10:46-52), and this recalls Jesus' shepherding image in Matthew 9:36 (cf. Mt 14:14; 15:32). Then, the healed men join the large crowd following Jesus (Mt 20:29, 34; cf. Mt 12:15; 14:13-14; 19:2). Thus, before the entry into Jerusalem, Jesus is already active as "Son of David" in Matthew.

2.3.3. *Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem and the Passion Narrative.* After Jesus' entering into Jerusalem (Mt 21), Matthew's portrayal of Jesus with Davidic allusions is similar to Mark in terms of the employment of three Davidic psalms: Psalms 22; 110; 118 (Ps 118:26 in Mt 21:9; Ps 118:22 in Mt 21:42; Ps 110:1 in Mt 22:41-45; Ps 22 in Mt 27:33-56) (see Triumphant Entry). However, when Jesus enters Jerusalem triumphantly in Matthew, unlike Mark and Luke, Matthew uses the phrase "Son of David" twice; the crowds shout, "Hosanna to the Son of David!" (Mt 21:9), and the children cry in the temple, "Hosanna to the Son of David!" (Mt 21:15). Interestingly, unlike Mark's parallel account, Matthew's Jesus heals the outcast and the lost in the temple that he cleanses (Mt 21:12-14; cf. Ezek 34:4). Then, Jesus raises the christological question (Mt 22:41-45); it is the final occurrence of the phrase "Son of David" in

Matthew. What Jesus means is the same as in Mark (and Luke): the Messiah is not only "Son of David" but also his "Lord." However, the therapeutic picture of Jesus in the healing accounts described above gives a hint for the reader in terms of the context of Ezekiel 34. For the unique relationship between the Davidic shepherd and the Lord in Ezekiel 34:15, 23 is analogous to the relationship between David and the Lord in Matthew 22:41-45. The Davidic shepherd tradition appears later, in the final part of Matthew. For example, Jesus as the one who separates "people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats" in Matthew 25:31-46 recalls the eschatological Davidic shepherd in Ezekiel 34:17-22. In addition, the entire context of Zechariah 9-14 can be reflected in Matthew's passion narrative (e.g., Zech 9:9 in Mt 21:4-5; Zech 11:12 in Mt 26:15; Zech 11:13 in Mt 27:3-10). Particularly in Matthew 26:31, Jesus, as he is about to endure the passion, is described in the explicit quotation of Zechariah 13:7.

2.3.4. Summary of Matthew. As stated above, among the Synoptic Gospels, Matthew's use of the phrase "Son of David" is prominent. "Son of David" in Matthew points to Jesus' Davidic sonship and signifies his unique relationship with the Lord. It is particularly interesting that "Son of David" in Matthew presents Jesus as the Davidic messiah, especially the eschatological David-like shepherd. Thus, Matthew's frequent use of the phrase "Son of David" for Jesus is interrelated to Matthew's unique theological motif of the presentation of Jesus with the Davidic shepherd tradition in the OT, such as is found in Ezekiel 34.

2.4. John. In John's Gospel the phrase "Son of David" does not appear, and this has led some scholars to maintain that there is no Davidic ideology in John (see Anderson, 229; cf. Daly-Denton). In John 7:42 the Messiah's Davidic lineage is attested, though here it is posed as a problem because the crowd perceives that Jesus is from Galilee and not Bethlehem. In spite of this fact, if we take into account the typology of Davidic messianism, it can be said that Jesus is portrayed as the expected Davidic messiah in John as well.

Explicit OT quotations in John (14x) are infrequent compared to those in other Gospels, yet half of the quotations in John (7x) come from Psalms. The explicit references to Psalms are spread over two parts of the Gospel of John. In the first part (Jn 1-12) Psalm 69:9 (Jn 2:17), Psalm 78:24 (Jn 6:31), Psalm 82:6 (Jn 10:34) and Psalm 118:26 (Jn 12:13) are used. In the second part (Jn 13-21) Psalm 41:9 (Jn 13:18), Psalm 35:19/69:4 (Jn 15:25) and Psalm 22:18 (Jn

19:24) are employed. These psalms describe Jesus' sufferings, such as his persecution, betrayal and cross. Thus, in the narrative in John the book of Psalms seems to function significantly to associate Jesus with the Davidic kingly image.

It might be argued that John also depicts Jesus as the one who fulfills the Davidic messianic tradition in the OT, for two explicit citations from Zechariah, which mention a kingly figure/the Davidic dynasty, appear at the end of the two parts of John respectively (Zech 9:9 in Jn 12:15; Zech 12:10 in Jn 19:37). And the Davidic correspondence in John 10:16 ("I have other sheep that do not belong to this fold. . . . So there will be one flock, one shepherd" [cf. Jn 11:52]) is also important. Its depiction of Jesus recalls the picture of the ideal Davidic king in Isaiah 56:8; Ezekiel 34:23; 37:24.

Thus, it seems that John presents Jesus as the Davidic king with the psalmic image throughout his Gospel, and particularly in John 10 Jesus is presented with the shepherding image. At first glance, John's Gospel seems to be different from the Synoptic Gospels in many ways, and especially John never calls Jesus "Son of David." However, an element of John's basic presentation of Jesus is likely the common Davidic messianic tradition as in the cases of the Synoptic Gospels. Jesus fulfills the Davidic messianic expectation in John too.

See also CHRIST; CHRISTOLOGY; HEALING; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; SHEPHERD, SHEEP; SON OF GOD; SON OF MAN.

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SON OF GOD

"Son of God" is perhaps the most well-known title for Jesus both inside and outside the church, and arguably it is the most important christological title in the NT. Yet, neither the title's fame nor its importance has guaranteed an accurate understanding of its numerous significances. In an attempt to bring greater clarity to this title, this article address three areas as outlined below.

1. Divine Sonship in the Old Testament, Second Temple Judaism and the Greco-Roman World

2. Divine Sonship in the Life of the Historical Jesus
3. Divine Sonship in the Canonical Gospels

1. Divine Sonship in the Old Testament, Second Temple Judaism and the Greco-Roman World.

1.1. Divine Sonship in the Old Testament. The OT uses the concept of divine sonship to describe three different groups: angelic beings, the people of Israel (or the collective nation of Israel) and Israel's kings (particularly those kings descended from David). Of the three, the divine sonship of Israel's king is the most helpful as a background to the NT. The identity of the king as God's son conveys a variety of meanings: the king as the recipient of God's paternal faithfulness to and love for the king (2 Sam 7:14-16; Ps 89:24, 28-37); the king as God's agent who exercises God's authority on earth (Ps 2); the king as the heir and the recipient of God's inheritance (Ps 2:7-8); the king as the recipient of God's paternal discipline (2 Sam 7:14; Ps 89:20-27); and God's role as the progenitor of the king, since it is God who called and established Israel's kings. It should be noted that divine sonship in the OT is understood metaphorically (perhaps in terms of adoption/legal legitimacy), and unlike the concept of divine sonship in Egyptian, Persian or Hellenistic thought, the king of Israel was not perceived in any way as either divine or a literal son of God. Additionally, although the concept of divine sonship in the OT is used to describe Israel's kings, it is never used explicitly to describe the Messiah or any messianic figure (see Christ).

1.2. Divine Sonship in Second Temple Judaism. The OT passages noted above were interpreted messianically during the Second Temple period (*Pss. Sol.* 17:23-24; *1 En.* 48:10; *4 Ezra* 13:35), though scholars long believed that no clear connection between divine sonship (or the title "Son of God") and the Messiah existed during this period. A handful of Jewish texts were put forward to support such a connection (e.g., *1 En.* 105:2; *4 Ezra* 7:28-29; 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9), but their evidentiary value was undermined by a variety of factors: late dating, suspicion of Christian interpolation, or possible transmission/translation errors. But scholarly opinion changed significantly with the discovery of the *Dead Sea Scrolls, a discovery that provided four texts that seem to support a connection between divine sonship and the Jewish Messiah. The most certain example is 4Q174, which links 2 Samuel 7:14 (a text in which David's kingly descendants are identified as God's sons) with a royal messiah. The more provocative (and debated) text 4Q246 actually contains the titles "Son of God" and "Son of

the Most High.” Due to the quality of the manuscript (the text contains numerous holes/gaps) it is uncertain whether the titles are being used to describe a messianic figure or a messianic impostor (possibly a pagan ruler). Although the tide of scholarly opinion currently favors the former (see Fitzmyer 2000), uncertainty remains. According to J. Fitzmyer, 1Q28a reads, “when God begets the Messiah,” a reading that echoes Ps 2:7 and implies the divine sonship of the Messiah. However, the Hebrew words “begets” and “brings” differ by only a slight stroke of the pen. The latter reading, if accepted, undermines the messianic connection to divine sonship. Finally, a highly fragmentary manuscript, 4Q369, says, “you made him like a firstborn son to you,” and later, “like him for a prince and ruler in all your earthly land.” Although this text might connect one identified as a “son” (of God?) with a possible messianic figure, the fragmentary condition prevents any certain conclusions.

Debate persists, but there seems to be a growing consensus that divine sonship was associated with messianic thought during the Second Temple period, though the relative scarcity of evidence suggests that this association was infrequent. Such infrequency may be due to the fact that the use of divine sonship in the Greco-Roman world often implied the deity of a human being (e.g., ruler, military hero, philosopher), a blasphemous claim by any Jewish standard. The association of divine sonship with the Messiah during the Second Temple period, if accepted, would be directly related to the divine sonship of Israel’s kings in the OT, particularly the descendants of David. Divine sonship therefore emphasizes the Messiah’s royal identity through Davidic ancestry and carries no implications of deity (see Son of David).

G. Vermès notes two wonder-working rabbis who are linked with the notion of divine sonship in rabbinic literature. The first example is Honi the circle drawer (first century B.C.), who is said to have prayed to God “like a son of the house” (*m. Ta’an.* 3:8). Such a tradition might imply Honi’s divine sonship, though S. Safrai has argued that the phrase “son of the house” is best understood as a reference to a domestic slave. The second example is Hanina ben Dosa (first century A.D.), whom a heavenly voice addressed as “my son” (*b. Ta’an.* 24b; *b. Ber.* 17b; *b. Hul.* 86a). Clearly, such a tradition might imply the divine sonship of Hanina ben Dosa and is similar to that of Jesus’ *baptism (Mk 1:11). Although these traditions concern relative contemporaries of Jesus, the late date at which they were written down (ca. 500 A.D.) complicates their historical verification. Yet, if these

traditions are accepted as authentic, they suggest that righteous miracle workers in the first century could be regarded as sons of God.

1.3. Divine Sonship in the Greco-Roman World.

Divine sonship was a prominent and prevalent concept in Greek culture and religion. However, the specific title “son of god” was less prevalent because the generic word for “god” often was replaced with the name of a specific god (e.g., Zeus, Apollo, Helios) (see Gods, Greek and Roman). Among the Greeks, divine sonship implied literal divine ancestry and thus some level of divinity, the degree of which could vary. Apollo was the literal son of the god Zeus and the goddess Leto and thus was fully divine. Heracles (Hercules), the son of a god (Zeus) and a human (Alcmene), was considered a demigod, having divine strength, courage and ingenuity, but also human mortality. But even historical figures were accorded divine sonship. Alexander the Great was regarded as a literal son of Zeus, an identity embraced by his Ptolemaic successors. The philosopher Plato was also rumored to be the son of Apollo. The divine sonship of such remarkable figures (both mythic and historical) was accepted with little objection by Greeks, for whom the line between the divine and human was much less absolute than it was for Jews.

Among the Romans, divine sonship was also quite prominent. They adopted the mythology of the Greeks and so embraced divine sonship as it related to the gods of the Greek pantheon. Romans also traced their origins back to the Trojan hero Aeneas, who was the son of the goddess Venus (Aphrodite). Julius Caesar himself claimed to be a direct descendant of Aeneas. But there is an important distinction between Greeks and Romans in their understanding of divine sonship. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans were extremely reluctant to attribute divine status to a living human being, though such status could be granted to the deceased. This fact is significant when we consider the attribution of divine sonship to the Roman emperor (see Rome). “Son of god” was a title frequently used of Roman emperors, Augustus in particular. This title did not imply divinity but instead demonstrated the emperor’s relationship to a deceased and subsequently deified predecessor. For example, Augustus was the adopted son of the deceased and subsequently deified Julius Caesar; in this way, Augustus was literally the son of the deified Julius—son of a god, but not a yet a god himself.

2. Divine Sonship in the Life of the Historical Jesus.

In the consideration of divine sonship and the his-

torical Jesus, two questions must be addressed: (1) did the historical Jesus consider himself in any way to be God's Son, and (2) if so, what significance did he attribute to such sonship?

2.1. Did Jesus Consider Himself to Be the Son of God? It was long held by many that, contrary to the witness of the canonical Gospels, Jesus never understood himself in terms of divine sonship. Such a conclusion was largely based on one of two arguments. The first claimed that a concept of messianic divine sonship was absent in Second Temple Judaism, and therefore Jesus probably did not understand himself in such terms, nor did his disciples do so. The second argument claimed that texts such as Romans 1:4 and Acts 13:33 indicate that the earliest church believed that Jesus became "Son of God" only after his resurrection, and therefore the historical Jesus never thought of himself in such terms. Today, these arguments hold much less sway. The first argument was undermined by the DSS, which, as noted above, give evidence that a concept of messianic divine sonship was present in Second Temple Judaism and therefore readily available to Jesus and his disciples.

The second argument has been weakened by further scrutiny of the few passages that suggest Jesus became "Son of God" only at his *resurrection. It is widely accepted that Romans 1:3-4 represents a primitive church creed. C. K. Barrett (et al.) argued that the original portion of the creed reflected in Romans 1:4 simply read, "and according to the Spirit, was appointed to be Son of God by the resurrection of the dead." He concluded that the phrase "in power," which negates any claim that the resurrection was the starting point of Jesus' divine sonship, is a Pauline addition to the creed. But while most commentators agree that Romans 1:3-4 reflects a primitive church creed, few can agree on what parts of the creed belong to the early church and what parts belong to Pauline editing (see Fitzmyer 1993). Any reconstruction of such a creed is highly speculative and therefore quite uncertain. Such uncertainty makes subsequent conclusions about the earliest church's beliefs regarding divine sonship equally uncertain.

Acts 13:33 seems to link the resurrection with the prophetic fulfillment of Psalm 2:7: "You are my son, today I have begotten you." It often is argued that this text also reflects an early church belief that Jesus became Son of God only at his resurrection (see Dunn 1996, 2003). But in the passage the nature of the link between Psalm 2 and the resurrection is not certain. The word *anistēmi* might actually refer to Jesus' appearance in history rather than his resurrec-

tion. I. H. Marshall has suggested that Acts 13:33 is not attempting to establish the fact of Jesus' divine sonship on basis of his resurrection, but rather is attempting to establish the character of his divine sonship—that is, his obedience as God's Son, on the basis of his resurrection. Again, we can have little confidence on the basis of Acts 13:33 that the early church believed that Jesus became "Son of God" only at his resurrection.

We turn our attention to the Jesus tradition of the canonical Gospels and the historical evaluation of traditions in which Jesus associates himself with divine sonship. The following analysis of such traditions begins with and focuses on the Synoptic Gospels, which in most historical assessments are given pride of place over John's Gospel. However, the analysis concludes by considering the possible value of the Fourth Gospel for understanding the historical Jesus and divine sonship.

There is widespread scholarly agreement that Jesus addressed God as "Father," with many concluding that Jesus did so by using the Aramaic word *abba* (see Jeremias 1971, 1978; Dunn 1996, 2003; Marshall). Although the last two decades of scholarship have demonstrated an overestimation of the evidence regarding Jesus' use of "Father" (and perhaps more specifically *abba*), the conclusion that Jesus addressed God in paternal terms remains sound (see Prayer). Such an address is strongly supported by the criterion of multiple attestation, as it (using the Greek word *patēr* ["father"]) is found in Mark, Q, unique Matthean traditions, unique Lukan traditions, and Johannine traditions (see Jeremias 1971, 1978; Thompson). In fact, there is only one instance in the canonical Gospels in which Jesus does not directly address God as Father (Mk 15:34). This evidence strongly suggests that "Father" was the most frequent way in which Jesus directly addressed God. Less certain is the conclusion that the Aramaic *abba* lies behind the Gospels' use of the Greek *patēr* (as the historical Jesus primarily, if not exclusively, spoke Aramaic). *Abba* appears in the canonical Gospels only once (Mk 14:36), raising questions about its use by the historical Jesus. Yet the appearance of this Aramaic word in a thoroughly Greek Gospel likely indicates its importance in the early church and in the church's memory of the historical Jesus. Such a conclusion finds confirmation in the surprising appearance of *abba* in two of Paul's epistles (Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6). That this paternal form of addressing God was used and known among Gentile Christians indicates its unique significance for the church and strongly suggests its early origin. When these two

Pauline uses of *abba* are taken together with the singular usage in Mark, a strong case for its origin in the life of Jesus emerges. We conclude, therefore, that Jesus did directly address God as “Father,” likely using the Aramaic *abba*, and thus thought of himself in some sense as God’s Son. However, at this point, we can say little about the significance of this divine address for Jesus’ filial consciousness.

We must note that in the Synoptic Gospels Jesus never used the title “Son of God” to identify himself (though Jesus affirms such an identity in Mark 14:62). However, there are three Synoptic texts in which Jesus identifies himself as “the Son,” with divine sonship clearly implied. The first saying is found in Mark 13:32 (also Mt 24:36), in which Jesus claims that “the Son” does not know the day or hour of specific eschatological events, but rather such knowledge belongs to the Father alone. A strong case for the historicity of this saying can be made on the criterion of embarrassment, as it seems highly unlikely that the early church would create a tradition that indicated Jesus’ ignorance.

The second saying comes in the *parable of the wicked tenants (Mk 12:1-9; Mt 21:33-41; Lk 20:9-16), in which Jesus clearly identifies himself as God’s Son. There is widespread agreement that some form of this parable can be traced to Jesus, but scholars such as J. Crossan conclude that it has undergone allegorical embellishments to reflect the Christology of the early church—that is, a conviction of Jesus’ divine sonship. It is often argued that an older and more original form of the parable is found in the *Gospel of Thomas* (Gos. Thom. 65), a form that lacks (supposedly) the allegorical elements of the Markan form (including any reference to divine sonship). However, A. Y. Collins (2007) notes that a nonallegorical rewriting of an allegorical original is a highly plausible explanation of the form found in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Additionally, the allegorical elements found in the Markan parable include nothing that is distinctly Christian (resurrection, heavenly exaltation, etc.) and therefore do not undermine the authenticity of the parable. C. Evans (2001) argues that the parable’s Semitic character, its coherence with interpretive tendencies in the Aramaic Targumim (particularly of Isaiah), and the historical viability of its Markan narrative context suggest that the parable finds its origin in the life of Jesus and not in the life of the early church. Although certainty of authenticity eludes us, we have little reason to doubt the authenticity of this parable as it appears in the canonical Gospels, and a number of good reasons to accept it.

The third saying is found in Matthew 11:27; Luke

10:22. Scholars such as R. Funk claim that this tradition reflects too high (and too Johannine) a Christology to be considered authentic Jesus tradition, but recent work by L. Hurtado challenges the presupposition on which this claim is built, which is that the christological thinking develops linearly from simple to more complex. There is significant evidence of “high” Christology at very early stages in the life of the church (e.g., 1 Cor 8:6; Phil 2:6-11; Col 2:9), a reality that at least increases the plausibility that such Christology could find its origin in Jesus himself. We therefore should be careful in dismissing this tradition simply because it reflects a “high” Christology. In fact, J. Jeremias (1971, 1978) has demonstrated that the passage has a strong Semitic character, indicating an early tradition. This passage remains the most uncertain of the three passages we have considered, but its historicity cannot be casually dismissed.

As we will see below, divine sonship is a prominent christological feature of John’s Gospel. This Johannine motif has largely been seen as the creation of the Fourth Evangelist, but P. Anderson has sought to locate the seed of the motif in the life of Jesus. Anderson argues that the Johannine Father-Son motif is intrinsically tied to the “prophet like Moses” of Deuteronomy 18:15-22. Anderson proposes that John’s use of both motifs is the result of theological reflection on the prophetic ministry of the historical Jesus, a ministry in which Jesus understood himself to be a prophet like Moses and expressed his prophetic identity in terms of filial agency. Anderson’s argument is worthy of consideration as an important step forward in elevating the place of John’s Gospel in the reconstruction of the historical Jesus.

2.2. How Might Jesus Have Understood Divine Sonship? If Jesus understood himself in terms of divine sonship, as the evidence above suggests, in what way did he understand such sonship? The Second Temple Jewish milieu offers three plausible options: (1) a son of God in the sense that all righteous Jews were children of God (e.g., Jesus’ disciples); (2) a righteous miracle worker such as Honi the Circle-Drawer or Hanina ben Dosa; (3) a royal messianic descendant of David.

2.2.1. Intimacy of Sonship. The significance of Jesus’ use of *abba* (if one accepts such use as historical) has received significant scholarly attention during the past two decades. Two things are generally agreed upon regarding Jesus’ use of *abba*: (1) *abba* should not be equated with the childish address “daddy” (see Barr); (2) *abba* was an intimate and perhaps colloquial way of addressing one’s own father (see Jeremias 1971, 1978; Dunn 1996, 2003).

However, the uniqueness of this divine address is debated. Jeremias was essentially correct in claiming that no example of direct prayer to God as *abba* existed in the literature of pre-Christian Palestinian Judaism, though use of the formal Hebrew *ʾābī* to address God does exist in the DSS (see Thompson; Fitzmyer 1985). However, the significance of this evidence has been questioned. The sample size of relevant literature is so small that it leaves us not only with no examples of God being addressed as *abba*, but also with no examples of human fathers being addressed as *abba* (see Thompson). Clearly, such limited evidence is insufficient for determining whether Jesus was unique in addressing God as *abba*. J. Dunn (1996, 2003) suggests that although Jesus' use of *abba* may not have been unique, the consistency and unvarying way in which he used *abba* to address God likely was. We can conclude that Jesus' use of *abba* reflects his sense of personal intimacy with God, an intimacy that was unique in the way it pervaded the prayer language of Jesus. Such unique filial intimacy might suggest that Jesus understood his divine sonship to be equally unique, but this conclusion remains speculative.

2.2.2. Uniqueness of Sonship. It is true that Jesus teaches his disciples to pray to God as "Father," but we should note that Jesus is careful to make a distinction between "my Father" and "your Father." He never refers to God as "our Father" (in Mt 6:9 "our Father" is the way in which the disciples are instructed to pray, and the first-person plural pronoun does not include Jesus). Therefore, although Jesus may have introduced to his followers a new and intimate way of understanding God as "Father," he also made a distinction between his relationship to God as father and theirs. Such a distinction would favor the conclusion that Jesus saw his divine sonship to be in some sense unique.

Mark 12:1-12; 13:32 also indicate the uniqueness of Jesus' divine sonship. Mark 12:1-12 contrasts Jesus, who is God's Son, with the prophets, who are God's servants. This clearly implies Jesus' superiority to the prophets who came before him and therefore his unique identity as God's Son. Mark 13:32 clearly distinguishes "the Son" from all others, and the rejected presumption that the Son would have unique insight into eschatological events clearly implies the uniqueness of the Son's identity and position.

The uniqueness of Jesus' divine sonship seems to eliminate the first two of the three options listed in 2.2 above. Our evidence then suggests that the third option is the most plausible way in which Jesus understood his identity as God's Son: as a royal messi-

anic descendant of David. We cannot exclude the possibility that Jesus thought of his divine sonship in completely unique terms—in a way completely foreign to Judaism—but such an option must be considered less favorable (see Harvey).

3. Divine Sonship in the Canonical Gospels.

3.1. Mark. Jesus is identified as God's Son only eight times in Mark's Gospel, and God is addressed as "Father" only four times. But the relatively infrequent use of such identification should not be mistaken for relative unimportance. It is widely held that "Son of God" is Mark's primary christological identity for Jesus (see Evans 2001; Kingsbury; Telford), a conclusion based not on the frequency of usage but rather on the manner of usage: the title appears prominently in the narrative's beginning, middle, and end. Mark's Gospel begins with a bold claim of Jesus' divine sonship (Mk 1:1; 1:11 [though the former is textually uncertain]), with God himself declaring Jesus to be his Son (Mk 1:11). Again in the middle of Mark's narrative God identifies the transfigured Jesus as his Son (Mk 9:7). Finally, after Jesus' death he is declared to be Son of God by a Roman centurion (Mk 15:39). In addition to such significant placements, the title appears at the climactic moment of Jesus' trial before the high priest as Jesus responds affirmatively that he is "the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed One" (Mk 14:61).

For the Markan evangelist, Jesus' divine sonship clearly identifies him as a royal messianic figure. The divine affirmation of Jesus' sonship in Mark 1:11; 9:7 clearly allude to the divine affirmation of the Israelite king in Psalm 2:7. This kingly identity is further evidenced by Jesus' triumphal entry (Mk 11:1-11), Jesus' anointing at Bethany (Mk 14:1-9) and the written charge for Jesus' crucifixion (Mk 15:25). As God's son, Jesus is God's messiah and king, who will rule over not only the people of Israel but also the entire world. For Mark, Jesus' messianic kingship appears to be the basis for his identity as "Son of God."

For Mark, divine sonship clearly implies divine agency. Almost from the outset of Mark's Gospel Jesus the divine Son appears on the scene empowered by God's Spirit and acting as God's royal agent. The first eight chapters of Mark's Gospel present Jesus as an overwhelmingly powerful figure who proclaims God's coming kingdom, heals the sick, exorcizes powerful demons, controls nature, teaches authoritatively and even forgives sins on God's behalf. As the powerful agent of God, Jesus is highly popular with the people, drawing great crowds wherever he goes (Mk 1:32-33; 2:13; 3:7; 5:21; 6:32-34). And although Je-

sus creates some opponents in the first eight chapters of Mark's Gospel (Mk 2:6-7, 15-16, 23-24; 3:6), they are largely overshadowed by the favorable crowds.

But a dramatic shift in Mark's Gospel occurs after Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi as Jesus predicts his suffering and death for the first time. The frequency of Jesus' powerful deeds decreases, while discussion of Jesus' impending passion and the number of his opponents increase. Clearly, the second half of Mark's Gospel introduces a new function of Jesus the divine Son: he will be the obedient Son, who surrenders his life in obedience to God's will and on behalf of God's people (Mk 10:45). Jesus' suffering and death is clearly central to Mark's presentation of Jesus' divine sonship (see Death of Jesus). In fact, it is widely held that, for the Markan evangelist, Jesus can only be understood as "Son of God" in terms of his suffering and death (see Moloney). But we must avoid the mistaken conclusion that the powerful divine Son has left the narrative only to be replaced by the weak, suffering Son, since that would discount the christological content of the first half of Mark's Gospel as well as the elements of power found in the second half (e.g., Jesus' prediction of his own death [Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:33-34]; exorcising a demon [Mk 9:14-29]; healing a blind man [Mk 10:46-52]; withering a fig tree [Mk 11:20-21]). Rather, it is the same powerful agent of God who obediently chooses to embrace suffering in order to fulfill his role as the divine Son.

As we noted above, "son of god" was a common title used by Roman emperors. C. Evans and A. Winn argue that Mark's Gospel presents a case for Jesus, rather than Caesar, as the true "Son of God." Two noteworthy passages are of particular importance. Mark 1:1, which many regard as the title that introduces Mark's Gospel, clearly echoes the propagandistic language of the Roman emperors (see Evans 2006), setting the stage for a Markan contrast between Jesus and Caesar. Mark 15:39 concludes the crucifixion narrative with a Roman centurion's proclamation of Jesus' divine sonship, which Mark's readers would expect a centurion to make about the emperor but instead is made of Jesus, the true Son of God. Therefore, with these two verses, Mark bookends a Gospel that demonstrates Jesus' superiority to all other claimants to world rule.

3.2. Matthew. As in Mark, divine sonship is prominent in Matthew's Christology. Matthew maintains every Markan reference to Jesus' divine sonship, while adding ten references to Jesus as God's Son, and over forty references to God as Father. Matthew's understanding of divine sonship is

also quite similar to that of Mark, though Matthew has expanded or intensified Mark's presentation of divine sonship, often making explicit what is only implicit in Mark.

As Son of God, the Matthean Jesus is a Spirit-empowered divine agent who, like the Markan Jesus, heals the sick, exorcizes demons, demonstrates power over nature, and acts/teaches authoritatively. But the Matthean Jesus makes more explicit claims to such agency than does the Markan Jesus. In Matthew 11:27 Jesus explicitly claims that the Father has handed all things to the Son, and as a result only the Son and those whom he permits have knowledge of the Father. In Matthew 28:18 the resurrected Jesus claims that all authority on heaven and on earth has been given to him. In Matthew's Gospel this authority possessed by Jesus finds unique expression in Jesus' interpretation of the Torah. The Matthean formula whereby Jesus says, "You have heard it said . . . but I say to you . . ." (see Mt 5), may indicate that Jesus' teaching is Torah messianically interpreted, or perhaps Torah messianically superseded.

Like Mark, Matthew also understands divine sonship in terms of obedience to the will of God (see Luz). This aspect of divine sonship is magnified by Matthew through a keen contrast with *temptation. At four points in Matthew's narrative Jesus is tempted to renounce the required obedience of his divine sonship. Immediately after being baptized, Jesus is tempted by Satan three times in the wilderness, with Satan twice beginning the temptation with the phrase "If you are the Son of God" (Mt 4:1-11). After Peter confirms Jesus' identity as the Son of God, Peter "tempts" Jesus by rebuffing the notion of Jesus' future suffering and death, a temptation that Jesus identifies with the work Satan (Mt 16:13-23). In the garden of *Gethsemane Jesus is again tempted to abandon his divine mission, and he pleads with God, his Father, to spare him his shameful fate (Mt 26:36-45). The final temptation comes while Jesus is on the cross. Onlookers claim that if he is truly the Son of God, he ought to save himself (Mt 27:40-43). Despite such temptations, Jesus remains the obedient Son of God, offering his own life for the *forgiveness of sins (Mt 26:28).

One possible difference between Mark's and Matthew's understanding of divine sonship is the perceived basis for such sonship. For Mark, the basis for Jesus' divine sonship appears to be his identity as God's messianic king (see Mk 1:11; 9:7). Matthew's basis for Jesus' divine sonship is less clear. Many conclude that Matthew bases Jesus' divine sonship on the virgin birth, and therefore Matthew under-

stands divine sonship in a more literal sense than Mark (see Birth of Jesus). But there are reasons to question such a conclusion (see Nolland). First, Matthew's genealogy clearly claims Jesus' Davidic ancestry through his physical father, Joseph, contrary to Luke 3:23. Second, Matthew, unlike Luke, makes no explicit link between Jesus' virgin birth and his identity as God's son (cf. Lk 1:35). Third, the fulfillment citation that Matthew associates with Jesus' virgin birth is fraught with interpretive difficulties, complicating our understanding of this Matthean tradition. Such facts raise questions about an intentional Matthean link between Jesus' virgin birth and divine sonship. In addition, Matthew seems emphatic about Jesus' Davidic ancestry and kingly identity. He traces Jesus' ancestry through the line of Judean kings, he presents the magi seeking a Jewish king in the city of David, and he includes four unique references to Jesus as "Son of David" (Mt 12:23; 15:22; 21:9, 15). This Matthean emphasis on Jesus' Davidic kingship might indicate that such an identity is the primary basis for the Matthean Jesus' divine sonship and not Jesus' virgin birth.

3.3. Luke. Divine sonship is less prominent in Luke's Christology than it is in either Mark's or Matthew's. The majority of Lukan references to Jesus' divine sonship come from either Mark or Q, with few instances of unique Lukan material advancing such an identity. In fact, there are certain instances in which Luke omits the concept from his sources (Mk 13:32; 15:39). Since Luke embraces most of the references to divine sonship found in both Mark and Q, his presentation of Jesus' sonship shares many of the features that we identified in both Mark and Matthew. Luke understands Jesus' identity as Son of God in terms of messianic kingship (Lk 1:32-33; 3:22; 9:35), complete obedience to God's will (Lk 9:22; 9:44; 22:42) and divine agency (Lk 10:22). But perhaps more than either Mark or Matthew, Luke emphasizes the unique intimacy between God and his Son. This emphasis is seen in Luke's frequent presentation of Jesus in prayer to God, a motif that he often introduces into his source material (Lk 3:21; 5:16; 6:12; 9:18, 28; 11:1). J. Green notes that through the "overhearing" the intimate *prayers of the Son, Lukan characters seem to encounter both God's character and purpose. Such intimacy is also seen in Luke's crucifixion narrative, as the Lukan Jesus twice cries out to his Father from the cross: first, he requests the forgiveness of his executioners and mockers (Lk 23:34); second, he hands his life over to the Father (Lk 23:46). Luke also pushes Jesus' awareness of his divine sonship back into his adolescence (Lk

2:49), contrary to Mark and Matthew, where such awareness seems to begin at Jesus' baptism.

Another unique feature of divine sonship in Luke is the clear connection that Luke establishes between Jesus' divine sonship and virgin birth, a connection more explicit than that found in Matthew. Luke claims that the Holy Spirit will come upon Mary, and that "power of the Most High will overshadow" her (Lk 1:35). Such a description is reminiscent of the divine-human copulation present in Greco-Roman mythology, which resulted in the birth of such heroes/demigods as Hercules, Achilles and Aeneas. Although Luke's description of Jesus' conception is clearly less anthropomorphic than the aforementioned Greco-Roman myths (e.g., it lacks any reference to intercourse or physical begetting), his Greco-Roman readers would clearly perceive the significance of Luke's language, which is that Jesus is a literal son of God (a fact emphasized further in Lk 3:23). In fact, Luke explicitly claims Jesus' divine conception as the ultimate basis for his divine sonship (Lk 1:35). Luke certainly understands Jesus' divine sonship in terms of messianic kingship, as is made clear by his overt allusion to 2 Samuel 7:12-16 in Luke 1:32-33. But unlike Mark, and perhaps Matthew, Luke presents literal divine sonship as the basis for messianic kingship.

3.4. Jesus as the Preexistent Son in the Synoptic Gospels. Contemporary scholarship has largely concluded that none of the Synoptic Gospels present Jesus as a preexistent being. This position has been recently challenged by S. Gathercole. Gathercole ultimately argues that preexistence is implied by the "I have come" sayings in the Synoptic Gospels (e.g., Mt 5:17; 10:34; Mk 1:38; 2:17; 10:45; Lk 12:49). He argues that this coming usually is linked with a particular purpose or mission, and therefore that "coming" logically implies movement from one sphere into another sphere for the purpose of accomplishing one's mission. Gathercole claims that the entire earth is the object of Jesus' mission, and therefore Jesus' "coming" implies that he has come from an other-earthly or heavenly place. Although Gathercole has presented a noteworthy case, many remain unconvinced. A common point of contention is Gathercole's claim that the saying "I have come" has no idiomatic precedent and therefore must be understood literally. A. Y. Collins and J. Collins dispute this point, claiming that "I have come" is idiomatic for "I have been sent" and simply conveys the notion of one being sent by God for a divine purpose. Such a sending could describe a vast number of biblical characters, characters with no claim to preexistence.

If Gathercole's argument regarding the "I have come" sayings is ultimately refuted, there is little else in the Synoptic Gospels that indicates Jesus' preexistence (see Incarnation).

3.5. John. Divine sonship is the central christological motif in the Gospel of John. In fact, the author's express purpose in writing is that the reader "might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (Jn 20:31). Jesus is identified as the Son of God (or Son) in John's Gospel over twenty-five times, and Jesus identifies God as Father over one hundred times. John's Gospel shares many of the expressions of divine sonship found in the Synoptic Gospels, but he has expanded these expressions in distinct and significant ways. Like the Synoptics, John understands Jesus' divine sonship in terms of agency. However, the agency of the Johannine Son is both more personal and specific than the agency of the Jesus of the Synoptics. John specifically links the Father's love for the Son to the Son's divine agency (Jn 3:35). John also speaks of this agency in terms of oneness between the Father and Son (Jn 10:30), though John likely has in mind a oneness of will and mission rather than an ontological oneness (see Smith). The agency of the Johannine Jesus is specifically based on the Son knowing and seeing the Father, with the activity of the Son only reflecting the activity of the Father (Jn 5:19-20; 8:28, 55). Such activity includes the working of powerful signs (Jn 5:20), the judgment of humanity (Jn 5:22) and the giving of life to all who believe in the Son (Jn 3:16, 36; 5:21; 6:40).

The Son's intimacy with the Father is more pronounced in John's Gospel than in the Synoptics. John emphasizes the shared love between the Father and Son (Jn 3:35; 5:20; 10:17; 14:31; 15:9; 17:23). Additionally, the Johannine Son uniquely knows and is known by the Father (Jn 5:19-20; 7:28; 8:55; 10:15; 17:25). Finally, John presents the mutual indwelling of both the Father and the Son (Jn 10:38; 14:20) and states from the outset that the Son "is in the Father's bosom" (Jn 1:18).

Like the Synoptics, John presents Jesus as the obedient Son, who does only what the Father wills (Jn 4:34; 6:38; 8:29). However, the obedience of the Johannine Jesus, unlike the obedience of the Synoptic Jesus, appears axiomatic and effortless. Unlike the Jesus of the Synoptics, the Johannine Jesus is never tempted to disobey, nor does he wrestle with the cost of his obedience to the Father. For the reader of John, the disobedience of Jesus is an impossible narrative outcome, while such disobedience appears to be a possible narrative outcome for the reader of the Synoptics.

John clearly identifies Jesus' divine sonship with messianic kingship (Jn 1:49; 4:45; 11:27; 20:31), but such an identity is not the basis for divine sonship (contrary to Mark and possibly Matthew). John also does not base Jesus' divine sonship on a virginal birth (contrary to Luke and possibly Matthew), as the tradition is completely lacking in the Fourth Gospel. For the Gospel of John, Jesus' divine sonship finds its ultimate basis in the preexistent and metaphysical relationship between the Father and the Son. John clearly presents Jesus as a preexistent being, one who existed in the form of God's **logos* ("word"). In John 1:1-18 the evangelist clearly links the *logos* with the divine Son. Unlike the Jesus of the Synoptics, the Johannine Jesus is clearly aware of his preexistent state and speaks openly about it (Jn 8:56-58; 17:5, 24). In this regard, John's presentation of divine sonship played a critical role in the development of orthodox Christology and trinitarian theology.

See also BIRTH OF JESUS; CHRIST; CHRISTOLOGY; GODS, GREEK AND ROMAN; INCARNATION; LOGOS; SON OF DAVID; SON OF MAN.

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A. Winn

SON OF MAN

According to the Gospels, "Son of Man" is Jesus' favorite self-designation. It is used eighty-six times in the NT (Synoptics 69x, John 13x, elsewhere 4x). In the NT it is never presented as a confessional term from someone in the early church. However, Jesus does use it alongside confessional titles, such as "Messiah," that others raise (e.g., Mk 8:29-31; 14:61-62). The phrase in its various lexical constructions is almost exclusively confined to the Gospels, except at Acts 7:56; Hebrews 2:6 (where Ps 8:4 is cited); Revelation 1:13; 14:14. In the Gospels only Jesus uses the term, except at John 12:34, where what he has said is cited by others. The term is written in Greek as "the

son of the man" (*ho huios tou anthrōpou*), except for John 5:27; Hebrews 2:6; Revelation 1:13; 14:14 (*huios anthrōpou*). The phrase in a few Gospel passages (Mt 24:30 // Mk 13:26 // Lk 21:27; Mt 26:64 // Mk 14:62 // Lk 22:69) is related directly to language from Daniel 7:13-14 and, as was noted above, is associated in Hebrews 2:6 with Psalm 8, where it carries its common meaning of "human being," as a "son of man" is a descendant of a man and thus a human.

The expression also has a rich background in the Scripture of Second Temple Judaism as well as in traditions derived from it. So we proceed by examining its usage and background in this Jewish context before considering its NT use.

Finally, the expression in Aramaic is idiomatic (*bar ʾēnāš*). It is not a title, just as it is not a title but rather a description ("one like a son of man") in its original use in Daniel 7:13-14. This means that it can function as an expression on its own without evoking any biblical associations, although the power of the description makes it a candidate to become a title or at least a clear designation of a distinct figure. This type of usage feeds into its development in Second Temple Judaism and in the NT.

So we begin by looking at the phrase's linguistic character. The specific nature of the usage tied to Jesus makes this phrase an important NT expression. Where did it come from, and how was it used in the Gospels?

1. Linguistic Meaning
2. Usage in Second Temple Judaism
3. Jesus' Usage in the Gospels
4. Son of Man in Each Gospel
5. Conclusion

1. Linguistic Meaning.

It is often not sufficiently appreciated that the phrase "son of man" is not a title in Aramaic, but instead an idiom. In fact, for some, such as M. Casey, understanding this and working with this idea is the key to sorting out all the uses of the phrase in the NT, even determining what is authentic to Jesus or not. In its most basic sense, "son of man" simply refers to a human being. It could refer to humankind in general (everyone) or to a more restricted group (some). It also could refer to an individual human referred to in effect as "someone." With respect to Jesus' usage in the Gospels, it appears that we are dealing with an indirect self-reference, since the expression uses the third person to speak of the self. In Jesus' use it could be equal to this or that son of man, referring to a specific type of human. What other idiomatic force it can possess has been hotly debated. G. Vermes

claimed that the term could be a circumlocution for “I,” but Casey rejects such a meaning as established by usage at the time of Jesus. Casey preferred a reference to a subgroup of people, not just to a single individual, a use considered too confining by J. Collins (1995), who sees its Second Temple usage pointing in the direction of a specific kind of figure.

Regardless of the debate over idiom, the linguistic evidence shows that the term need not be a title and can make sense standing alone with an idiomatic force. Certain texts certainly have this feel to them (Mk 2:10, 28). There is no need to invoke Daniel 7 in order to make sense of the usage in these passages. Nor should such a background be assumed. In such idiomatic uses Jesus simply presents himself as a human with certain rights and authority. The fact that forgiveness of sins is invoked or that authority over the Sabbath is claimed suggests that this human is not like all others. In the Gospels’ portrayal Jesus’ repeated use with this sense would mean that he is using the image consistently to create a category of reference, making the expression into a type of title, not by appealing explicitly to Daniel 7 but rather by discussing the kind of authority that this figure exercises. Many NT uses do fall into this idiomatic category as Jesus repeatedly uses this expression to describe this kind of activity. However, in a few key passages there is direct appeal to scriptural language from Daniel 7, which by Jesus’ time had developed into an image of transcendent authority (Mt 24:30 // Mk 13:26 // Lk 21:27; Mt 26:64 // Mk 14:62 // Lk 22:69). It is the reference to riding the clouds that is key in these direct references. To this Second Temple Jewish background we come next.

2. Usage in Second Temple Judaism.

Besides a linguistic context for the use of “son of man,” there also is a tradition rooted in Scripture and reflected on in Second Temple Judaism that is sometimes reflected in this phrase. Two texts are of great significance, while others show the context in which such hope operated. The idea of the vindicated, rejected righteous has roots in the Psalter (Pss 22; 69) and is presented in the picture of vindicated, rejected wisdom in Wisdom 2 and 5. The influence of the latter passage on some “son of man” passages is traced by G. Nickelsburg. These set a context that Daniel 7 also reflects: the vindication of the righteous. This Danielic text is by far the most important scriptural context for the expression “son of man” when it is linked to Scripture.

2.1. Daniel 7. This text is an overview of the historical movement toward God’s deliverance of his

people. It moves through four world dynasties pictured as aberrant animals (lion with eagle’s wings, bear with a human mind, leopard with four birdlike wings, dreadful beast with two rows of iron teeth). In contrast comes “one like a son of man,” a human, who rides the clouds to the Ancient of Days to receive ruling authority (Dan 7:13-14). In Daniel 7:27 this authority and the identification of the figure are tied to the saints of the Most High. But the dynasties of Daniel 7 are also tied to kings who lead them. So, although Daniel’s interpretation points to the corporate beneficiaries of this new thing that God will do, the idea of a figure to lead it is not far away. This idea is suggested by the statement in Daniel 7:27 that all will serve and obey him. The term translated as “serve” (*plh*) here carries the meaning of “worship” (Dan 3:12, 14, 18, 28; 6:17, 21; 7:14, 27 [parallel to *sgd* in Dan 3:18]), something not done of a nation. The Son of Man is pictured as a singular human figure with transcendent qualities, as his riding of the clouds indicates. In the OT it is deity that rides the clouds (Ex 14:20; 34:5; Num 10:34; Ps 104:3; Is 19:1). So this image is of a human being who also has heavenly qualities. The emphasis in the text is that he receives authority in response to the suffering of God’s people. It is the feature of human-heavenly elements and authority that are important in the usage picked up in the NT. The interpretation of this figure in Daniel is disputed as being either corporate for Israel, an angelic figure (perhaps Michael or Gabriel), or involving an eschatological figure (either a messiah or another eschatological deliverer). What is indisputable is that in Second Temple Judaism an individual with authority to deliver and judge developed from this image, as our two other key Second Temple texts show.

2.2. 1 Enoch 37–71. The book of *1 Enoch* is a composite Jewish book, probably made up of five parts stitched together over time. The earliest part comes from two centuries before the time of Jesus. The last section added includes material that refers to the Son of Man. These key chapters probably go back to the Herodian era of the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D., since they contain allusions to the Parthian conflict in the forties B.C. (Bock and Charlesworth). This date is likely despite the fact this section was missing from Enoch texts found at Qumran (Esther too was not found there, and we know it predates the community) (see Dead Sea Scrolls). The book of *1 Enoch* has an eschatological hero in Enoch, and this would counter the hero of Qumran, the Teacher of Righteousness. This important section *1 Enoch* 37–71 is known as the Simili-

tudes or Parables of Enoch. In it there is a key figure who goes by a variety of names: “righteous one,” “chosen one,” “anointed one,” and this or that “son of man.” He functions as a judge and is preexistent (1 En. 46; 62–63). Nickelsburg speaks of a conflation of images in this portrait, drawing on Wisdom 2; 5 (preexistent like wisdom) and the one who vindicates in Isaiah 52–53. Some discount any connections between Jesus as the Son of Man and the ideas expressed in 1 Enoch because of the preexistence of the Enoch figure, which is not like the NT usage, and because there is no mention of the Son of Man “coming” as in the NT (Burkett). Others argue in response that the point is the function of this figure as judge and his transcendent quality. In any case, 1 Enoch shows that imagery associated with a Son of Man figure was in play and under development in the Second Temple period.

2.3. 4 Ezra 11–13. This text is the least important of the three, in part because this material postdates our period. However, its picture of an eschatological judge who has royal characteristics while appealing to the imagery of Daniel 7 confirms that imagery associated with a Son of Man concept was current during the period.

As a group, these texts show that a transcendent judge-deliverer was associated with a figure who was called Son of Man. The notion that a “Son of Man” title existed in this period is sometimes challenged, but the presence of a specific title is not the key point. Rather, the point is that there existed in some Jewish thought a figure associated with heaven who judges. The portrait occurs in various forms, but this figure is called, among other names, Son of Man.

3. Jesus’ Usage in the Gospels.

3.1. Usage, Classes of Sayings and Initial Observations on Authenticity. The appeal to the Son of Man is well distributed across the NT and its sources. The term appears thirty times in Matthew, fourteen times in Mark, twenty-five times in Luke, thirteen times in John, once in Acts and Hebrews, twice in Revelation. Apparently, there are fifty-one different sayings of Jesus involved in this number within the Synoptics, with fourteen of them rooted in Mark, ten involving Matthean-Lukan teaching material (often called *Q material), eight peculiar to Matthew, seven peculiar to Luke, and thirteen found in John. We say “apparently” because there is debate in a few cases about which sayings are parallel and which are unique. Here is the list of texts where “Son of Man” appears in the Gospels: Matthew 8:20; 9:6; 10:23; 11:19; 12:8, 32, 40; 13:37, 41; 16:13, 27, 28; 17:9, 12,

22; 19:28; 20:18, 28; 24:27, 30 (2x), 37, 39, 44; 25:31; 26:2, 24 (2x), 45, 64; Mark 2:10, 28; 8:31, 38; 9:9, 12, 31; 10:33, 45; 13:26; 14:21 (2x), 41, 62; Luke 5:24; 6:5, 22; 7:34; 9:22, 26, 44, 58; 11:30; 12:8, 10, 40; 17:22, 24, 26, 30; 18:8, 31; 19:10; 21:27, 36; 22:22, 48, 69; 24:6–7; John 1:51; 3:13, 14; 5:27; 6:27, 53, 62; 8:28; 9:35; 12:23, 34 (2x); 13:31. Matthew has several texts of his own (Mt 10:23; 13:37, 41; 16:28; 24:30, 39; 25:31; 26:2), as does Luke (Lk 12:8; 17:22; 18:8; 19:10; 21:36; 22:48; 24:6–7). All of John’s thirteen sayings are unique to his Gospel, and John’s subdivisions are different in terms of topic. John has four sayings that speak of the coming and going of the Son of Man, six associated with his crucifixion and exaltation, one that names him as judge, and two as bringer of *salvation. In this survey of the use of the expression, we can only highlight some of the more important uses of the term, showing the emphasis of each category of saying and noting a few central examples.

These sayings in the Synoptics have been divided up into three subclasses: (1) sayings about Jesus’ present ministry (seventeen passages); (2) sayings about his suffering (twenty-six passages); (3) sayings about his role in the end, or *apocalyptic sayings (twenty-seven passages). Each type is well distributed across each Gospel, but with varying emphases, depending on the Gospel. The expression also gives evidence of multiple attestation across its usage categories in the Synoptics, making a case for the authenticity of each class of saying. Matthew has seven present-ministry sayings, ten suffering sayings and thirteen apocalyptic sayings. Mark, known for emphasizing Jesus’ suffering, has three present-ministry sayings, nine suffering sayings and three apocalyptic sayings. Luke has seven present-ministry sayings, seven suffering sayings, and eleven apocalyptic sayings. Working with specific sayings units, not counting total references, G. E. Ladd presents a useful chart of the Synoptic Son of Man sayings (Ladd, 148–49). His count sees ten earthly sayings (two Markan; three Q [= material common to Matthew and Luke]; two M [= material unique to Matthew]; three L [= material unique to Luke]); nine suffering sayings (three Markan; one Q; one Mark-Luke; four Mark-Matthew); eighteen apocalyptic sayings (three Markan; three Q; seven M; five L). John’s usage is independent of the Synoptics, as noted above, but the Johannine usage also focuses on this figure’s authority.

It is no exaggeration to say that this expression is rooted deeply in the Gospel tradition. Nevertheless, the case for its authenticity, as well as the authenticity of each subclass of expression, is debated for a

variety of reasons that we will note as we proceed through each sayings type. However, one stubborn set of facts cautions against rejecting the phrase's ultimate connection to Jesus. The consistency of the term's use only by Jesus and the lack of its use as a confessional term of the early church elsewhere in the NT makes it extremely unlikely to have been the creation of the church. If the expression can be put on the lips of Jesus, as those who argue for an early church origin claim, then why is it not found on the lips of those who followed him as well? It seems more likely that the textual memory of the exclusiveness of its use by Jesus tells us that the expression held a special place for Jesus that the church both recalled and honored.

3.2. *Jesus' Unique Usage.* Jesus seems to have chosen the term Son of Man because of the way it could simultaneously represent humanity and the transcendent character of his work. Either authority or suffering are attached to most of his uses of Son of Man. With Daniel 7 and the associated tradition that it represents in the background, the attachment to authority is not surprising, even in places where Daniel 7 is not specifically evoked. In other contexts, such as the use with the healing of the paralytic in Mark 2 and parallels, Jesus as the chosen human appears to be the point where the idiom carries the apparent force of "a unique man like me," since he is the only one making a claim to forgive sins. Other than to note that Jesus' consistent usage with reference to himself is a prominent feature in the portrayal of Jesus' usage, scholars often say little about the uniqueness this expression implies about Jesus' identity. J. Collins comes close in pointing to the individual thrust of the term, but even more than Jesus as an individual is the idea that Son of Man refers to some kind of unique individual. J. Nolland, in his commentary on Matthew, speaks of "an important Somebody," but with Jesus' consistent usage, that somebody is a self-reference. J. Green, in his commentary on Luke, says that the title "draws attention to [Jesus'] extraordinary, unique qualities."

3.3. *Idiomatic Uses and Earthly-Ministry Sayings.* The idiomatic force is most evident in a text such as Mark 2:10 and its parallels. The tension in this scene involves Jesus "forgiving the sin of the paralytic when only God is supposed to forgive sin. Nevertheless, Jesus, as a human, makes such a claim. When Jesus says, "But in order that you might know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sin," and then goes on to tell the paralytic to walk, he is showing that a divine act that cannot be seen (forgiveness of sins) is validated by a divine act that is

publically demonstrated (the lame walk). In saying that the Son of Man (a human) has this authority, he is not saying that all humans have the authority to forgive sin (contra a generic meaning), but rather that this particular human, who is now speaking and acting, possesses such a capability. Similar in force is Mark 2:28, where Jesus claims that the Son of Man is "Lord of the Sabbath." This is not a claim that humankind is lord of the Sabbath, since the Sabbath was created as a day for humans to rest, not to rule. But such rule is what Jesus claims for himself here. It is Jesus as this particular human who has such authority to make a judgment about the scope of the Sabbath. Again, in Luke 9:58 Jesus warns a prospective disciple that his ministry promises a future of homelessness. Foxes and birds have places to reside, but the Son of Man has nowhere to place his head. Again, this is not true of humans in general, but rather of this one who is encountering rejection from many of those who hear him. In these texts there is no direct allusion to Daniel 7, nor is it clear that there need be (although some interpreters suspect that the theme of authority in Daniel 7 might lie in the background). The point, however, is that the text makes sense simply as an idiomatic appeal to Jesus as a special human. His repeated use of the expression for things that only he is doing underlines the uniqueness of his humanity and the unique authority that his powerful actions reveal.

3.4. *Suffering Sayings and Passion Predictions.* Jesus also uses "son of man" as a means of communicating the type of eschatological figure he understands himself to be. At Caesarea Philippi, after Peter's confession that Jesus is the "Christ," Jesus commands the disciples not to reveal this identity to anyone. Rather, Jesus immediately transitions into a discussion of the Son of Man's approaching suffering in rejection (Mk 8:26-33) (see Predictions of Jesus' Passion and Resurrection). Many of the suffering Son of Man sayings have Jesus predicting his passion, something the disciples are very slow to grasp but the tradition presents as central to the understanding of both the Son of Man figure and the work of the Christ. Their lack of appreciation for the suffering of the sent one from God may explain why Jesus was hesitant to have the disciples present him as the Christ. They did not yet fully appreciate the kind of deliverer Jesus was going to be. So this category of sayings is particularly important, even unique, as part of teaching about the Son of Man and his mission.

The authenticity of this class of sayings sometimes is doubted, but the experience of John the

Baptist had shown Jesus something important. Claiming to be associated with the promised and approaching kingdom of God in a way that challenged authorities might well lead to death. It is hard to know if Daniel 7 is behind such usage. While the context does have the saints rejected and vindicated, it is not clear that Daniel's Son of Man suffers other than in his solidarity with the saints of the Most High. The theme of vindication found in Daniel 7 might be in view, if not the influence of Isaiah 52–53 (see *Servant of Yahweh*). In a more idiomatic sense, the expression would simply mean that this human is called to and destined for rejection followed by vindication.

3.5. A Debated Link: The Juxtaposition of Son of Man and Messiah. The ease with which Jesus juxtaposes Son of Man and Messiah (see Christ) in the passage considered above shows that the terms had a relationship for him. The juxtaposition of Messiah and Son of Man also occurs at another important juncture in Jesus' ministry: Jesus' trial before the Jewish leadership. In Mark 14:61–62 Jesus evokes Daniel 7 and its apocalyptic force when the high priest queries whether Jesus might be the Christ. Jesus, in turn, answers that the Son of Man will be seated at God's right hand and will come on the clouds. It is often said that the Son of Man and kingdom are never juxtaposed in the sayings of Jesus. This distinction is often used in arguing that kingdom teaching is authentic, while Son of Man teaching is not (Vielhauer). However, such a claim reads these categories too narrowly in requiring the use of explicit terminology. In the trial scene Caiaphas is probing the eschatological claims of Jesus to be the promised Messiah. Jesus walks right into the topic, evoking the Son of Man in eschatological-apocalyptic, kingdom terms, since Daniel 7 is essentially an elaboration on the kingdom "not made with hands" found in Daniel 2. Just as Jesus' death has everything to do with the kingdom program that God has given the Son of Man, so the vindication to come moves Jesus into the visible role of one who rides the clouds with the prospect of one day serving as judge. Since the kingdom involves the rule of God, the claim to receive dominion from the One above also is a kingdom claim. "Son of man" in a Daniel 7 context presents this authority in a stronger light than some Second Temple anticipations of Messiah, making "son of man" a better summary term for the kind of transcendent authority God has given Jesus. This link leads us naturally into the third Son of Man sayings category, apocalyptic sayings.

3.6. Apocalyptic Sayings. This class of sayings

deals with Jesus' return and is most explicitly tied to Daniel 7 (Mt 24:30 // Mk 13:26 // Lk 21:27; Mt 26:64 // Mk 14:62 // Lk 22:69 [without reference to the clouds]). There is much scholarly discussion about direction in the reference, since in Daniel 7 the Son of Man figure comes to the Ancient of Days, while in Mark 13 and seemingly in Mark 14 the direction is to earth from heaven (Glasson). Some have challenged the authenticity of this class of sayings based on this difference. However, Mark 14 is far more ambiguous than many suggest. Jesus is really predicting his vindication here as a premise for his future judging authority. This makes the direction more comprehensive than a simple coming to earth. Jesus' point in Mark 14 is that he will be operating from heaven at the side of God, sharing in the divine task. This kind of authority fits with the background to the image in Second Temple Judaism, even though the details were fluid. Such sayings of Jesus, multiply attested, likely have their roots in Jesus' anticipation of what was yet to come.

3.7. A Multiply Attested Son of Man in the Synoptic Sources. It is enlightening to view in summary the Son of Man sayings as they occur in the Synoptic sources (see Synoptic Problem). We observe that the subcategories of these sayings are multiply and widely attested.

3.7.1. Q. The *Q material (texts shared by Matthew and Luke) contains apocalyptic sayings of the sudden coming of judgment, as in the days of Noah (Mt 24:26–27, 37–39 = Lk 17:22–37), and the image of his coming like a thief (Mt 24:43–44 = Lk 12:39–40), a theme found more broadly in the NT as well (Paul's writings, 2 Peter, Revelation). Jesus as Son of Man also appears in earthly-ministry terms as having no place to reside (Mt 8:20 = Lk 9:58).

3.7.2. Mark. In Mark we find all three sayings strands, with the suffering Son of Man receiving special attention (nine of Mark's sixteen Son of Man sayings—e.g., Mk 8:31; 9:9–12, 31; 10:33–34, 45). Jesus' present authority is also noted in Mark 2:10, 2:28.

3.7.3. M. In the material unique to Matthew, suffering and apocalyptic sayings comprise the bulk of the usage (seven of eighteen apocalyptic Son of Man sayings are unique to Matthew).

3.7.4. L. Earthly-ministry and apocalyptic sayings are also prominent in material unique to Luke, who has no unique suffering sayings but does have three unique earthly-ministry sayings and five unique apocalyptic sayings. Among the unique sayings in Luke are those about coming to save the lost (Lk 19:10), Judas's betrayal with a kiss (Lk 22:48), promise of *resurrection (Lk 24:7) and some key sayings

about future coming (Lk 17:22; 18:8; 21:36).

3.7.5. *Markan Tradition.* The Markan core tradition runs throughout the other two Synoptic Gospels. Thirteen of Matthew's thirty Son of Man sayings are shared with Mark, and nine of Luke's twenty-five Son of Man sayings are shared with Mark.

4. Son of Man in Each Gospel.

4.1. *Matthew.* Matthew uses all the Son of Man sayings of his sources. Depending on what redactional judgments we make, some seven or eight sayings are found only in Matthew, the bulk of which point to Jesus' coming as judge (Mt 13:41; 16:28; 24:30a; 25:31; 19:28 [possibly]). M. Pamment claims that for Matthew, the title Son of Man has a less than unique reference to Jesus, meaning something like "every righteous man," with Jesus as a representative figure. This proposal confuses the path that Jesus invites disciples to follow—the path that he takes—with the authority that he brings to that journey, an authority that he will share but derives uniquely from him (Mt 13:41; 19:28; 24:27, 37, 39, 44). U. Luz correctly points out that some things the Son of Man does do not apply to the disciples (only Jesus rises after three days [Mt 12:40]; only he is at the right hand of God [Mt 26:64]). What Matthew does emphasize is the authority that Jesus brings and that the disciples have a share in it, even as the Son of Man meets with rejection. As he is homeless, they will be homeless (Mt 8:20). As he suffers and serves, they will suffer and serve (Mt 20:17–28). As he judges, they will share in judgment (Mt 19:28). As he forgives sin, they will forgive sin (Mt 16:13–19, 27–28). J. Kingsbury is more to the point when he argues that for Matthew, the term son of man applies to Jesus as to no other human being, showing he is "the man" in the midst of conflict and vindication. It does not identify who Jesus is, as the term never appears as part of a predication formula. Rather, the title functions as a public title and points to this man Jesus operating as *Son of God with divine authority in the face of opposition. D. Hill objects, mainly on linguistic grounds, that the title cannot bear a force of "this man." This objection ignores that although Jesus speaks of himself as a "human," it is only he who can bear this title with these actions. Luz observes that the history of Jesus makes clear who the Son of Man is for Matthew. However, the term may have more apocalyptic nuance than Luz is inclined to allow in Matthew's use, as Matthew's emphasis on the coming judgment suggests.

4.2. *Mark.* This Gospel highlights Jesus as the suffering and rejected Son of Man. With nine such

passages, Mark has three times the number of suffering sayings as he does of the other two categories of sayings. Mark opens his use of the title by pointing to Jesus' *authority to forgive sin and his authority over the Sabbath (Mk 2:10, 28). However, the bulk of his references in the core of his Gospel involve the prediction of the Son of Man's suffering (Mk 8:31; 9:9, 12, 31; 10:33, 45; 14:21 [2x], 41). Mark concludes his references with a stress on the Son of Man as judge, and appealing directly to Daniel 7:13–14 and Psalm 110:1 reminds readers that the authority of his ministry will extend to the end. This wrapping of authority around suffering tells the core story of Jesus as Son of Man, from suffering to vindication.

4.3. *Luke.* Luke inherits much of what he says about the Son of Man from the tradition, using nine sayings of Mark from his twenty-five total. Another ten texts are shared with Q. So six sayings are unique to Luke (Lk 17:22; 18:8; 19:10; 21:36; 22:48; 24:7). These additional sayings fall into all three of our core categories (present ministry: to save the lost, betrayed by Judas; suffering: reminder of his having predicted this by the angel at the empty tomb; coming: days of the Son of Man, his finding faith when he returns, standing before the Son of Man). Luke's handling of the title differs little from Matthew's.

4.4. *John.* John's use of the expression is unique, appearing in thirteen sayings. The range includes references to the Son of Man being lifted up (which parallels the passion and resurrection sayings of the Synoptics) (Jn 3:14; 8:28; 12:34 [2x]), the glorification of the Son of Man (Jn 12:23; 13:31), the authority to judge (Jn 5:27), the power to grant life (Jn 6:27), the one to be believed on (Jn 9:35), the one whose flesh is to be eaten (Jn 6:53), the one who comes down (Jn 3:13), the one who is ascending (Jn 8:28), and the one on whom the angels are ascending and descending from an open heaven (Jn 1:51). The idea is that the Son of Man possesses an authority in the program of God, but there is no explicit Johannine tie to Daniel as in the Synoptics. This Johannine portrait has apocalyptic roots, as B. Reynolds has shown. This Son of Man is a heavenly, preexistent, messianic figure, who is judge and savior, similar to God in the way he is described, and the one who gathers the righteous. Reflecting apocalyptic background, he is a revealer of heavenly things (Jn 3:13; 8:28) and a bearer of dominion (Jn 5:27; 17:2, in language that may allude to Dan 7:14). This authority is not just awaiting a revelation in the future (Jn 5:28–29) but is present now (Jn 3:18; 5:24). Above all, the Son of Man is a giver of life (Jn 3:14–15; 6:27, 53; 9:35) who is lifted back up to heaven (Jn 3:13–14).

5. Conclusion.

The Son of Man is a key image of NT *Christology. Its unique role in the tradition is that it is strongly tied to Jesus as his favorite self-designation. Mysterious and yet ultimately clear, it was used idiomatically by Jesus to refer to himself as a special kind of human with a special kind of authority. Ultimately, he tied that association to the picture of Daniel 7, where a human with transcendent capability comes on the clouds to the Ancient of Days to share in judgment, rule and vindication. Such ideas were alive in Second Temple Judaism, as works such as 1 Enoch show. In referring to himself as Son of Man Jesus spoke of his authority to forgive sins or oversee the Sabbath, predicted his suffering, and looked forward to his own vindication and return. This title, pointing as it did to authority and exaltation, affirmed a unique proximity to God, the divine rule and God's program that saw Jesus working inseparably with God, even sharing some of God's prerogatives, while also highlighting Jesus' humanity. This may be why the expression came to be so consistently translated as "the Son of Man," the definite article being used twice in the Greek expression (*ho huios tou anthrōpou*). The expression as the Gospels portray Jesus using it effectively combined humanity and transcendence. It also pointed to a very unusual man, the Son of Man.

See also CHRIST; CHRISTOLOGY; LORD; SERVANT OF YAHWEH; SON OF DAVID; SON OF GOD.

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SONGS AND HYMNS

Singing was a part of Jewish temple worship and possibly of synagogue worship also. There is indication that Jesus and his disciples sang, and singing songs and hymns became a feature of early Christian worship, with hymnic elements arguably evidenced in NT texts. Within the Gospels, hymns have been possibly identified in Luke's Gospel and perhaps in the Fourth Gospel.

1. Songs and Hymns in the Life of Jesus
2. Identifying Hymns in the Gospels
3. Possible Hymns in Luke
4. Possible Hymn in John

1. Songs and Hymns in the Life of Jesus.

The only clear reference to songs or hymns in the Gospels is at Mark 14:26 (// Mt 26:30), where Jesus and his disciples "sang" (*hymneō*) after finishing their Passover meal. The incident barely makes it into the narrative: a circumstantial participle (*hymnēsantes*) describing what the group did just before "they went out to the Mount of Olives." Although there is no object provided to state what was sung, evidence from Philo (*Spec.* 2.148) and the Mishnah (*m. Pesah* 10:6) suggests that singing to close the Passover meal was customary. If *m. Pesah* 10:6 reflects first-century practice, then Jesus and his friends probably sang some or all of the Hallel (Pss 113-118) with or without a benediction. The verb *hymneō* means "to sing"

or “to chant,” so their performance of the psalms (if that is what they did) could have been a rhythmic recital or something involving a tune.

This after-dinner hymn was unlikely to have been the only time Jesus sang. He and his disciples learned the Passover hymn that they sang from their families, with whom they had sung festal hymns all their lives. Plausibly, if not certainly, Jesus and his followers had gone to Jerusalem for a festival at least once in their lives prior to the journey that ended in Jesus’ crucifixion. On those occasions they likely sang some of the “psalms of ascent” composed for pilgrims on their way to *Jerusalem (e.g., Pss 121–122). Once at the *temple, they would have heard the Levites performing psalms (*m. Tamid* 7:4). At least some of these psalms were accompanied by a variety of instruments (*m. ‘Arak*. 2:3–4), making it likely that the psalms were sung. Various psalms include directions for the whole congregation to sing, clap their hands, shout in unison, and so forth. Plausibly, then, Jesus and his followers sang en route to festivals and during them; once again, they probably learned how to do this by imitating their families as they were growing up.

We do not know enough about first-century synagogue *worship to say whether it included singing. Indeed, some scholars doubt that prior to the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 *synagogues in Palestine were regularly places of prayer and worship. But according to *m. Ta’an*. 4:2–4, groups of nonpriestly Jews gathered in their villages at the time of the daily sacrifices, timing their *prayers to coincide with those of the *priests in the temple. If this passage accurately represents pre-A.D. 70 practices, then some Jews in Galilean villages prayed together regularly in order to imitate the temple service; perhaps they also sang the prescribed psalms for the same reason.

2. Identifying Hymns in the Gospels.

Early Christian worship included singing (1 Cor 14:26; Eph 5:19; Col 3:16), but we have only hints about when, how or what they sang. “Psalm” in all three texts cited here likely indicates that they continued to use the biblical psalms, but “psalm” could also cover newly composed psalm-like poetry. Pliny’s letter to Trajan (A.D. 112), citing the testimony of lapsed Christians, states that they regularly sang an antiphonal hymn to Christ as to a god. Not surprisingly, then, some scholars have identified three psalm-like passages in Luke 1–2 and the Christ-focused, poetic prologue to John’s Gospel as possible early Christian hymns.

Since ancient writers often did not signal when a quoted passage began or ended, scholars typically argue that a passage is or contains a hymn because one or more of the following is true: (1) it is rhythmic or metrical; (2) it employs parallelisms characteristic of the psalms; (3) its vocabulary, themes or theological viewpoints are unlike the rest of the work. If the rhythm or parallelism is present, but the alleged hymn fits well in its context, it might still be a hymn, but one composed rather than quoted by the Gospel writer.

3. Possible Hymns in Luke.

Luke 1–2 contains three or four passages that may have been early Christian hymns, though their origins are debated. Because they formed part of the sung and chanted liturgy of the later church, these poems are traditionally entitled by their first words in Latin. The Magnificat (Lk 1:46–55), the Benedictus (Lk 1:68–79) and the Nunc Dimittis (Lk 2:29–32) are often identified as hymns, while the Gloria (Lk 2:14), because of its brevity, is more often identified as a doxology or an exclamation of praise. Like most who think of these first three passages as the “infancy hymns,” both R. E. Brown and S. Farris argue that they were first composed in Hebrew or Aramaic and translated into Greek; with F. Bovon, they believe that Luke redacted these preexisting texts to incorporate them into the infancy narrative. They point out that some of the vocabulary of the hymns appears nowhere else in Luke-Acts and argue that the hymns are in some respects at odds with their surrounding contexts. Others who identify these texts as hymns (Coleridge; Green; Tannehill) understand them to be integral parts of Luke’s overall design for the Gospel irrespective of their origins.

3.1. The Magnificat (Lk 1:46–55). The Magnificat is modeled on Hannah’s song (1 Sam 2:1–10) but draws on phrases from across the LXX. *Mary’s response to Gabriel’s announcement and to Elizabeth’s prophetic word is a psalm of the type normally identified as a hymn of praise. In the first stanza (Lk 1:46–50) Mary’s own circumstances are in focus: “looked with favor” (Lk 1:48) echoes Gabriel (Lk 1:30), and “all generations will call me blessed” (Lk 1:48) echoes Elizabeth (Lk 1:42, 45). In the second stanza Mary reflects on how God’s annunciation to her will be good news for some (the poor, the hungry, Abraham’s descendants) and judgment for others (the proud, the rich, the powerful). She thus previews John’s and Jesus’ ministries, and her psalm helps to characterize her as one of Luke’s ideal disciples of Jesus.

3.2. The Benedictus (Lk 1:68–79). Zechariah’s

hymn is Spirit-inspired *prophecy (Lk 1:67), a *berakah* or praise psalm of the type that begins “blessed be the Lord” (e.g., Ps 144). Rather than using Hebrew parallelism like the Magnificat, it operates by stating a theme, then reprising and elaborating it: “horn of salvation” (Lk 1:69) is taken up by “knowledge of salvation” (Lk 1:77), “redeemed them” (Lk 1:68) by “rescued from our enemies” (Lk 1:71), and so forth. It also divides into two stanzas. Zechariah first praises God for saving Israel from its enemies (Lk 1:68-73) and then reflects on John’s part in those events as “prophet of the Most High” (Lk 1:74-79). Zechariah’s predictions of Israel’s *salvation have a tragic overtone in a Gospel that predicts the destruction of the *temple and the suffering of *Jerusalem, but it also highlights the grace and *forgiveness of sins that God is offering. Zechariah should know, for these are his first words in nine months after being silenced for doubting an angel!

3.3. The Nunc Dimittis (Lk 2:29-32). Simeon’s brief psalm of praise (Lk 2:28) identifies him as someone who, like Mary, Elizabeth, Anna and the shepherds, sees clearly and responds favorably to what God is doing through Jesus. His words echo and nuance the earlier two hymns. Like Mary, Simeon speaks of God’s salvation for a slave, but extended to all peoples, Jew and Gentile. Like Zechariah, Simeon is grateful for God’s peace, but he imagines it as a peaceful death rather than as an alternative to “the shadow of death” (Lk 1:79). Simeon’s prayer, drawing some of its vocabulary from Isaiah’s *servant songs (e.g., “light for the Gentiles” [Lxx Is 49:6]), foreshadows Jesus’ calm acceptance of his death, entrusting his spirit to God’s care (Lk 23:46).

3.4. Hymns in Luke? The three passages in question are most certainly poetical, and they use Hebrew parallelism and phrases familiar from the OT to praise God. The poems are an integral part of the first two chapters, creating resonances and contrasts: Mary looks for God’s mercy on the poor, and Zechariah for salvation for Israel generally, while Simeon predicts light to the Gentiles. Jesus’ words and deeds in the rest of Luke both amplify and confound what a first reading of the hymns might have predicted. Luke either composed them or edited preexisting hymns to render them so compatible with his purposes.

None of the three is metrical; none has lines of balanced length; the Magnificat, however, is set in traditional psalmic form. Luke 1:46 opens the poem with synonymous parallelism: the word order is verb (“magnifies,” “rejoices”), subject (“my soul,” “my spirit”), object (“the Lord,” “God of my salvation”). Luke 1:52-53, by contrast, is chiasmic in form: the

Lord (A) toppled the mighty from their thrones and (B) lifted the lowly; (B’) filled the hungry with good things and (A’) dismissed the wealthy empty-handed. The structure not only contrasts “good things” with “empty,” but also identifies “thrones” with “empty.” The poem is not metrical, but neither are many psalms. Plausibly, then, Luke found an early hymn text that suited his Gospel, or (perhaps more plausibly, given how closely it fits his themes) he composed it with Hannah’s psalm as his model both to fit Mary’s situation and to serve as something that early Christians could sing.

The Benedictus and the Nunc Dimittis are poetic, but neither is metrical or regularly parallel in structure. Thus, they are less likely to have been composed to be sung or chanted, at least in the form in which we have them.

4. Possible Hymn in John.

Another Gospel passage sometimes thought to contain an early Christian hymn is the prologue to John (Jn 1:1-18). R. Bultmann, followed by many others, proposed that most of John 1:1, 3-5, 9-12b, 14, 16 were a hymn originally composed by the followers of *John the Baptist and later glossed so that it could be included in the Gospel. Many agree that a hymn underlies the prologue but disagree that it stems from a (proto-)gnostic sect of the Baptist. E. Haenchen, R. E. Brown and many others proposed a hymn based on Jewish wisdom texts and ideas; such theories typically set aside John 1:6-8, 15, 18 as exegetical comments not original to the hymn.

Whoever wrote and/or edited John 1:1-18 was reflecting on the theology and language of Genesis 1 in the manner of Proverbs 8:22-36, where creation takes place through the agency of divine *Wisdom personified. Second Temple Jewish wisdom texts, such as Sirach 24 and Wisdom of Solomon 6:22-10:21, further develop the idea of a divine Wisdom present at creation and always available to righteous seekers who love God’s Torah. John’s prologue speaks of “word” rather than “wisdom,” boldly identifying the “word” as God and then, just as boldly, as Jesus. The choice of **logos* (“word”) rather than *sophia* (“wisdom”) may have been made partly because of the use of *logos* as an important concept in some first-century Greco-Roman philosophies. Some Stoics, for instance, conceived of the *logos* as a divine principle present throughout the cosmos, its first cause, and the guide to a life in accordance with nature (Diogenes Laertius, *Vit.* 7.134; Seneca, *Ep.* 76.9-10). The prologue’s use is quite different (e.g., the Stoic *logos* was impersonal), but the use of the

term to open the Gospel was perhaps an attempt to interpret the story of Jesus in cross-culturally significant terms. Thus drawing on OT texts and Jewish interpretive traditions, but with an eye on the wider world, the author of the prologue clearly and poetically fashioned a compelling explanation for what God was doing in Jesus, and in so doing the author affected subsequent Christian theology as much as anyone else ever has.

4.1. An Earlier Hymn in the Prologue? The proposed hymn employs “stair-step” parallelism, where the last word in a line often becomes the first word in the next line: “word” (ends v. 1a, begins v. 1b), “God” (ends v. 1b, begins v. 1c [in Greek]), “life” (ends v. 4a, begins v. 4b), “light” (ends v. 4b, begins v. 5a), and so forth. Those who argue that John 1:1-18 incorporates an earlier hymn point out that some of the most important words and concepts of this passage do not appear later in the Gospel of John (e.g., “word” as a title for Jesus, grace, fullness). John 1:6-9 introduces John the Baptist as a witness to the light but not as the true light; this is largely repeated in John 1:19-22, as if the prologue were added after the pericope introducing John had already been composed. Objections to this theory point out that even when the “prose” parts are separated out and the “verse” parts arranged in stanzas, the lines are not balanced or regularly metrical, nor is the stair-step form consistently used. Some commentators, then, speak of the prologue as “a poem with commentary” (Ringe, 48) and consider John 1:1-18 as a unit.

4.2. The Prologue as a Unified Composition. R. A. Culpepper argued convincingly that the entire prologue is a chiasm that pivots on John 1:12b, “he gave power to become children of God,” and that the pivot thus highlighted is suitable thesis statement for the whole Gospel. While it is true that Jesus is called “the Word” only in the prologue, it is also true that throughout John’s Gospel Jesus frequently refers to his words as God’s, words that one must believe in order to gain life and light. Other themes in the prologue reappear later in the Gospel: for example, Jesus is the light of the world, whom the darkness can neither overcome nor comprehend; he gives life; the world knows him not. The prologue functions as a précis for the Gospel, inviting the reader to expect narratives of God’s word, God’s glory, God’s grace.

4.3. A Hymn in John? As it stands, the prologue is not a hymn, nor even all poetry. It is impossible to say whether the sections that do seem to be poetry existed separately before John’s composition, or whether the author of this Gospel composed or edited verses of a hymn for singing as well as for intro-

ducing the themes of his book. But since John 1:1-18 can be shown to be a unified composition that nicely previews the rest of the Gospel, and since the poetic sections are not consistently metrical, it seems most likely that John’s author was, like so many prophets before him, making his ideas sing without actually composing a hymn.

See also PRAYER; WORSHIP.

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SOURCE CRITICISM. See REDACTION CRITICISM.

SPIRIT OF GOD. See HOLY SPIRIT.

SUFFERING SERVANT. See SERVANT OF YAHWEH.

SWEARING. See OATHS AND SWEARING.

SYCHAR. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

SYNAGOGUE

Already by the first century A.D. synagogues were essential institutions for Jewish social, political and religious activities and important for the formation of Jewish identity. Evidence from the first century points to the wide distribution of these institutions

in the Mediterranean world. The Gospels repeatedly refer to synagogues as they narrate the life of Jesus, indicating that the historical Jesus used them as settings for proclaiming his message of the coming kingdom.

1. First-Century Synagogues in the Land of Israel
2. Synagogues in the Gospels
3. The Historical Jesus and the Synagogue

1. First-Century Synagogues in the Land of Israel.

1.1. Terminology. Twenty-five Greek, Hebrew and Latin words were used in the first-century A.D. world to designate institutions for which today we have only the single English word “synagogue” (Runesson, Binder and Olsson). The most common terms were the Greek *synagōgē* (“assembly, gathering”) and *proseuchē* (“prayer hall”), but *ekklēsia* (“assembly”) was also used at this time (although later used exclusively for non-Jewish Christian institutions). These terms were used interchangeably for two basic types of institutions: a public, municipal type and a voluntary association type (Runesson 2001).

1.2. Nature and Origins. Although both the public municipal institution and the association synagogue existed in the land of Israel, only the former originated in that milieu, most likely in the city gates (Binder; Levine) of Persian-period Yehud (Runesson 2001). They existed only in areas where Jews were in charge of municipal administration (cf. *m. Ned.* 5:5) and were open to all (men, women, children). We have no documented restrictions regarding participation. The association synagogue, however, was a Jewish form of the Greco-Roman voluntary association and thus originated in the Diaspora. The earliest evidence for this type of institution in the land probably is Sirach 51:23 (“house of learning” [Gk. *oikos paideias*; Heb. *bēt midraš*]). These were run by specific Jewish groups such as the Essenes (Philo, *Prob.* 80-83). Each had their own rules for membership, just as Greco-Roman associations issued their own community rules and penal codes.

1.3. Distribution. First-century A.D. evidence supports a wide distribution of these institutions in both rural and urban areas from *Galilee and Judea to the larger Mediterranean world, extending to the northern shores of the Black Sea (see map in Runesson, Binder and Olsson). Synagogues thus were not isolated phenomena but rather were part of a wider pattern of Jewish institutional forms in the ancient world. What makes the situation in Galilee and Judea unique is the coterminous existence of the public synagogues (i.e., the town and city assemblies)

and association synagogues. Literary sources along with archeological evidence show that first-century A.D. synagogues cluster in the Galilee and the coastal region (e.g., Caesarea), on the one hand, and Judea (excluding Samaria), on the other. We know of the existence of Samaritan synagogues in the Diaspora dating as early as the third or second century B.C. (Runesson, Binder and Olsson, no. 100), but the earliest remains in the land date to the fourth century A.D. (Pummer).

1.4. Activities. The activities of public synagogues included local town or city administrative matters; they functioned as courts and locations for the storage of archives. This perhaps included the manumission of slaves, although we have direct first-century A.D. evidence of this only from the Diaspora. The situation is similar regarding the synagogue’s function as a treasury (Binder). Other possible synagogue activities included the teaching of children (as required by Jewish law, according to Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.204).

Since the ancient world did not distinguish between secular and religious, public synagogues also housed religious activities, most prominently the public reading and teaching of Torah on the Sabbath. Anyone could read and expound portions of the text. This meant that individuals and groups, such as the Jesus movement or the *Pharisees, could use public *Sabbath gatherings as a venue for proclaiming their vision of how Jewish tradition should be understood and lived (Jn 18:20). The existence of public communal prayer on such occasions is difficult to prove for this time period. However, prayer could be part of liturgies on other days for special occasions such as public fasts (Josephus, *Life* 295), and synagogues were open to the public for individual prayers at any time (Mt 6:5).

The activities of association synagogues in the land correlated with that association’s purpose and vision for how Jewish tradition should be lived, strengthening group cohesion and specific forms of Jewish identity. Membership of some synagogues could also be based on social identity or country of origin (Acts 6:9). As shown by the Theodotos inscription and Philo’s and Josephus’s descriptions of the Essenes, reading, expounding and teaching Torah stood at the center of activities in association synagogues. They were often regarded by their members as holy places, as in the cases of the Qumran sectarians and the Essenes (Philo, *Prob.* 81; cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 2.128-132; CD-A XI, 22-XII, 1) (see Fine). This idea of synagogue buildings as holy space was not applied to public synagogues in the land, but

there are sources from the Diaspora claiming synagogues to be sacred at this time. Similarly, communal prayer is evidenced for some association synagogues in the land (4Q503) as well as for Diaspora synagogues, but not for public synagogues. Another similarity between association synagogues in the land and Diaspora synagogues (and Greco-Roman associations more generally) is the practice of communal dining, as evidenced in the Qumran community, the triclinium found in the Jericho synagogue (Runesson, Binder and Olsson, 15), and among the Therapeutai (Philo, *Contempl.* 64-89). Similar practices occurred in the associations of the Jesus movement (Acts 2:46; cf. 1 Cor 11:17-33).

1.5. Institutional Structures. Although different, both public and association synagogues had formal institutional structures. The latter followed the organizational pattern of Greco-Roman associations and had community rules or charters (1QS; CD; *Didache*; cf. Mt 18). Leadership titles used for synagogues in the land (and often in the Diaspora) include *archisynagōgos* ("ruler of the synagogue" [Mk 5:22]), *archōn* ("ruler" [Mt 9:18; Josephus, *Life* 278, 294; *Ant.* 4.214]), *hypēretēs* ("attendant" = Heb. *hazzan* [Lk 4:20]), *grammateus* ("scribe" [Mk 1:21-22]), *presbyteros* ("elder" [the Theodotos inscription; Lk 7:3-5]) and perhaps *dynatos* (Josephus, *J.W.* 287, 292). Although *priests often were synagogue leaders, *hiereus* ("priest") was a hereditary title related to the temple cult and did not in itself indicate a particular position in synagogues (cf. Philo, *Hypoth.* 7.13) (see Runesson, Binder and Olsson, 26; Levine). There is no evidence of Pharisees as leaders of public synagogues (Cohen), although they oversaw their own association synagogues (Runesson 2001).

What these titles implied in terms of responsibility is debated, but it seems certain that the *archisynagōgos* and the *archōn* enjoyed the highest status, while the *grammateus* was associated with teaching at public Sabbath gatherings (Mk 1:21-22) and presumably teaching children at other occasions (cf. Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.204). In the first century A.D. *scribes also served in public synagogues as bureaucrats and judges. Reading and teaching in public synagogues were not, however, linked exclusively to an official position; anyone who could read could perform these tasks.

1.6. Architecture. Although variations existed, first-century A.D. synagogues had certain features in common. Stepped benches usually lined three or four of the walls, establishing the empty space in the middle as the focal point. The Torah was read from here. While the reader was standing, the expound-

ing of the text after the reading was most likely done in a sitting position (Lk 4:20; cf. Mt 5:1; Philo, *Prob.* 81-82). Columns were placed oddly between the benches and the open floor, partly obscuring the view for some. A good example of synagogue architecture is provided by the Gamla synagogue.

The architecture of first-century A.D. synagogues matched their functions, as the focus lay on those gathered rather than beyond them, as was the case of the Greek and Roman temple with its altar and *cella*, or shrine (for temple architecture, see Spawforth). Synagogues were built for discussion to take place, which on Sabbaths centered on the interpretation of Scripture. First-century A.D. synagogues were not richly decorated; Jewish symbols such as the shofar, menorah, lulab, etrog and incense shovel appear only in Late-Antique synagogues. However, a richly decorated stone "table," which featured a depiction of the menorah, was found in the center of the recently discovered synagogue at Magdala/Migdal, dating to the early first century A.D., although this is still to be analyzed.

2. Synagogues in the Gospels.

The way we interpret the role of synagogues in the Gospels depends on how we understand the nature of the institutions described in the narratives. Terminologically, *synagōgē* dominates the texts almost exclusively (Matthew 9x; Mark 8x; Luke 15x; John 2x), but there are also two occurrences of *ekklēsia* (Mt 16:18; 18:17). Regarding officials, *archisynagōgos* is used only by Mark (four times in the same pericope) and Luke (twice); *archōn*, as applied to synagogue leaders specifically, is used by Matthew (twice) and Luke (once [but cf. Lk 12:58; 14:1]). *Hypēretēs* refers to a synagogue attendant only once, in Luke (Lk 4:20). There are no instances in the other Gospels where this term is used explicitly in conjunction with synagogues; however, Matthew 5:25 describes court proceedings (which often occurred in the synagogue) with punishment carried out by a *hypēretēs*, which may refer to a synagogue attendant. The title *grammateus* occurs in both public and association synagogue settings, with the task of teaching (Mt 13:52; Mk 1:21-22; 12:39). Although *presbyteros* is mentioned once in Luke 7:3-5 in a setting involving a synagogue, the other Gospels associate this title with *Jerusalem and the *temple, not with synagogues.

2.1. Matthew. Matthew's Gospel is the only one that refers to both public and association synagogues. The former are the majority (Mt 4:23; 6:2,5; 9:35; 10:17; 13:54; 23:6; 23:34); evidence of the latter is

limited to a possible Pharisaic association (*synagōgēn autōn* ["their synagogue"] in Mt 12:9 [but cf. Mk 3:1; Lk 6:6]) and the association synagogue of the Mattheans themselves (*ekklēsia* [Mt 16:18; 18:17]) (Runesson 2008).

The distribution of association synagogues is limited to Galilee (but with universal outlook [cf. Mt 28:19-20]), and this is also the region where the majority of the narrative's public synagogues are located (Mt 4:23; 9:35). However, in contrast to Mark and Luke, Matthew mentions only one public synagogue in an identified town (Nazareth [Mt 13:54]). The Galilean (association) synagogue in Matthew 12:9 is also local-specific, but the name of the place is not mentioned (the parallels in Mark and Luke indicate that, in their narratives, the event occurs in the public synagogue of Capernaum). Some sayings uttered in Jerusalem imply general references to synagogues in Judea (Mt 23:6, 34), and one claim is universal (Mt 10:17 [uttered in Galilee, but note the future tense]). Samaria is explicitly avoided (cf. Mt 10:5).

The following pattern may be discerned in Matthew's references to synagogues. Identification of specific geographical locations is avoided, except for the general area of Galilee and the one instance of the hometown of Jesus. The leadership term *archisynagōgos* is not used. Instead, *archōn* (Mt 9:18, 23) is applied, but lacking the specification "of the synagogue" (*contra* NRSV), thus leaving the setting open for interpretation; the Synoptic parallels use the term *archisynagōgos*, which establishes the institutional context firmly. Further, whereas in Mark the people in Capernaum react negatively toward the scribes' teaching in direct response to Jesus' (powerful) teaching in the synagogue there (Mk 1:22), Matthew reports the same response of the crowds in reaction to an open-air sermon on an unidentified Galilean hill (Mt 5:1; 7:29). This overall "delocalizing" rhetorical strategy results in a more general picture of Jesus' encounters in synagogues, as opposed to a case-by-case report of local-specific events as favored by Mark.

This generalized institutional setting functions in different ways to convey specific messages. There is an overall movement in the portrayal of events in synagogues from positive to negative after Jesus has left Galilee and entered Jerusalem. Synagogues are places in which teaching and healing (not exorcisms as in Mark and Luke) take place, and the emphasis is on teaching (Mt 4:23; 9:35; 13:54-58 [note how the healing story in Mt 12:9-14 is transformed into a discourse on Jewish law]). As Matthew 4:23; 9:35 show, the general Galilean experience in public syna-

gogues is positive; Jesus' hometown (Mt 13:57) and what seems to be meant to look like a Pharisaic association synagogue (Mt 12:9-14) are the exceptions. Galilean synagogues thus function positively as places where Jesus proclaims his message, and synagogue officials (scribes) may be persuaded to follow and teach the ways of the "kingdom" (Mt 8:9; 13:52), even if there is also resistance from some (Mt 9:3), and many scribes are influenced by the Pharisees (Mt 5:20 [cf. Mk 2:6; Lk 5:30, where some scribes are identified as belonging to the Pharisaic party]).

As public places, synagogues may be used with the purpose of displaying behavior not approved by the Matthean Jesus. Primarily, this concerns the "hypocrisy" of wanting to be seen doing pious deeds (almsgiving [Mt 6:2], individual prayer [Mt 6:5]). After Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem this charge of hypocrisy in synagogues is leveled directly against scribes and Pharisees (Mt 23:6). Both of these groups are now presented as influential in synagogue institutions, with power to judge and flog followers of Jesus there (Mt 23:34). In Galilee these punishments were prophesied to one day afflict the messianic Jews of Matthew's story; at that point, however, their adversaries were only generally identified as "people" (*anthrōpoi* [Mt 10:17]), not as scribes or Pharisees. It is to these (Judean?) synagogues, controlled by scribes allied with Pharisees (cf. Mt 23:2), that Matthew's Jesus will send messianic scribes, sages and prophets, all of whom presumably, like Jesus, come from Galilee. Their mission will, like Jesus' mission, end in suffering and death (Mt 23:34). Such common synagogue settings between Pharisees, scribes and followers of Jesus emphasize the deep involvement of Matthew in the Jewish society of his time. In addition, Matthew is the only Gospel to indicate the launch of a separate Jewish association synagogue for disciples of Jesus, a setting in which they are in control and exercise judgment themselves (the *ekklēsia* [Mt 16:18; 18:15-18]).

2.2. Mark. In the Markan narrative Jesus is concerned only with the public synagogues, and there is no hint of an association synagogue setting within which Jesus' followers determine their own rules. Contrary to Matthew, Mark is careful to associate events with specific, identified public synagogues (Capernaum [Mk 1:21-29; 3:1; 5:21-43]; Nazareth, "his hometown" [Mk 6:1-2]). Whereas Matthew twice refers to Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom in Galilean synagogues generally, Mark includes only one such editorial note (Mk 1:39; cf. Mk 1:15). Judean synagogues are not mentioned explicitly, but they may be implied in the two general statements in-

volving synagogues that Jesus utters in Jerusalem (Mk 12:39; 13:9). Samaria is not mentioned at all in Mark's Gospel. The focus in Mark is on specific public synagogue settings in Galilee, with some (conflictual) statements embedded in a Judean setting.

The importance of synagogues for Mark is evidenced in the fact that this Gospel programmatically introduces Jesus' mission, consisting of teaching and exorcisms, in a synagogue (Capernaum [Mk 1:21-28]). Whereas Matthew's Gospel, which has no parallel to the Capernaum synagogue incident, relates Jesus to synagogues through general sayings, Mark presents specific events in local-specific synagogues first (Mk 1:21-28), and then he continues with a general application of such a setting to the area of Galilee. In this way, the reader is led to understand that what transpired in Capernaum occurred all over Galilee (Mk 1:39; note the repetition of teaching and exorcism from the scene of Mk 1:21-28). The activities of teaching and exorcisms in synagogues are the same as in Luke (Lk 4:15, 31-37), but they differ from Matthew's narrative, which replaces exorcisms with *healings.

For Mark, the synagogue references are a way to present Jesus as engaged in a public mission, aiming for the entire Jewish people, a mass movement, rather than targeting for salvation only a small remnant. The synagogues of Mark place Jesus firmly in a public Galilean setting. In that setting Jesus is mostly successful, and a named leader (*archisynagōgos*) of the Capernaum synagogue, Jairus, is said to have recognized his authority and sought his help (Mk 5:22). Local scribes who are said to teach in synagogues (Mk 1:22) are portrayed negatively, however, and Matthew's positive exceptions (Mt 8:19; 13:52; 23:34) are absent. The only scribe receiving approval is one connected to the temple administration in Jerusalem, not to synagogues (Mk 12:28-34). As shown by Mark 12:38-39, scribes, when related to synagogues, are presented as examples of how not to behave.

In addition to leadership figures, two groups with no formal roles in synagogues are mentioned as interacting on this public scene: Pharisees and *Herodians (Mk 3:6). This is the only mention of either group in relation to synagogues, which contrasts with Matthew's emphasis on Pharisaic presence there. Pharisees and Herodians are said to have left the synagogue setting in order to plot against Jesus, indicating a political agreement between them. This theme is later taken up in a temple setting by references to the chief priests and the scribes (not the Pharisees) as they sided with Roman political

power in Jerusalem for the same purpose of having Jesus executed (Mk 14:1; 15:1).

The overall narrative progression in Mark is, as in Matthew, negative, beginning with largely successful synagogue interaction in Galilee and ending in Jerusalem with the warning that the disciples of Jesus will be beaten in synagogues (Mk 13:9). Such a statement, in the future tense, indicates continued involvement of the Jesus movement in Jewish public society and its administrative, political and religious institutions.

2.3. Luke. As with Mark, Luke focuses exclusively on public synagogues and puts emphasis on certain sites in Galilee (Nazareth [Lk 4:16-30]; Capernaum [Lk 4:31-38; 6:6-11; 7:5; 8:41]; an unidentified Galilean town [Lk 13:10-17]). These particular cases, with an emphasis on Capernaum, exemplify the general rule that Jesus taught in Galilean synagogues (Lk 4:15). Luke is alone among the Synoptic Gospels to explicitly claim that Jesus then also taught in synagogues in Judea, which here likely refers to the entire land (Evans), excluding Samaria (Lk 4:44). Luke is first among the Synoptics to refer positively to *Samaritans (Lk 10:25-37; 17:11-19), but he specifically notes that Jesus was rejected by them and thus carried out his ministry outside Samaria and along its border (Lk 9:51-56; 17:11; for the meaning of 17:11, see Fitzmyer). Four sayings in addition to Luke 4:44 refer generally to synagogues in the land, two of which are uttered in Galilee (Lk 11:43; 12:11), and two in the Jerusalem temple (Lk 20:46; 21:12).

Luke conflates the narrative strategies of Mark and Matthew with regard to synagogues. Like Matthew (Mt 4:23), Luke introduces Jesus' public activities in Galilee with a general reference stating that Jesus "began to teach in their synagogues and was praised by everyone" (Lk 4:15). Then, like Mark but contrary to Matthew, he immediately continues to give a detailed programmatic portrait of incidents in specific synagogues: first in Nazareth (Lk 4:16-30), then in Capernaum (Lk 4:31-37). Whereas Mark uses just one synagogue setting to introduce Jesus' teaching and exorcisms (Mk 1:21-28), Luke divides these activities between Nazareth and Capernaum respectively, the two towns most intimately related to the figure of Jesus. Further, whereas Matthew reduces Jesus' synagogue activities to teaching and healing, Luke, like Mark, includes exorcisms as well. Uniquely, Luke then completes his introduction of Jesus' public interaction in synagogues by noting that Jesus taught in the synagogues of Judea too (Lk 4:44), indicating to the reader that Jesus' aim to ad-

dress the entire nation was, from the beginning, part and parcel of his message about the coming kingdom, before his journey to Jerusalem. In this way, Luke forms a bridge between the Synoptic and the Johannine perspectives on Jesus' journeys through the land, the former claiming that Jesus made only one journey to that area, and the latter suggesting repeated visits to Judea.

Regarding Jesus' interaction with synagogue leaders, Luke again conflates Mark and Matthew terminologically, as shown by the story of the healing of Jairus's daughter (Mt 9:18-26; Mk 5:21-43; Lk 8:40-56). When the synagogue leader is introduced, the term *archōn* ("ruler") is used, as in Matthew 9:18, but with the added explanatory specification *tēs synagōgēs* ("of the synagogue" [Lk 8:41]), as if Luke wished to reduce the terminological ambivalence of Matthew. Then, as the story progresses, Luke shifts to the only term used in Mark: *archisynagōgos* ("leader of the synagogue" [Lk 8:49; cf. Mk 5:35]). The same term, *archisynagōgos*, is also used by Luke in his special material, in which a leader of the synagogue complains that Jesus is healing on a Sabbath (Lk 13:14). This passage introduces negative interaction between a synagogue leader and Jesus, a phenomenon unknown to Matthew and Mark, who report only the positive healing episode. Further, Luke, like Mark and Matthew, relates the office of the scribe (*grammateus*) to public synagogues, but contrary to the former, he does not identify or imply their role in that institution. Like Mark, however, Luke understands scribes in synagogue settings consistently as Jesus' adversaries (Lk 6:6-7; 20:46), and here we lack Matthew's positive view of the scribal office as such, within which one may find followers of Jesus (see above). Finally, the office of "lawyer" (*nomikos*) is also associated with synagogue settings (Lk 11:45; cf. Lk 11:43), but it is not stated clearly what role this group had there. The *nomikos* should, however, be understood as a type of scribe (see 1 above).

Among Jewish groups present in synagogue settings, Luke, like Matthew, mentions only Pharisees (he knows not of Markan Herodians), and they always react negatively to Jesus in that setting; in other settings Luke can portray them positively, even as attempting to save Jesus' life (e.g., Lk 13:31). The Pharisees, Luke mentions in passing, have their own leaders, which indicates his awareness of Pharisaic association synagogues (Lk 14:1). The term used is *archōn* ("ruler"), a designation used for association leaders elsewhere (P.Lond. 3.1178.6; LSJ). The Pharisaic association also counted scribes among their members (*grammateus* [Lk 5:30; cf. Mk 2:16]; Mt

22:35 has *nomikos* [NRSV: "lawyer"]), just like Matthew reports that the Jesus movement included scribes (Mt 13:52; 23:34). Luke, however, does not associate scribes with institutional settings led by Jesus' followers; his narrative is void of such institutions, as are Mark's and John's.

2.4. John. Contrary to the Synoptic Gospels, which recount numerous events taking place in synagogues, John refers explicitly to synagogues only twice, and both verses concern public institutions. The first synagogue mentioned is identified by its Galilean location (Capernaum [Jn 6:59]); the other occurrence is a general reference to synagogues in the land as a whole (Jn 18:20) (see Olsson). Since the second reference is a programmatic statement that Jesus always taught publicly in synagogues, it is clear that in John's mind the synagogues were key institutions used by Jesus to spread his message: it was there—and in the temple—that Jesus' interaction with people in the public sphere took place. It is assumed that the audience understands that the synagogues and the Jerusalem temple are the places where events involving persons of importance in public Jewish society took place. Although John, contrary to the Synoptic Gospels, includes in his narrative detailed descriptions of interaction between Jesus and Samaritans (Jn 4:1-42; cf. Jn 8:48), he never mentions explicitly Samaritan synagogues as loci for such contact.

Instead of the court proceedings and punishments in synagogues described by the Synoptic Gospels (Mt 10:17; Mk 13:9; Lk 12:11), the social importance of synagogues is confirmed by John's thrice-repeated claim that followers of Jesus may be excluded from these institutions (*aposynagōgos* [the first three occurrences of the word in Greek literature]). Such exclusion was a punishment feared by both the Jewish "authorities" (*archōn* [Jn 12:42]) and the people (Jn 9:22), and the disciples were prepared by Jesus to suffer (Jn 16:2). All threats of exclusion from synagogues are connected narratively to Judea/Jerusalem, which means that *Ioudaioi* in John 9:22 should be translated "Judeans."

It is not clear, however, whether the *aposynagōgos* passages refer to public institutions or association synagogues. The interpretive choice regarding this question has major implications for how we understand John's portrayal of Jesus and the Jesus movement in relation to Jewish society. If the reference is to public synagogues, this would mean that Jews who believed that Jesus was the Messiah are said to have been excluded from public interaction in Jewish society and deprived of the possibility of taking part in decision making, basically becoming out-

casts in Judea, a situation similar to losing citizenship rights. Such an interpretation would require the existence of a political, supralocal decision-making body (the chief priest and the elders in Jerusalem?) with influence in Judea generally and possibly beyond (Jn 16:2). Such a scenario would have affected both members of the elite (Jn 12:42) and the people (Jn 9:22). If the reference is to an association synagogue, the social effect would be much less severe and include only members of specific (Pharisaic? [cf. Jn 12:42]) associations. Such punishment of exclusion is known from most other voluntary associations in the Greco-Roman world, including Jewish associations such as the Qumranites (*see* Essenes). One of the possible consequences of such an interpretation is that Pharisaic associations were widespread and included in their membership not only some of the Jerusalem authorities but also many of Jesus' followers (cf. Acts 15:5; Phil 3:5).

Regarding synagogue officials, John has no information. The only term used that may refer to synagogue leaders, *archōn*, is used only in relation to the Jerusalem administration (Jn 3:1; 7:26, 48; 12:42). The single reference in the Gospel to a scribe (*grammateus*) is also set in a Jerusalem context and has nothing to do with synagogue administration; indeed, the pericope in which it occurs was not even part of the original Gospel of John (Jn 8:3).

Finally, whereas Mark and Luke state that Jesus taught and healed people and exorcised demons in synagogue settings, and Matthew says that Jesus just taught and healed, John reduces his report to include teaching only. It seems that John is also taking Matthew's rhetorical tendency to generalize and "de-localize" Jesus' activities in synagogues to the extreme through his sparse comment in John 18:20 and his consequent reliance upon his audience's knowledge of the social reality of Jewish public society.

3. The Historical Jesus and the Synagogue.

Recent advances in synagogue studies and archeology put us in a better position to reconstruct how Jesus related to public Jewish institutions and associations (Freyne 2006; Dunn; Twelftree). Overall, we find convergence between external evidence and the Gospels regarding synagogues. Although some have tried to find anachronisms in the Gospels' synagogue descriptions based on conjectured developments of the synagogue immediately after the fall of the temple in 70 A.D., this is untenable because such developments do not occur until centuries later, when rabbinic Judaism begins to emerge as mainstream Judaism (Runesson 2001). Furthermore, contrary to

arguments that the Gospel writers' synagogue descriptions were colored by their experience with Diaspora synagogues and thus were inaccurate, their descriptions of synagogue rituals fit those that would have taken place in the land at that time. For example, Luke describes Jesus sitting down to teach the congregation after a reading of Scripture, which was the custom of synagogues in the land but not in the Diaspora, where the person expounding Scripture stands (Philo, *Spec.* 2.62; Acts 13:15-16). Further, all four Gospels emphasize almost exclusively the public synagogue institution, which did not exist in the Diaspora.

Considering the centrality of the public synagogues in the villages and towns of the Galilee and elsewhere (Levine), it is likely that Jesus attended Sabbath gatherings from early on, studying Torah and, possibly, learning to read (cf. Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.204 [*grammata paideuein*, "to learn letters"]) (*see* Dunn; Twelftree). If the accounts of the Gospels are simply added to each other, Jesus is reported to have read Scripture, taught and healed people, and exorcised demons in Galilean synagogue contexts. For Judea, we have only two brief notes on Jesus' proclaiming his message there (Lk 4:44; Jn 18:20). All of these activities fit culturally within the setting of the public synagogues, in which people gathered on the Sabbath and other days of the week (cf. the criterion of contextual plausibility). Along with the temple, Jesus seems to have sought out public synagogues and used them as a platform for his message and deeds, often resulting in positive responses by the people. At the same time, however, he undermined the religio-political stability provided by the current leadership and its retainers in the capital as well as in the Galilean towns and villages. However, some of the local synagogue leadership in Galilee seems to have joined him (Mk 5:22; cf. Mt 8:19; 13:52), although his larger following consisted of "the crowds" (Mt 9:35-36; Mk 1:23, 39; Lk 4:15). Jesus' choice of teaching in public religio-political settings in Jewish society reveals an aim to create a mass movement, with both political and religious consequences.

Since Jesus aimed at public Jewish institutions, it is likely that his followers did so too, probably primarily in Galilee. Although Jesus never established an association, his followers plausibly formed them on the pattern of existing Jewish association synagogues (cf. the Qumran group [*see* Klinghardt]; Acts 6:9). *Oral tradition about Jesus likely was transmitted and written down in these settings. Furthermore, it is probable that community rules were also created for these associations (cf. the penal code of the Qumran group [*see* Weinfeld 1986]). Evidence for this is found in the

Didache and the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 18). As belief in Christ spread in the Diaspora, this institutional pattern would have been familiar to non-Jews also as they gathered (see Harland 2003; cf. the community rules of the Pastoral Epistles). The public synagogue was a key institution for Jesus within which he was educated and socialized into Jewish society, and it also served as a platform from which he and his followers launched an eschatological vision for a radical transformation of that same society.

See also ELDERS; JUDAISM, COMMON; PHARISEES; SABBATH; SCRIBES; TEMPLE.

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A. Runesson

SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

The Synoptic Problem deals with the interrelationship of the Synoptic Gospels (*Matthew, *Mark, *Luke) and addresses a foundational question: What is the best explanation for the textual similarities and differences between Matthew, Mark, and Luke? Based on the Synoptic evidence, this question can be split into a number of subquestions, which can be formulated on the basis of the most commonly accepted solution, the two-source hypothesis (see 2.6 below).

1. The Synoptic Evidence
2. The Proposed Explanations
3. Insights from Cognitive Psychology
4. Conclusion

1. The Synoptic Evidence.

1.1. Similarities and Differences in Content.

1.1.1. *The Synoptic Parallel Traditions.* The "triple tradition" (TT) refers to material shared by all three Synoptic Gospels. There are also three different kinds of "double tradition" (DT), in which only two of the three Synoptic Gospels overlap. Taken together, the triple tradition and the double tradition of two Synoptic Gospels may be called their "common material" (CM). In addition, each of the Synoptic Gospels has its own special material (*Sondergut*) that is without parallel in the two other books. The triple tradi-

tion amounts to approximately three-fourths of Mark's Gospel and one-third of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke respectively. The most important double tradition contains the sections where only Matthew and Luke run parallel to each other. It amounts to approximately one-fifth of these Gospels.

1.1.2. *The Detailed Nature of Mark.* Although the Gospel of Mark is overall much shorter than the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark's single pericopes usually are longer than the parallel pericopes offered by Matthew and Luke. In the material that Mark has in common with Matthew, Mark's text is about 2,000 words longer. In the material that Mark has in common with Luke, Luke's text is about 1,500 words shorter. As a rule, Mark's reports about the same incidents are more detailed than the accounts offered by Matthew and Luke.

1.2. *Similarities and Differences in Order.* The order of sentences, pericopes and words in the common material of the Synoptic Gospels is generally identical. This, however, is not the case with the double tradition of Matthew and Luke. Only about two-fifths (40%) of the pericopes that only Matthew and Luke have in common are presented in the same order.

1.3. Similarities and Differences in Wording.

1.3.1. *The Average Verbal Agreement.* While the content of the common material of the Synoptic Gospels is very similar, the average verbal agreement between the Synoptic parallel texts amounts to only 40-50%. While the common material of Matthew and Mark amounts to about 8,600 words for Matthew or 10,500 words for Mark, only about 4,200 words of their common material are identical—that is, 50% for Matthew and 40% for Mark (see fig. 1).

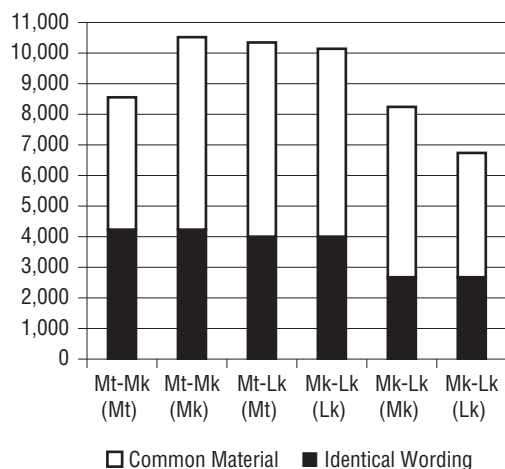


Figure 1. Verbal agreement between two Synoptic Gospels at a time (in words)

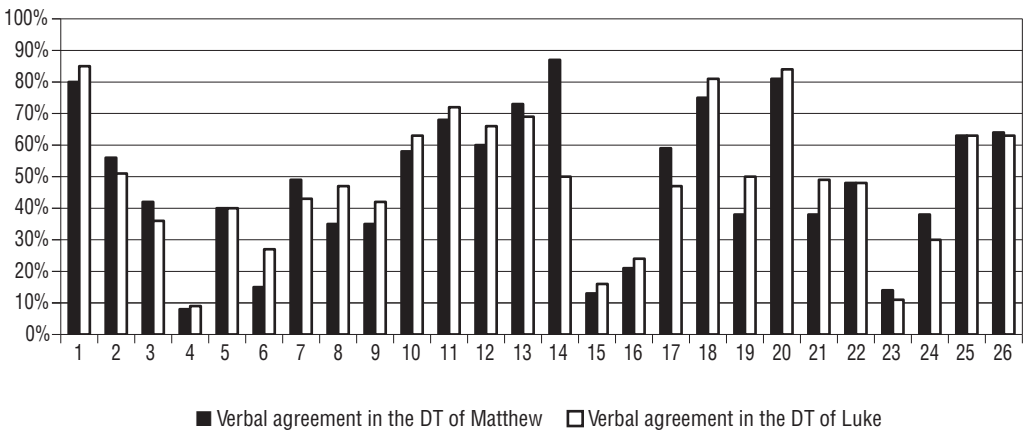


Figure 2. Verbal agreement in the double tradition of Matthew and Luke (Q material)

At the same time, the stylistic improvements of Matthew and Luke over Mark's Gospel are very moderate and far from consistent. As a result, many of the differences between the Synoptic Gospels are unrelated either to content or to style. If Mark was written first, and if Matthew and Luke changed the content and improved the style of their written sources only slightly, what caused them to revise about 50% of their wording?

1.3.2. *The Inconsistency of the Verbal Agreement.* The amount of verbal agreement in the different parallel pericopes varies dramatically. The figures for verbal agreement in the parallel pericopes average around 40-50%. In some parallel texts only 10% or 20% of the wording is identical, while in other Synoptic pericopes the verbal agreement amounts to 80% or even 90%. This is particularly evident in the double tradition of Matthew and Luke (see fig. 2).

If, therefore, Matthew and Luke copied a written source, why did they not paraphrase their source text more consistently? What motivated them to change their rewriting style from pericope to pericope?

1.3.3. *The Above-Average Verbal Agreement in the Words of Jesus.* The average verbal agreement in the common material of Matthew and Mark is 49% (in relation to Matthew). Yet whereas Mark verbally agrees with Matthew only 43% of the time in narrative material, the verbal agreement in the speech material amounts to 59%. If calculated in relation to Mark, the figures are 50% for the verbal agreement in the speech material in contrast to 34% for the verbal agreement in the narrative material. The results for the verbal agreement between Mark and Luke are similar. If Matthew and Luke copied a written

source, why did they not copy the text of their written source more consistently? In addition, why did they not copy the wording of the statements of Jesus by more than 40-60% (see fig. 3)?

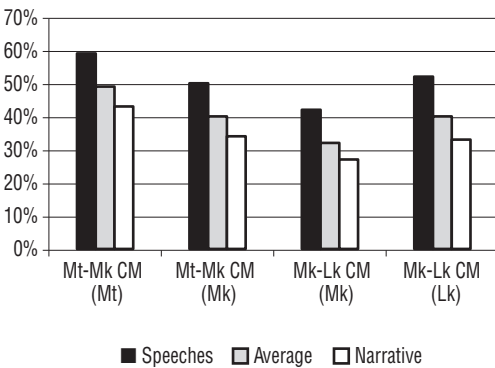


Figure 3. Verbal agreement in the common Synoptic speech material

1.3.4. *The Minor Agreements.* In the triple tradition Matthew and Luke share about 1,850 words with each other and with Mark (the triple agreements). At the same time, Matthew and Luke have in common against Mark nearly 650 words (the so-called minor agreements). If Matthew and Luke copied Mark's Gospel independently of each other, why do they agree verbally against his text in more than 600 words?

2. The Proposed Explanations.

The explanations of the Synoptic evidence can be divided into two major groups. The explanations in the first group suppose that the Synoptic Gospels can in-

dependently from each other be derived from a common source (2.1-2.3 below). The explanations in the second group assume that the Synoptic Gospels are literarily dependent on each other (2.4-2.7 below).

2.1. The Hypothesis of a Written Ur-Gospel.

2.1.1. *Lessing*. According to G. E. Lessing's *Neue Hypothese über die Evangelisten als blos menschliche Geschichtschreiber betrachtet* (1878), the Jewish Christians of Palestine (the "Nazarenes") must have possessed a written Ur-Gospel in Hebrew already in the 30s of the first century. In this Hebrew Ur-Gospel an unknown author had recorded the oral reports of apostolic and nonapostolic eyewitnesses about the words and deeds of Jesus. Since the many copyists of this Ur-Gospel freely shortened, expanded and changed their source text, it circulated in many different versions. According to Papias, Matthew was the first who translated the Hebrew Ur-Gospel into Greek, probably when the Gentile mission began. Moreover, as Luke's prologue indicates, the other two Synoptic Gospels were Greek translations of the same Hebrew Ur-Gospel. Therefore, Matthew, Mark and Luke are nothing but similar and dissimilar translations of the so-called Hebrew document of Matthew (Lessing, §50).

2.1.2. *Eichhorn*. Similarly, J. G. Eichhorn, in his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1804), assumed that when the gospel crossed the borders of Palestine, the disciples of the apostles needed a written basis for their preaching activity. Such an Aramaic document would have contained in condensed format the main events of the life of Christ between his *baptism and his *ascension. As a comparison of the Synoptic Gospels reveals, these stories constitute the triple tradition. Eichhorn reconstructed the Ur-Gospel over more than one hundred pages of his book. This Aramaic Ur-Gospel was soon translated into Greek. Our Synoptic Gospels display a complex blend of agreements and differences because independently of each other they made use of this Greek Ur-Gospel. Therefore, "the Chaldean-Syrian Ur-Gospel was received in different versions into the three first catholic Gospels and survived in them in three different translations" (Eichhorn, 179 [my translation]) (see fig. 4).

2.1.3. *A Traditional Narrative Framework*. S. Hultgren argues that before the canonical Gospels were written, there existed a common, coherent and primitive narrative framework of the life of Jesus. This (historically rather reliable) narrative framework was a common source of Matthew, Mark and Luke. "Matthew and Luke were not dependent primarily on Mark for their narrative framework but had independent access to the same framework on

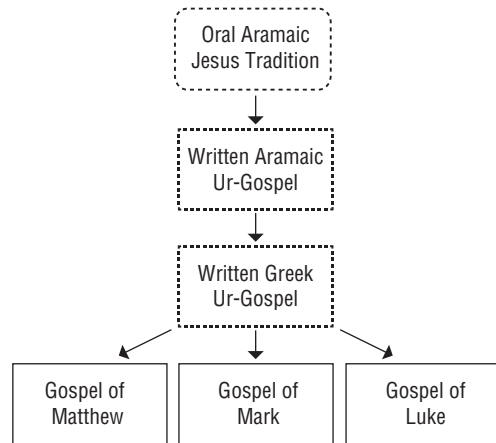


Figure 4. Eichhorn's written Ur-Gospel (dashed lines = hypothetical sources)

which Mark built" (Hultgren, 311). Matthew and Luke filled out this framework with additional material taken from the Gospel of Mark (Hultgren, 327-28). The double tradition of Matthew and Luke, with its narrative elements, does not go back to a sayings source *Q but rather to the same coherent narrative Gospel framework as the triple tradition (Hultgren, 310-25). In this context, Hultgren expresses sympathy for Lessing's Ur-Gospel hypothesis as well as for the oral-Gospel hypothesis (Hultgren, 340-51).

2.1.4. *A Written Ur-Gospel and Markan Priority*. On the basis of a thorough analysis of the Semitic elements contained in the Greek text of the Synoptic Gospels, G. Baltes combines a modified Ur-Gospel hypothesis with Markan priority: Matthew, Mark and Luke used two presynoptic written sources (Proto-Matthew and Proto-Luke), which existed in Hebrew and Greek versions. Beyond that Matthew used Mark as a written source (Baltes, 592).

2.2. The Fragmentary Hypothesis.

2.2.1. *Schleiermacher*. F. D. E. Schleiermacher developed the fragmentary hypothesis in his book *Ueber die Schriften des Lukas* (1817), and he further developed it in his NT hermeneutic (1838) and in his NT introduction (1845). He assumed that the eyewitnesses of the life of Jesus began to write down their oral reports of single events from the life of Jesus early on. Only in a second step did they make collections of thematically or historically related reports. When Luke wrote his Gospel, he was "from beginning to end just a collector and arranger of already existent documents, which he used without changing them" (Schleiermacher 1817, 301 [my translation]). All three Synoptic Gospels draw from earlier oral

and particularly written reports about the life of Christ and are not literary dependent on each other.

2.2.2. *The French Multiple-Stage Hypothesis.* In their *Synopse des quatre Évangiles en français* (1965–1972) M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille identified a large number of written sources, intermediate documents and pre-stages of the Synoptic Gospels that have been lost. Their model is very complex. Figure 5 is a simplification of their multiple-stage hypothesis.

2.2.3. *A New Multiple-Stage Hypothesis.* D. Burkett has presented “a new multiple source theory.” He assumes that none of the three Synoptic Gospels served as a source for either of the other two, but rather that “all three Synoptics drew on a set of earlier written sources that have been lost” (Burkett 2004, 1:5–6). Mark shared a Proto-Mark A with Matthew and a Proto-Mark B with Luke and additional source texts with either both of the other Gospel authors or only one of them (Burkett 2004, 224). The Q hypothesis (see 2.6 below) is indispensable. The inconsistency of the verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke in their parallel tradition is due to the fact that the evangelists also used parallels to Q from various overlapping sources (Burkett 2009, 2:213–14). According to Burkett, oral tradition did not play a major role in the development of the Synoptic Gospels.

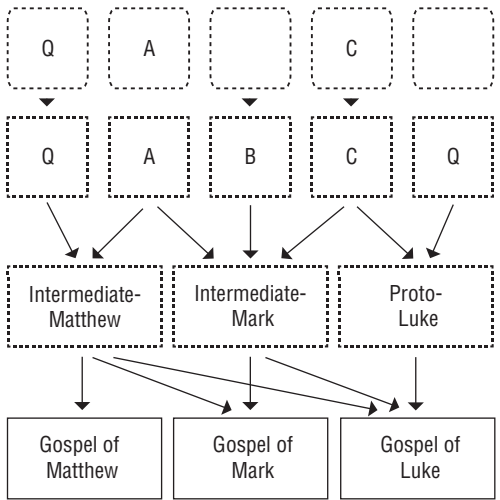


Figure 5. French multiple-stage hypothesis

2.3. *The Hypothesis of an Oral Ur-Gospel (Oral-Tradition Hypothesis).*

2.3.1. *Gieseler.* In 1818, J. C. L. Gieseler provided the first elaborate explanation of the oral-tradition hypothesis in his book *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über*

die Entstehung und die frühesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien. His starting point was that the apostles preached the gospel orally and regarded the written recording as less important. By constant repetition of the same oral reports about Jesus in their teaching and preaching for many years, the apostles unintentionally created an oral Ur-Gospel. Because of its orality, this Aramaic Ur-Gospel was rather fixed in some parts and relatively fluid in others. For the Hellenistic church members in Jerusalem, the apostles produced an oral Greek translation of their oral Aramaic Ur-Gospel, the basis of the Synoptic Gospels. “The Gospel writers used the same oral source” (Gieseler, 82 [my translation]). Based on Luke’s prologue, Gieseler assumed that the authors of the Synoptic Gospels received the Greek oral Ur-Gospel not immediately from the apostles but rather from their disciples. Paul may have been Luke’s main source of information.

2.3.2. *Westcott.* Half a century later, B. F. Westcott adopted Gieseler’s hypothesis: The internal character of the Synoptic Gospels favors the belief that they arose from a common oral source (Westcott, 174–216). Since the church of Jerusalem was bilingual, the reports about the life of Jesus were available in Aramaic and in Greek from the beginning. The verbal agreement between the Synoptic Gospels is on average much lower than sometimes assumed, and it is particularly high in the speech material. Therefore, a literary dependence between Matthew, Mark and Luke is rather improbable, whereas the evidence can easily be explained as the natural result of oral transmission. Mark was the first to write down the oral Ur-Gospel, followed by Luke and finally by Matthew. Yet, independent of their date of composition, the later Gospels also may contain pieces of the tradition in their earliest available form (see fig. 6).

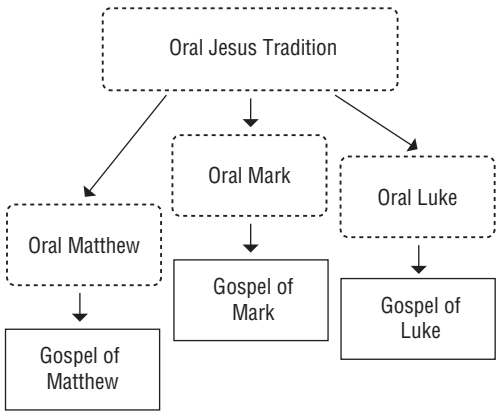


Figure 6. Westcott’s oral Ur-Gospel

2.3.3. *Oral Tradition and Personal Contact.* B. Reicke argues for a pure oral-tradition hypothesis. The internal evidence excludes a literary relationship between the Synoptic Gospels. Rather, the best explanation for the complex mix of agreements and differences between the Synoptic Gospels is their dependence on common oral traditions of the early church in conjunction with a variety of personal contacts between the evangelists as well as between their various informants (Reicke, 150-89).

2.3.4. *Tradition Hypothesis and Two-Source Hypothesis.* More recently, J. D. G. Dunn merged the oral-tradition hypothesis and the two-source hypothesis (Dunn, 173-254). Matthew and Luke copied sections of the Synoptic common material with a high verbal agreement from Mark and Q, whereas common sections with a low verbal agreement go back to a common oral tradition. While it is undeniable that often Matthew and Luke used Mark as a written source, in a good number of cases “the more natural explanation for the evidence is *not* Matthew’s or Luke’s literary dependence on Mark, but rather their own knowledge of oral retellings of the same stories (or, alternatively, their own oral retelling of the Markan stories)” (Dunn, 222). Dunn’s approach was adopted by R. McIver and by T. Mournet, particularly for Q (see 2.6.7 below).

2.3.5. *Oral Tradition and Human Memory.* A. Baum compares the Synoptic evidence of the NT with analogous Synoptic texts from ancient literature, oral poetry and cognitive psychology. On the basis of this comparison, he concludes that the most probable explanation for the low-average verbal agreement, its inconsistency, the above-average verbal agreement in the speech material, the poetic passages, and the OT quotations, as well as the minor agreements is a common oral source in different versions and the transmitting activity of human memory. (Written sources and literary dependence may have played a secondary role.)

2.3.6. *Stemmatic Approach.* K. Jaroš and U. Victor apply a stemmatic approach (which was developed by K. Lachmann for the reconstruction of the genetical relationship between manuscripts) to the Synoptic Problem. They observed that in some pericopes Matthew and Mark agree against Luke, in others Mark and Luke agree against Matthew, and so on. They conclude that three Synoptic Gospels must independently have used common sources that were probably oral (Jaroš and Victor, 13-22).

2.4. The Griesbach Hypothesis.

2.4.1. *Griesbach.* In 1789-1790, J. J. Griesbach published his *Commentatio quae Marci Evangelium totum e Matthaei et Lucae commentariis decerptum*

esse. His answer to the Synoptic question was evident from his book’s title: “The whole Gospel of Mark was taken from the records of Matthew and Luke.” Griesbach’s explanation for the fact that Mark’s accounts are in many cases longer than the parallel accounts of Matthew and Luke was that Mark had supplemented his sources with reminiscences from his home in Jerusalem. (Griesbach regarded Papias’s statement that Mark depended on the teaching of the apostle Peter as a fabrication.) Further, Matthew’s Gospel had been the source not only for Mark but also for Luke, who had made use of additional eyewitness reports (see fig. 7).

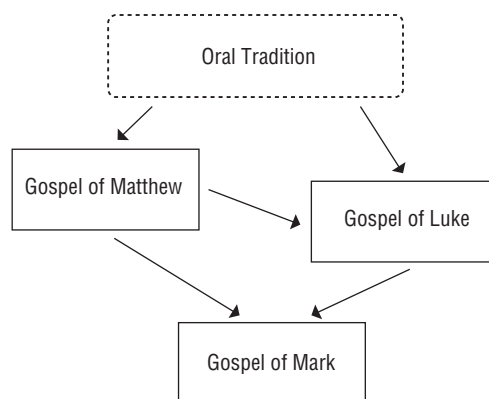


Figure 7. The Griesbach hypothesis

2.4.2. *The Two-Gospel Hypothesis.* In the second half of the twentieth century, W. Farmer, D. L. Dungan, B. Orchard and T. R. W. Longstaff renewed the Griesbach hypothesis. Farmer, who had been an adherent of the two-source hypothesis, changed allegiance and became a fervent defender of the Griesbach hypothesis. He called it the “two-Gospel hypothesis” in order to challenge the two-source hypothesis not only in terms of content but also in terms of terminology. Farmer claimed that the order of the pericopes and the minor agreements could best be explained by his two-Gospel hypothesis. That Mark had been written after Matthew and Luke was supported by the testimony of Clement from Alexandria. Moreover, Luke’s use of Matthew agreed with the claim of Luke’s prologue that he wanted to improve the order of an earlier “narrative” (Farmer 1964, 199-232). Farmer claimed that his answer to the Synoptic question “allows Christians a greater confidence as believing readers that the character and message of Jesus Christ has been faithfully transmitted to them” (Farmer 1994, 189).

2.5. *The Hypothesis of Markan Priority (Without Q).*

2.5.1. *Wilke.* In 1838, C. Wilke developed the thesis that “Mark is the Ur-Gospel. His book forms the basis of the other two Gospels by Matthew and Luke. Mark is not the copy of an oral Ur-Gospel but is rather an artificial composition” (Wilke, 656 [my translation]). The double tradition of Matthew and Luke is the result of Matthew’s use of Luke (Wilke, 685-92). Wilke explicitly excluded the possibility that human memory had played a part in the handling of Mark’s material by Matthew and Luke (Wilke, 692-93).

2.5.2. *Markan Priority and Luke’s Use of Matthew.* M. Goulder accepted Luke’s dependence on Mark but rejected the hypothetical source Q and therefore the two-source hypothesis. He regarded Q as “the grandfather of all Synoptic errors” (Goulder, 1:27). Goulder assumed that Matthew used Mark as his main source but created his Q and his special material more or less freely. Luke took his Synoptic material from Mark and Matthew and created his own special material as well (see fig. 8).

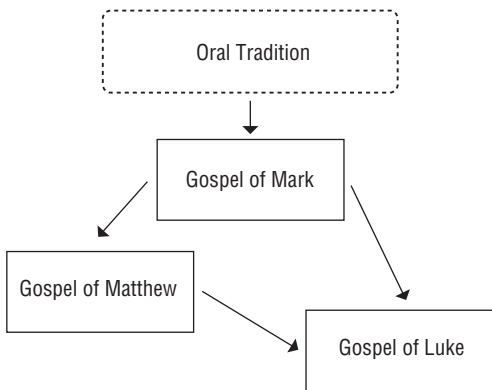


Figure 8. Goulder’s hypothesis

M. Goodacre followed in Goulder’s steps and developed his solution further. According to his model, oral tradition was a rather influential factor. Oral traditions of the Jesus story did not die out as soon as each evangelist committed them to writing. Luke did not merely copy his triple and his double tradition from Mark and Matthew, but drew from oral sources as well. He rewrote his written source texts “in line with the versions more familiar to him from frequent recitation in his own tradition” (Goodacre, 64). Accordingly, Luke mentions both written and oral sources in his prologue. Goodacre insists further that the literary priority of a Gospel and the

relative age of a piece of tradition must not be confused (Goodacre, 64-66).

2.5.3. *Markan Priority and the Hebrew Gospel.* According to J. Edwards, the many and widespread witnesses to a Hebrew Gospel must not be dismissed. Patristic quotations (Edwards, 112-18) and the high number of Semitisms in the special material of Luke (Edwards, 125-48) suggest that the Hebrew Gospel was the primary source for special Luke. Therefore, the Hebrew Gospel would have been one of the eyewitness sources mentioned in Luke’s prologue. Mark was only a secondary source of Luke’s Gospel. Whether the double tradition of Matthew and Luke derives from the Hebrew Gospel, or from a common source of Matthew, Mark and Luke, or from a common source of Matthew and Luke (similar to Q) is impossible to decide (Edwards, 233-40).

2.6. *The Two-Source Hypothesis (Markan Priority with Q).*

In an article written in 1832, Schleiermacher developed a new interpretation of Papias’s statement about Matthew: Papias spoke not about the canonical Gospel of Matthew, but rather about a source of the first Gospel, an Aramaic sayings collection assembled by the apostle Matthew. According to Schleiermacher, Luke made no use of this newly discovered source.

2.6.1. *Weisse.* C. Weisse’s main contribution to the solution of the Synoptic Problem was his combination of Markan priority with Schleiermacher’s hypothesis of a sayings collection (Q). In 1838 Weisse suggested that both Matthew and Luke had used Mark independently from each other as their first source and the Greek or Aramaic sayings collection (Q) as their second source. “Not just Mark is their common source but, according to our firmest conviction, also the sayings collection of Matthew” (Weisse, 1:83 [my translation]) (see fig. 9).

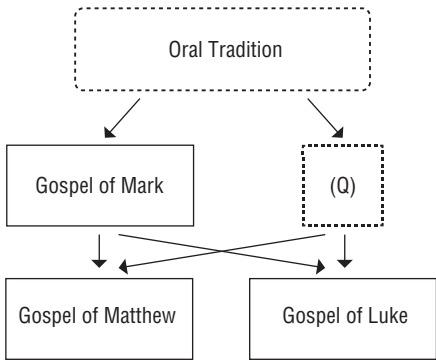


Figure 9. Two-source hypothesis

2.6.2. *Holtzmann and Streeter.* The two-source hypothesis was made popular by H. Holtzmann in his book *Die synoptischen Evangelien* (1863). As an explanation for the minor agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark, Holtzmann postulated a Proto-Mark as the common source of Matthew and Luke. According to Holtzmann, one piece of evidence that speaks for the two-source hypothesis is its simplicity (Holtzmann, 169). Some sixty years later, B. H. Streeter, in his book *The Four Gospels* (1924), made the two-source hypothesis popular in the English-speaking world. While Streeter refrained from Proto-Mark, he introduced a Proto-Luke.

2.6.3. *Harnack.* In 1907 A. von Harnack reconstructed the sayings source Q (Harnack, 175-88). In his judgment, Q was originally written in Palestine in Aramaic. Due to the statement of Papias, the author of Q probably was Matthew. Since Q is free from Paulinisms, it is older than Mark. Q indicates that the teaching of Jesus was less apocalyptic and eschatological and more religiously and morally oriented. The sayings source guarantees that the knowledge of God as well as repentance and faith had been the essence of Jesus' message (Harnack, 170-74). Thus, the priority of Q supported the liberal interpretation of Jesus, with its focus on the unfolding of the kingdom of God in believers' hearts.

2.6.4. *Deutero-Mark.* Since 1971, A. Fuchs has developed a revision of the two-source hypothesis, and since then he has constantly repeated and improved his arguments, most recently in *Defizite der Zweiquellentheorie* (2009). His model includes not only a second sayings source, but also a Deutero-Mark. This hypothetical source, which is needed to explain the minor agreements, was a second and improved edition of the canonical Mark (Fuchs, 7-9).

2.6.5. *Additional Written Sources Alongside Q.* T. Bergemann uses the degree of verbal agreement in the double tradition of Matthew and Luke as the main criterion for his reconstruction of Q (Bergemann, 61-73). Pericopes with a low verbal agreement that cannot be explained by the redactional tendencies of Matthew and Luke (such as Lk 6:20b-49 and its Matthean parallels with a verbal agreement of only about 30%) may not be regarded as parts of the written sayings source Q. These sections should be ascribed to a distinct written source that originally was written in Aramaic and was used by Matthew and Luke in different versions (Bergemann, 229-36).

2.6.6. *The International Q Project.* In recent years, the International Q Project (IQP) has reconstructed the content, order and words of a written sayings source Q. In 2000 J. Kloppenborg, codirector of the

IQP, published an important book, *Excavating Q*. The reconstructed text of Q contains about 260 verses, or 4,500 words. The relevant arguments from the scholarly literature since 1838 are collected in the series *Documenta Q* (published by Peeters). (1) The content of Q is reconstructed on the basis of the parallel tradition of Matthew and Luke. Sections from the triple tradition where Matthew and Luke together differ strongly from Mark are also taken into account. Thus, Matthew (Mt 4:1-11) and Luke (Lk 4:1-13) appear to have merged a Markan version of the temptation story (Mk 1:12-13) with a lost version of the temptation from the sayings source (Q 4:1-13). (2) Based on the assumption that the original order of the material has been better preserved in Luke's Gospel, the Q texts are quoted according to the Lukan verse numbers (e.g., Mt 5:3 // Lk 6:20b is called "Q 6:20b"). (3) Since Matthew and Luke agree in about 50% of the wording of their double tradition, the IQP had to recover the other 50% of Q's wording. The scholars who were involved classified their suggestions for the original wording of Q with the labels {A}, {B}, {C}, {D}. In addition, they put less probable reconstructions of the text in brackets, thus: ([and])). At least some of the IQP scholars are very skeptical about the historical value of Q. Whereas Harnack thought that Q provided access to the historical Jesus, Kloppenborg believes that "Q, once reconstructed, provides only a perspectival glimpse on the Jesus tradition treasured and transmitted by a particular group of Galilean followers" (Kloppenborg, 343-52). These followers knew and developed a Jesus tradition that did not find it necessary to account for his death (and resurrection) in soteriological terms (Kloppenborg, 363-79).

2.6.7. *Q as Written and Oral Tradition.* According to T. Mournet, "It is difficult to envisage a strictly editorial compositional situation where an isolated author would be able to collect the various manuscripts of 'Jesus traditions,' sit down at a large work area, open up the various codices and scrolls containing source material, and work without the benefit and input of oral tradition" (Mournet, 148). Mournet does not abandon the two-source hypothesis and assumes that Q was a written document. On the other hand, he is convinced that Matthew and Luke did not copy all their common material from Q, but rather took some of it from a common oral source.

2.7. The Three-Source Hypothesis.

2.7.1. *Morgenthaler.* On the basis of his comprehensive survey of the Synoptic evidence, R. Morgenthaler arrives at a three-source hypothesis. This is a two-source hypothesis plus an additional source

of Luke's Gospel: when Luke wrote his book, his primary sources were Mark and Q, but at times he also took Matthew's Gospel into account. The dependence of Luke on Matthew explains the minor agreements (Morgenthaler, 301).

2.7.2. Hengel. M. Hengel concludes that, apart from the priority of Mark (and Mark's dependence on Peter), the Synoptic Problem "seems to be insoluble" (Hengel, 185). Hengel does not dispute the existence of Q per se, but merely the possibility of reconstructing it, and he assumes that Matthew also used Luke. In cases of word-for-word agreement, the later Matthew used the earlier Luke, whereas in cases of great differences in wording, Matthew and Luke used common logia sources. Thus, Matthew used three main sources: Mark, Luke and several sayings sources (Hengel, 169-207).

2.8. Conclusion. Irrespective of the many different opinions about chronological order and the mutual relationships among the Synoptic Gospels, there exists a broad variety of views about the relative amount of literary dependence and oral tradition involved in the composition of the Gospels. The explanation of the Synoptic evidence in terms of a more or less exclusively literary dependence is widespread (cf. Wilke; Farmer; Goulder; Burkett) but contested. A second approach combines literary dependence with the influence of oral tradition and/or human memory and appears in two variants. Some parts of the Synoptic parallels are explained by literary dependence, while other parallel sections are explained as the result of oral tradition (Dunn; Mournet). Alternatively, one ascribes the Synoptic parallels to a concurrence of literary dependence and human memory activity (Goodacre). Third, a clear alternative to the theory of literary dependence is the oral-tradition hypothesis originally put forward by Westcott (Reicke; Baum).

3. Insights from Cognitive Psychology.

Cognitive psychologists have done much research that is relevant for the interpretation of texts that are rooted in oral tradition (note especially the seminal work of F. Bartlett [1932], the volume edited by U. Neisser [1982] and the comprehensive books by D. Rubin [1995] and J. Small [1997]). A number of their observations support the hypothesis that oral tradition and human memory were the major (or at least important) factors in the production of the Synoptic Gospels.

3.1. The Capacity of Human Memory. The Synoptic tradition as a whole contains about 30,000 words. The Synoptic speeches of Jesus amount to

about 15,000 words. The Gospel of Mark is about 11,000 words long. In the ancient Jewish world it was not an extraordinary achievement to learn such a large number of words by heart. The rabbis knew not only their sacred Scriptures (containing about 300,000 words) by heart, but also substantial parts of the oral Torah. It has been proven experimentally that some modern Jewish scholars committed the Babylonian Talmud (with its nearly two million words) to memory word by word. It is admittedly very improbable that the disciples of Jesus, who had not received any formal theological training, were able to memorize such large blocks of text. According to the NT, however, Jesus taught and trained his disciples for a period of two or three years (see Teacher). In that period of time, an average Jew certainly would have been able to commit all the Synoptic words of Jesus to memory, or at least a considerable part of them. In the cultural setting of first-century A.D. Palestine it would not have been an exceptional feat to reproduce the content of the Gospel of Mark by heart (Baum, 162-79).

3.2. The Tendency to Abbreviation. Psychological experiments have demonstrated that human memory is inclined to shorten the remembered material. This throws light on the observation that usually Mark's version of the common Synoptic material is longer than Luke's and Matthew's versions (see 1.1.2 above). Experimental research supports Markan priority, although not necessarily in the sense of literary dependence (Baum, 244-54).

3.3. The Effect of Motivation. As can be shown from cognitive psychology, human memory usually stores material that it regards as very important much better than material that it regards as less important (Baum, 185-88). If the disciples of Jesus showed a particularly high respect for the words of their master, they may have committed their teacher's own statements more exactly to memory than the stories of others about him. This difference is still detectable in the written versions of the New Testament synoptic pericopes in question with their above-average verbal agreement in the words of Jesus (see 1.3.3 above).

4. Conclusion.

As the long history of research demonstrates, it is not impossible to explain the Synoptic evidence of the NT as the exclusive result of a literal copying process. An approach that takes the results of experimental cognitive psychology into account leads to a more natural explanation: while Markan priority can be confirmed, Matthew, Mark and Luke may have used

an oral Ur-Gospel as their main source. Therefore, in the Synoptic Gospels the traces of memory activity are ubiquitous. (Correspondingly, the results of cognitive memory research might also be relevant for the interpretation of parallel texts from rabbinic literature.) Further research on the relevance of the results offered by cognitive psychology for the Synoptic Problem would be very welcome.

See also GOSPEL: GENRE; LUKE, GOSPEL OF; MARK, GOSPEL OF; MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; Q; SYNOPTICS AND JOHN.

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A. D. Baum

SYNOPTICS AND JOHN

The relationship between the Gospel of John and the Synoptic Gospels has been discussed since the second century. In the course of study, three major areas have been considered: (1) historical differences between John and the Synoptics in their respective accounts of Jesus' ministry; (2) theological and literary divergences about the nature and style Jesus' ministry; (3) the nature of the literary relationship between John and the Synoptics. These questions are important ones, as they determine the value of John as a source for the historical Jesus, they allow us to see the literary and theological texture of John in its own right, and we can gauge the compatibility of the message of John with the message of the Synoptics as witnesses to the one *gospel of Jesus Christ.

1. Historical Differences
2. Theological Differences
3. Literary Relationship
4. Commonalities

1. Historical Differences.

John exhibits several features that appear to diverge from accounts in the Synoptic accounts concerning key events in Jesus' ministry.

1.1. *Beginning and Duration of Jesus' Ministry.*

While the Synoptic Gospels present the beginning of Jesus' ministry as subsequent to the arrest of *John the Baptist and place it in *Galilee (Mt 4:12; Mk 1:14; Lk 3:20), in the Fourth Gospel Jesus' ministry overlaps for a time with that of John the Baptist, Jesus' circle even competes with John for adherents, and it begins in Judea (Jn 1:28-37; 3:23-36; 4:1-2). Also, the actual length of Jesus' ministry in the Synoptic Gospels is never clearly stated, and it is possible to fit the whole sequence into a one-year period with a single visit to *Jerusalem. In contrast, John presumably makes reference to three different Passovers (Jn 2:13; 6:4; 12:1), implying that Jesus' ministry could have lasted for three years.

1.2. *Jesus' Visits to Jerusalem.* The Synoptic Gospels recount Jesus ministering in Galilee and Judea and then making a final and dramatic visit to Jerusalem that climaxed in his arrest and execution in the city (though Luke's Gospel recounts Jesus being dedicated in Jerusalem and visiting the city as a young child [Lk 2:22-52]). In contrast, in the Fourth Gospel Jesus spends most of his time in Judea and Jerusalem and spends relatively little time in Galilee (Jn 2:1-11; 4:43-54; 6:1; 7:1-9) and Samaria (Jn 4:1-42). Jesus attends several *feasts in Jerusalem, including Passover (Jn 2:13; 12-19), Pentecost (Jn 5), Tabernacles (Jn 7-8) and Dedication (Jn 10). Jesus' ministry

in Jerusalem provides the occasion for several "signs," discourses about the nature of his relationship to the Father that define his messianic role, and teaching about the importance of faith as what God demands of his people. It is during this period in Jerusalem that John describes the mounting opposition of the Judean leadership against Jesus.

1.3. *Chronology of Individual Events.* John and the Synoptics sometimes present a different ordering of events, not least in connection with the *temple action and the *Last Supper (*see* Chronology). The temple action in the Synoptics occurs at the end of Jesus' ministry (Mt 21:12-13; Mk 11:15-18; Lk 19:45-46), whereas in John it appears at the beginning of his ministry (Jn 2:1-12). Origen noted the clear chronological discrepancy and commented, "I conceive it to be impossible for those who admit nothing more than the history in their interpretation to show that these discrepant statements are in harmony with each other" (*Comm. Jo.* 10.15). Origen's solution is to posit the Johannine account as a "spiritual" or "symbolic" message about how Jesus cleanses the church of love of possessions, and indicating how a time would come when the law would no longer be observed (*Comm. Jo.* 10.15). Several scholars infer from this that Jesus in fact demonstrated in the temple twice during his prophetic career (e.g., Carson, 177-78; Blomberg, 87-91). However, a dramatic and incendiary act such as the temple episode is more readily understandable as taking place at the climax of Jesus' ministry and constitutes the provocative action that made the Judean leaders move against him. John probably has moved the story of the temple action to an earlier phase in Jesus' ministry in order to underscore Jesus as the performer of a messianic sign that intimates his resurrection and to identify him as the new, eschatological temple. Given that ancient biographies could be composed in thematic rather than chronological order, it is hardly a strange occurrence (*see* Gospel: Genre).

Another key difference is the date of the Last Supper. The Synoptics indicate that the final meal that Jesus had with his disciples was a Passover meal (Mt 26:17-19; Mk 14:12; Lk 22:15). Yet the Fourth Gospel stipulates that the meal took place on the eve of Passover (Jn 13:1; 18:28), and that Jesus died immediately prior to Passover (Jn 19:31). The Johannine account is supported by a Jewish tradition that Jesus was stoned and hanged on the eve of Passover (*b. Sanh.* 43a). What is more, it is possible that Jesus held a quasi-Passover meal with his disciples because he knew that he would not live long enough to see the next one. It has also been proposed that Jesus

followed the Essenic calendar (a solar calendar rather than a lunar calendar), meaning that some Jews celebrated the Passover earlier than the Judean authorities. The gravity of this ordering was felt in the ancient church, where Asian Christians in the second century, who celebrated the Pascha, or Christian Passover, synchronized the remembrance of the passion with the Day of Preparation in the Jewish calendar, according to the chronology of John's Gospel (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.24.16).

2. Theological Differences.

John possesses a distinctive theological and narrative quality that is naturally contrasted with the Synoptics.

2.1. Self-Conscious Divinity. The Synoptic Gospels clearly identify Jesus as a divine agent, someone sent by God, and at certain points the lines between the sender and the sent are blurred. For example, in Matthew's Gospel Jesus is called "Immanuel," meaning "God with us" (Mt 1:21), and at the very end all authority in heaven and earth is invested him (Mt 28:18), something that normally would be predicated of Israel's *God. However, the Fourth Gospel is the only place where Jesus is explicitly identified as the *incarnation of the God of Israel (Jn 1:1, 14; 8:58; 20:28), and he claims equality with God (Jn 5:18). Jesus' character in John is more aware of his preexistence and divine personhood than in the Synoptics (see Christology).

2.2. Eternal Life over Kingdom. Reference to God's *kingdom or the heavenly kingdom is ubiquitous in the Synoptic Gospels (e.g., Mk 1:15; Lk 4:43), while mention of "eternal life" is relatively infrequent (Mt 19:16 // Mk 10:17 // Lk 18:18 [cf. Lk 10:25]; Mt 19:29 // Mk 10:30 // Lk 18:30; Mt 25:46; see also Mt 18:8). In contrast, in John references to eternal life are abundant, but mention of the kingdom is limited to a few isolated instances (Jn 3:3, 5; 18:36). The terms "kingdom" and "eternal life" are used somewhat interchangeably at points in both Mark (Mk 10:15-17) and John (Jn 3:3-5, 15-16). While these terms conceptually overlap, nonetheless John chooses to focus on the personal and veridical experience of salvation.

2.3. Discourses over Parables. A common feature of Jesus' ministry according to the Synoptics is that he taught in *parables (e.g., Mk 4:34). Yet the word "parable" (*parabolē*) does not occur in John's Gospel. In places in the Fourth Gospel Jesus' teaching is parabolic and figurative (signified by the word *paroimía* [Jn 10:6; 16:25, 29]), but it lacks the more explicit eschatological narrative and social polemics of the Synoptic parables. The Gospel of John con-

tains instead several significant discourses that elucidate Jesus' relationship to the Father and the nature of his mission.

2.4. Reason for Opposition to Jesus. In the Synoptic Gospels the opposition to Jesus gradually builds throughout the narrative (e.g., Mk 3:6) and then reaches its climax after Jesus' action in the temple (e.g., Mt 26:3-5; Mk 11:18; Lk 19:47). John's Gospel also contains a progressive building of opposition to Jesus among the Judean leaders, but their determination to kill him is driven by the raising of *Lazarus from the dead (Jn 11:47-53).

2.5. Omissions and Material Unique to John. John's Gospel possesses different contents, vocabulary, narrative sequence, geographical focus and major themes. John has no parables, exorcisms, tax collectors, temptation account, transfiguration story, and no institution of the Lord's Supper. The unique material in John includes the "I am" sayings, dialogues with Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman, stories of female disciples, *healing stories such as the crippled man at the Pool of Siloam and the man born blind, *miracle stories such as turning the water into wine in Cana and the raising of Lazarus, the foot-washing episode, the promise of the coming of the Paraclete, and Jesus' high priestly *prayer. There are distinctive themes, such as truth, *witness, *world, *love, *abiding, *faith, *light/darkness and the Father-Son relationship. John prefers the reference to "signs" (*sēmeia*) over "miracles" (*dynamis*).

There are several proposals as to why the Fourth Gospel is different from the Synoptics: (1) John writes with a largely missionary purpose and parades a variety of figures and signs in his Gospel to prove that Jesus is the Messiah (see Christ); (2) John drew on traditions not available to the Synoptic writers or else not in accordance with their outlines; and (3) John's mode of presentation is more dramatic than that of the Synoptics and contains midrashic reflections on the words of Jesus (see Witherington, 36-37).

3. Literary Relationship.

The question of the literary relationship between the Gospels has been raised since the time of the church fathers. The traditional view since Clement of Alexandria is that John wrote as a supplement for the Synoptics. Critical scholarship beginning in the nineteenth century contended that John wrote to supplant the Synoptics. However, this consensus changed very dramatically in the mid-twentieth century due to two major works by P. Gardner-Smith and C. H. Dodd, who turned the tide of schol-

arship by arguing that John was entirely independent from the Synoptics. Despite a few dissenters (such as C. K. Barrett, who argued for dependence on the Synoptics), the large majority of commentators followed Dodd's conclusion. Yet the pendulum is starting to shift back the other direction in recent scholarship in favor of a mediating proposal that John may have at least known Mark and Luke but did not utilize them directly. We could plot the options as follows (MacKay, 9-54):

- John wrote a spiritual Gospel to interpret or harmonize the other Gospels (Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius).
- John intended to displace the Synoptics (H. Windisch).
- John is essentially independent of the Synoptics (C. H. Dodd, P. Gardner-Smith).
- John had access to Synoptic-like material (R. Bultmann).
- John had Synoptic and non-Synoptic sources (F. Neirynck).
- John knew Mark and had to cater to public knowledge of Mark (R. Bauckham).
- John rewrote the Synoptics along the lines of midrash, or reinterpretation (T. H. Brodie).
- John had oral access to the Synoptic tradition or knew of oral performances of the Synoptics (I. Mackay).
- John developed at the oral and literary level, and there was a degree of mutual influence between John and the Synoptics at these various levels (U. C. von Wahlde).

The unique material in John represents either an independent tradition or his own creative sphere of theological design. However, there are also several "interlocking connections" between John and the Synoptics that contain partial parallels with subtle differences that mutually reinforce and explain each other, though without implying strict literary dependence (Carson, 51-58). It is this material that needs to be explained (see table 1).

There also appears to be a degree of assumed

knowledge between John and the Synoptic (see Table 2) that is indicative of some kind of literary knowledge of one or more of the Synoptics by John (see Bauckham).

In light of the apparent interlocking traditions and John's possible knowledge of the Synoptic tradition, John possibly had read Mark or heard Mark performed (and perhaps Luke too). On such a proposed scheme, John might be indirectly dependent upon Synoptic tradition, but he writes mainly from his own independent tradition, which ultimately derives from a Judean disciple of Jesus. In this case, John could be understood as transposing the Synoptic pattern of presentation in order to interpret, develop and supplement the Synoptic material (Köstenberger, 555-63).

4. Commonalities.

For all the differences between John and the Synoptics, whether theological, narrative or historical, there is a surprising congruence between them as well. They share a similar genre; they tell an identical story of a Jewish prophet sent by God who preaches to crowds, performs miraculous signs, attracts disciples, antagonizes the Pharisees, confronts the Judean leaders, is crucified by Romans and resurrected by God; they identify Jesus as the Messiah, *Son of God and *Son of Man. They regard him as the fulfillment of Israel's Scriptures and yet significant for the non-Jewish world. They portray Jesus as aware of God as his Father; and they jointly emphasize the necessity of faith in him and following him. Ultimately, John is narrating the same basic story, but he takes it along a different theological trajectory in his effort to prove by signs and witnesses that Jesus is the Messiah of Israel (Jn 20:30-31).

The distinctive character of John need not be a source of historical or theological embarrassment; nor should we consider the tensions between John and Synoptics as necessarily problematic. A crucial interpretive move that one should make is to allow the respective characters of John and of the Synoptics to stand side by side. We should simply let John be John (see Dunn). The Fourth Gospel adds a rich-

Table 1. Examples of Interlocking Parallels

Contrast between the Baptist's water baptism and the baptism of the Messiah	Mark 1:7-8 // John 1:33
Spirit's anointing of Jesus as testified by John the Baptist	Mark 1:10 // John 1:32
Feeding of the five thousand	Mark 6:32-44 // John 6:1-15
Jesus walking on the water	Mark 6:45-52 // John 6:16-21
A prophet is without honor in his hometown	Mark 6:4 // John 4:44

Table 2. Examples of Possible Knowledge of Synoptic Tradition by John (Quotations from TNIV)

<p>John 1:32 Then John gave this testimony: "I saw the Spirit come down from heaven as a dove and remain on him."</p>	<p>Mark 1:9-10 At that time Jesus came from Nazareth in Galilee and was baptized by John in the Jordan. Just as Jesus was coming up out of the water, he saw heaven being torn open and the Spirit descending on him like a dove.</p>	<p>In John 1:32 we find a reference to the baptismal story as narrated in Mark 1:9-10, and yet the baptismal story does not occur in John's Gospel.</p>
<p>John 2:19-21 Jesus answered them, "Destroy this temple, and I will raise it again in three days." They replied, "It has taken forty-six years to build this temple, and you are going to raise it in three days?" But the temple he had spoken of was his body.</p>	<p>Mark 14:58 "We heard him say, 'I will destroy this temple made with human hands and in three days will build another, not made with hands.'"</p>	<p>Jesus is accused at his trial of threatening to destroy the temple and to replace it with another temple (Mk 14:58), yet this saying occurs only in John (Jn 2:19). Has John taken a false accusation and made it true, or has John attempted to fill in the gaps in Mark's account?</p>
<p>John 3:24 (This was before John was put in prison.)</p>	<p>Mark 6:17 For Herod himself had given orders to have John arrested, and he had him bound and put in prison. He did this because of Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, whom he had married.</p>	<p>John the Baptist's imprisonment is not mentioned anywhere in John's Gospel, but here it is referred to in passing. Does John's parenthetical remark require his knowledge of John's imprisonment from the Synoptics? Or was this merely a piece of well-known knowledge that John can refer to in an aside?</p>
<p>John 6:70 Then Jesus replied, "Have I not chosen you, the Twelve? Yet one of you is a devil!"</p>	<p>Mark 3:13-15 Jesus went up on a mountainside and called to him those he wanted, and they came to him. He appointed twelve that they might be with him and that he might send them out to preach and to have authority to drive out demons.</p>	<p>A parallel to the calling and appointment of the twelve disciples as contained in Mark 3:13-15 is nowhere found in John's Gospel, but such a calling is presupposed in John 6:70.</p>

ness and diversity to the fourfold Gospel testimony to Jesus Christ that enhances its appeal and its impact. As Clement of Alexandria noted, John possesses a unique spiritual depth, and as Calvin commented, John shows us not only the body of Jesus but also his soul.

See also CANONICAL CRITICISM; CHRISTOLOGY; JOHN, GOSPEL OF; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; SYNOPTIC PROBLEM; TEMPLE ACT.

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M. F. Bird

T, U, V

TABLE FELLOWSHIP

The term “table fellowship” does not occur in the Bible as such, but it has come to be used in religious studies to refer to the practice of people eating together in a context that implies more than just physical sustenance or the satisfaction of appetite. The Gospels contain numerous accounts of Jesus sharing meals with other people. They also record parables and sayings of Jesus that utilize banquets, meals and related motifs in distinctive ways. All of these texts have captured the interest of NT scholars, who seek to interpret them in light of both Jewish themes derived from the OT and Greco-Roman motifs influential in Hellenistic contexts. Biblical references to Jesus eating with tax collectors and *sinners have received particular attention in studies of Jesus’ life and ministry, and the implications of that practice have been construed differently.

1. Background
2. Table Fellowship in the Gospels
3. Table Fellowship with Sinners as an Aspect of Jesus’ Ministry
4. Conclusion

1. Background.

1.1. Jewish Literature. The OT contains a number of stories that suggest that the sharing of meals could be invested with social or religious significance. In particular, eating together could symbolize the ratification of a covenant (Gen 26:26-31; cf. 2 Sam 3:20). Ritual banquets also marked important transitional points in a person’s life—for example, Isaac’s weaning day (Gen 21:8); the weddings of Jacob (Gen 29:22) and Samson (Judg 14:10); and the birthday of Pharaoh (Gen 40:20). The book of Esther mentions a number of banquets associated with members of the royal court in which the political implications of behavior at such feasts become apparent (Esther 1:3, 9; 5:4-8; 6:14—7:10). Amos 6:4-6 pictures banquets as ostentatious affairs at which the

wealthy recline on ivory beds, drink wine from bowls, and anoint themselves with fine oils while listening to musical entertainment. Such decadence may provide some background for understanding Herod’s feast in Mark 6:21-28.

Israel’s appointed festivals also tended to involve ceremonial meals at which the community’s solidarity was confirmed and defined, often with reference to shared history (see Feasts). Three of these festivals (Passover, Weeks, Booths) were prescribed by Torah (Ex 23:14, 17; 34:23; Deut 16:16-17). In addition, two more festivals had been instituted by NT times: Dedication (Hanukkah) (1 Macc 4:36-59; 2 Macc 10:6-8; cf. Jn 10:22) and Purim (Esther 9:19-28).

The Israelites also understood certain meals as occasions for fellowship with God as well as with one another. The aforementioned festivals could be construed in this manner, and such an understanding probably informs Psalm 23:5 (“You prepare a table before me”). The exodus tradition was particularly significant in this regard due to the stories that recall how God fed Israel in the wilderness with manna (Ex 16) and quail (Num 11:31-34), and with water from a rock (Ex 17; cf. 1 Cor 10:3-4). Furthermore, Exodus 24:9-11 says that the elders of Israel ate and drank in God’s presence prior to the giving of Torah. Ultimately, this motif would assume eschatological significance, as is evident in Isaiah 25:6-8 (God will host a feast on Mount Zion for all nations). The communal meals at Qumran anticipated a banquet of the new age at which two messiahs, priestly and royal, would be present (1QS VI, 2-5; 1Q28a II, 11-22). Jesus also expected the arrival of the future kingdom to be marked by a banquet (Mt 8:11; cf. Mk 14:25).

In all of the preceding examples of meals involving divine-human fellowship, God is clearly presented as the provider of the food. Israel’s sacrificial tradition seems to have allowed for a reversal of that concept, but unlike most societies in the ancient Near East, Israel never developed the notion of sac-

rifice as a ritual of feeding their God, who did not require sustenance (Ps 50:12-13 [but see Lev 21:6, a rare reference to sacrifices as “the food of God”]). In Genesis 18:1-15, however, Abraham prepares a lavish meal for three heavenly visitors (often understood in tradition as God and two angels). This text would become a prototype for meals involving human-divine fellowship in a sense that allows the human participant to be the provider: the significant factor may be that the divine presence is incognito (Abraham thinks that the divine figures are simply other humans). This notion of human-divine fellowship being hidden in what appears to be a human-human encounter resurfaces in a number of NT texts (Mt 25:31-46; Lk 16:22; Heb 13:2).

1.2. The Greco-Roman World. Within the Hellenistic context of the Roman Empire, the sharing of meals often could be fraught with symbolic or ritualistic meaning. Dining together was assumed to create a bond between participants that implied social and ethical obligations. The template for such meals was the formal banquet known as a symposium. A number of Greek and Roman documents discuss elaborate rules for etiquette and hospitality at such occasions (see esp. Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 614 A-B; Plato, *Leg.* 2.671C-72A). Various Greek and Latin inscriptions also reveal that less formal or highbrow occasions could be characterized by many of the features associated with the symposium (*IG II* 1368.107-10; *ILS* 7212.2.25-28).

Indeed, it appears that virtually all social organizations (e.g., craft guilds, trade associations, funerary societies, religious groups) hosted regular or occasional community meals paid for out of a common purse. Such meals became public markers of a group's identity, and thus social boundaries could be more or less defined in terms of inclusion or exclusion from the table fellowship associated with these events. It is difficult to know the extent to which such practices informed the context of Jesus, but Sirach 31:12—32:13 does indicate that an analogous concern for etiquette associated with table fellowship was prominent among Jews who had resettled in Israel after the deportation to Babylon. Similar topics come up in the teaching of Jesus himself (Lk 14:7-11).

If one allows that the Greco-Roman symposium may have exerted (indirect) influence on the Palestinian context of Jesus, three features of those meals become noteworthy. First, dinner guests at a symposium normally reclined while eating. Such a practice is also indicated in many Gospel references to table fellowship (e.g., Jn 13:23), though this can be obscured in English translations: in Luke 14:8 Jesus lit-

erally says, “Do not lie down [*kataklinō*] in the place of honor”; in Luke 22:27 he refers to “the one who reclines [*anakeimai*].”

Second, according to the writings of Plutarch and Plato cited above, the symposium often was an occasion for instruction. In John 13:3-30 Jesus instructs his disciples within the setting of a meal in a manner analogous to a typical Greek symposium (note the repeated references to being at a table [Jn 13:4, 12, 28]). Meals also serve as settings for instruction in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 7:36-50; 11:37-52; 14:7-33), but in those cases the tenor of the teaching is much more polemical than would normally have been considered appropriate for a symposium.

Third, social etiquette demanded that participants in a symposium appear humble and even deferential. For example, Sirach 31:15 counsels participants at a banquet to “judge your neighbor's feelings by your own, and in every matter be thoughtful.” Such advice provides a rough parallel to Jesus' golden rule (Mt 7:12) and, more specifically, coheres with his advice regarding humility at banquets (Lk 14:7-11).

2. Table Fellowship in the Gospels.

2.1. Stories of Table Fellowship in the Gospels.

The Synoptic Gospels report two instances of table fellowship involving Jesus that seem to be paradigmatic of meals that were repeated on a regular basis: (1) the meal with tax collectors and sinners hosted by Levi (Matthew), a tax collector whom Jesus had called to follow him (Mt 9:9-13; Mk 2:14-17; Lk 5:27-32); (2) a final meal with his disciples eaten in celebration of the Passover the night he was arrested (Mt 26:19-30; Mk 14:16-31; Lk 22:13-38). With regard to the first of these, Jesus is elsewhere maligned as one who “welcomes sinners and eats with them” (Lk 15:2), implying that he did this repeatedly (cf. Mt 11:19; Lk 7:34). With regard to the second, Jesus is said to have instructed his followers to reenact his final supper with them as a meal observed in remembrance of him (1 Cor 11:24; cf. Lk 22:19).

The account of the meal hosted by Levi (called “Matthew” in the Gospel of Matthew) indicates that Jesus partook in table fellowship with “many tax collectors and sinners.” Exactly who would be included among the generic designation “sinners” is not absolutely clear, but the context suggests that the reference is to people who, like tax collectors, could be denigrated on the basis of their vocation: they engaged in a profession that was deemed sinful. One obvious example of such sinners is prostitutes. Indeed, the phrase “the tax collectors and the prostitutes” is used elsewhere (Mt 21:31-32) in a manner

that seems virtually synonymous with references to “tax collectors and sinners” (Mt 9:10-11; 11:19). Thus, it seems likely that Jesus shared table fellowship with prostitutes as well as with tax collectors on this or other occasions (on this, see also Lk 7:36-50, though in that instance the prostitute is not invited to the meal but rather comes at her own initiative).

In any event, such table fellowship is deemed scandalous because it appears to imply acceptance and/or approval of the sinners (though, of course, not necessarily of their behavior). Thus, Jesus’ opponents believe that eating with sinners is tantamount to welcoming (Lk 15:2) or befriending them (Mt 11:19; Lk 7:34). Jesus defends his action through the analogy of a physician whose primary attention must be devoted to the sick. In Luke’s Gospel the point of this analogy is clearly that through table fellowship with sinners Jesus hopes to bring sinners to repentance (Lk 5:32). In Matthew 9:13 // Mark 2:17 the same goal could be implied, but that is not certain or obvious. Some interpreters hold that in the latter texts the point is simply that Jesus is calling those who have been excluded from Israel back into communion with God and with God’s people (for discussion of how this point has played out in recent studies of Jesus, see 3 below).

As indicated, the second paradigmatic instance of table fellowship in the Synoptic Gospels is that of the final supper that Jesus shares with his disciples (see Last Supper). John’s Gospel also mentions a supper on the night of Jesus’ arrest (Jn 13:3), but the report of what transpires at that supper is notably different. The meal becomes an occasion for Jesus to wash his disciples’ feet and to tell them that henceforth they should wash one another’s feet (Jn 13:1-15). According to Luke 22:19, however, the meal itself is to be repeated, and table fellowship per se is to mark the new community. Specifically, the believers will commune with one another in a manner that involves them in some sort of corporate communion with the risen Christ (partaking of his body and blood). In the book of Acts Luke probably means to indicate that this was fulfilled when early believers gathered for what he calls “the breaking of bread” (Acts 2:42; cf. Acts 2:46; 20:7, 11; 27:35). Elsewhere, Paul refers to a ritual meal called “the Lord’s supper” (1 Cor 11:20). He maintains that the observance of this meal was commanded by Jesus himself to mark the institution of a new covenant (1 Cor 11:23-26), and he says that the “sharing” (*koinōnia*) of the bread and wine is to be done in a way that conveys unity of the believers (1 Cor 10:16-17).

The Gospels also mention numerous instances of

people eating together on occasions that do not become paradigms for recurrent events. The feeding of the five thousand deserves special mention as one of the only stories of Jesus reported in all four Gospels (Mt 14:13-21; Mk 6:30-44; Lk 9:10-17; Jn 6:1-13). Mark’s version of this story presents the feeding as a symposium: Jesus tells his disciples to make the people “recline” (*anaklinō*) in “groups” (*symposia*), employing language that clearly reflects the Greco-Roman meals (Mk 6:39). This usually is thought to bring out the festive character of the event, a point consistent with Jesus’ comment elsewhere in Mark that fasting is inappropriate for his followers as long as the bridegroom was with them (Mk 2:18-19; cf. Mt 9:14-15; Lk 5:33-34).

In the Synoptic Gospels the feeding *miracle seems to be told in a way that highlights connections with the Last Supper (cf. Mt 14:19 with Mt 26:26; Mk 6:41 with Mk 14:22; Lk 9:16 with Lk 22:19). Even in John’s Gospel, which contains no narrative of the final supper, eucharistic language is explicitly employed in the context of the feeding miracle (Jn 6:51-57). Luke and John also seem interested in connecting the meal to postresurrection encounters with Jesus (Lk 24:30-31; Jn 21:13), and in all four Gospels there are implicit connections to the giving of manna in the wilderness (explicit in Jn 6:31-32) and to the eschatological banquet that awaits the faithful at the end of time.

The Gospels of Matthew and Mark contain two accounts of miraculous feedings: first, five thousand people are fed with five loaves, and twelve baskets of fragments are collected (Mt 14:13-21; Mk 6:30-44); later, four thousand people are fed with seven loaves, and seven baskets of fragments are collected (Mt 15:32-39; Mk 8:1-10). In Mark’s Gospel Jesus later calls attention to the numbers involved, as though they have special significance for understanding his ministry (Mk 8:19-21; cf. Mk 6:52). The usual explanation is that the first feeding is meant to symbolize God’s provision for Israel (“five” recalls the five books of Torah; “twelve” recalls the twelve tribes), and the second feeding is intended to represent God’s provision for the whole world (“four” recalls the four cardinal directions [or corners of the earth]; “seven” signifies completeness [as in seven days of the week]). A similar motif perhaps informs Matthew 16:9-10, though it would be less obvious in that instance.

The Gospel of Luke is unique in that it also mentions three meals that Jesus shares with Pharisees (Lk 7:36-50; 11:37-54; 14:1-24). The “fellowship” element, however, seems muted in these instances in that Jesus is clearly at odds with his hosts and dispar-

ages them. Some scholars also credit Luke with implying that Jesus shares table fellowship with Mary and Martha (Lk 10:38-42) and with Zacchaeus (Lk 19:1-10), though no meal is explicitly mentioned in those narratives. Thus, Luke's Gospel is generally recognized as displaying a special penchant for describing encounters with Jesus that take place at meals or at least in homes where meals likely would have been shared. This tendency usually is explained in light of Luke's assumption that his Gospel will be read in house churches where believers gather for meals, *worship and fellowship. Thus, Luke's reader may be expected to draw correlations between what happens at meals (or at least in homes) and what happens "in church": sins are *forgiven (Lk 7:48), the haughty are rebuked (Lk 7:40-47; 14:7-11), the word is taught (Lk 10:38-42), the penitent are restored (Lk 19:8-10), and so forth. The motif may find its fullest expression in the account of Jesus' *resurrection appearance at Emmaus: his companions are able to recognize him only when he shares bread with them in a manner reminiscent of both the feeding miracle and the Last Supper (Lk 24:30-31; cf. Lk 9:16; 22:19); they later testify to others that he was "made known to them in the breaking of the bread" (Lk 24:35). Thus, the presence of Jesus in the post-Easter community may be understood as a phenomenon realized within the context of table fellowship. Further, this depiction of meals as a primary indicator of Christian community should be understood in light of Luke's particular interest in the eschatological banquet (referred to explicitly in Lk 13:29; 14:15-24).

John's Gospel also speaks of a meal in Bethany at which Mary, Martha and Lazarus dine with Jesus and his disciples (Jn 12:1-8). John also depicts the risen Jesus as sharing food with his followers (Jn 21:9-14); here, the specific reference to bread and fish clearly recalls the feeding miracle (Jn 21:13; cf. Jn 6:11). The mere fact that the risen Jesus can consume food also serves to establish the legitimacy of his bodily resurrection (a point made even more clearly in Lk 24:37-42; cf. Acts 10:41).

2.2. Table Fellowship in the Teaching of Jesus.

The teaching of Jesus recorded in the Gospels often employs motifs of table fellowship. The most prominent example may be his teaching on social etiquette for guests and hosts in Luke 14:7-14. Here, Jesus gives explicit directions for choosing a seat at a wedding banquet: pick the lowest place, and hope to be elevated. Then he offers advice for how to prepare a guest list when hosting a luncheon or dinner: invite those who cannot repay you (the destitute and disabled) rather than those who can (family and

friends). In keeping with what was said above, most scholars assume that Luke intended these words to be read as advice for the church. People should not only literally seek the lowest place at a banquet; they should also volunteer for the lowliest positions of service in God's church. Likewise, the church should be deliberate in seeking to minister to those who will benefit from its ministry even if they do not appear to have anything to offer the church in return.

Elsewhere, Jesus upbraids scribes for loving the places of honor at banquets (Mt 23:6; Mk 12:38-39; Lk 20:46); in this manner, they seek to put themselves first, and they behave in the opposite manner that he recommends in Luke 14:7-11. In consideration of Sirach 31:12-32:13 and the ethical teaching associated with symposia in general, we probably can assume that Jesus' words in this instance accorded with the conventional wisdom of his day. Presumption was universally denounced. What is insightful about Jesus' comment is his specific identification of what is wrong with such presumptuous behavior. The scribes err not in wanting to be exalted, but rather in seeking to exalt themselves instead of waiting for someone else (another person or God) to exalt them. Further, their desire for exaltation leads them to pretense: they do good deeds simply "to be seen by others" (Mt 23:5) and say prayers "for the sake of appearance" (Mk 12:40).

Jesus also tells parables in which banquets appear to serve as symbols of the *kingdom of God. In Matthew 22:2-14 the people who are invited to a king's banquet snub their host by "making light of it"; in a parallel account in Luke 14:16-24 the invited guests offer what ostensibly could be regarded as valid excuses, but the host is angry nevertheless. The original readers of these Gospels (and the original audience of Jesus) would have understood that to decline an invitation to such a meal was an implicit rejection of the person who issued it.

3. Table Fellowship with Sinners as an Aspect of Jesus' Ministry.

The biblical material that describes Jesus as engaging in table fellowship with sinners has been deemed particularly significant for scholarly reconstructions of his life and ministry. For one thing, this is a feature of Jesus' biography that is regarded as historical fact by virtually all scholars, regardless of the level of confidence that they typically place in the historical accuracy of biblical material. This is partly because the tradition has widespread and early attribution: it is attested by Mark 2:14-17 as well as in material that source critics ascribe to *Q (Mt 11:19 // Lk 7:34) and L

(Lk 15:1-2; 19:1-10). Even more to the point, however, this tradition passes what historians call the criterion of “embarrassment” or “dissimilarity”: there is no evidence that the early Christian church continued the practice of including questionable persons in communal meals in ways that scandalized the general community. Thus, the Christian authors of the NT would not have been motivated to invent or embellish traditions about Jesus doing such a thing; instead, the activity is presented as something that must be acknowledged and then explained.

Most Jesus scholars have commented on the significance of his table fellowship with sinners, but three have offered particularly influential commentary on this aspect of Jesus’ ministry. J. Crossan proposes that Jesus’ practice of “open commensality” (i.e., indiscriminately eating with anyone, including those regarded as social or religious outcasts) was one of the two primary activities that marked his career; the other was the offer of free healing through performance of exorcisms and the working of miracles (or what Crossan regards as folk magic). Basically, Jesus and his disciples traveled from village to village, healing the sick and being offered meals in exchange for those services. But these meals became more than just a means of supporting his mission; they became occasions for actualizing what the mission was really about. Jesus insisted that no one be excluded, and his own generosity with spiritual aid inspired villagers to generosity with physical sustenance.

Together, the activities of free healing and open table fellowship provided a vision of “shared egalitarianism” that challenged what was normal for both Jewish religion and Roman society. First, Jesus’ practice of table fellowship challenged Jewish notions of privilege and favoritism by ignoring the boundaries between slave and free, male and female, pure and impure, patron and client, rich and poor. Thus, the meals became “acted *parables” that illustrated in practice what Jesus taught elsewhere (e.g., in the parable that compares God to a person who goes into the streets to invite the poor, the crippled, the blind and the lame to his banquet [Lk 14:21-23]). Second, by demonstrating that people could receive things such as healing and nourishment directly from God and from each other, Jesus struck at the very heart of the Roman social system, which was based on patronage and brokerage and inevitably privileged a few and left many more on the margins. Thus, Crossan maintains, Jesus’ practice of table fellowship was part of a social program that presented a political threat to Roman society. It was no less than “a strategy for building or rebuilding peasant community on

radically different principles than those of honor and shame, patronage and clientage” (Crossan, 344).

Like Crossan, N. T. Wright argues that Jesus’ practice of table fellowship must be understood against the background of Roman domination, but Wright does not follow Crossan in seeing that practice as the paradigm for resistance to such oppression. Rather, the motivation for Jesus’ policies of table fellowship lay in his eschatological confidence that God’s kingdom was dawning in a manner that would soon bring Israel’s oppression to an end. More specifically, Jesus’ practice of open table fellowship was a critique of voices that maintained that the response to Roman oppression should be a continuation of what marked Israel’s experience of exile in Babylon: a defensive emphasis on those elements of tradition that marked Israel as distinct from Gentiles and that, accordingly, marginalized Israelites who were less observant (e.g., with regard to Sabbath laws or purity regulations). It was within this context that Jesus deliberately shared meals with those who were thought to be excluded from *Israel. By so doing, he presented an alternative response to Israel’s situation: hope in the imminent reality of God’s deliverance called not for defensive withdrawal but rather for radical inclusivity.

E. P. Sanders treats Jesus’ offer of table fellowship to tax collectors and sinners as a deliberate prophetic act that accompanied and illustrated his claims regarding God’s extravagant *mercy. Sanders plays down the notion that the “tax collectors and sinners” referred to in the Gospels should be identified with marginalized people and insists instead that they be identified as the “truly wicked.” The point is not that they were simply regarded as sinners by narrow-minded Pharisees; their identification as sinners is disputed neither by Jesus (Mk 2:17; Lk 7:47) nor by the Gospel writers (Mk 2:15; Lk 7:37; 15:1). Thus, Jesus’ scandalous table companions should be regarded not merely as so-called sinners (social outcasts or victims of prejudice) but rather as actual sinners (immoral, unrighteous people who did not keep Torah or live in a manner pleasing to God).

Sanders also suggests that the reason why Jesus’ table fellowship with wicked persons was scandalous was that Jesus was, in effect, claiming that such people would be included in the coming kingdom of God even though they had not repented in any traditional sense (made restitution, offered temple sacrifices, abandoned their immoral professions or otherwise amended their lives). Sanders must conclude that the words “to repentance” in Luke 5:32 (“I have come to call sinners to repentance”) are an editorial

addition by the evangelist, who hopes to domesticate the more shocking original statement of Jesus in Mark 2:17 ("I have come to call sinners"). According to Sanders, if Jesus actually had been convincing tax collectors, prostitutes or other sinners to repent and amend their lives, Pharisees and others would have regarded him as a hero. The table fellowship was scandalous because it symbolized the inclusion of current sinners (not former sinners) in the coming kingdom of God.

This proposal by Sanders has not fared well with other scholars, largely because it seems out of sync with Jesus' high expectations of moral conduct (e.g., Mk 9:43-48; Mt 5:17-20) and strong insistence on *repentance (e.g., Mt 4:17; 11:20-21; Lk 13:1-5) expressed elsewhere. Sanders's critics, however, have not been able to explain just why Jesus would be maligned for eating with sinners (Mk 2:16; Lk 15:2), welcoming sinners (Lk 15:2) or being a friend of sinners (Mt 11:19) if indeed he was facilitating the repentance of those sinners. Some scholars have decided that the fellowship meals probably were not all that controversial, and that the Gospels' portrayal of them as such derives from anti-Jewish polemic that seeks to present Jesus' opponents as petty and mean.

Sanders's proposal might, however, gain more support if certain caveats or modifications are allowed. Social-historical analysis of the ancient Near East has indicated that the great majority of tax collectors and prostitutes in Palestine at the time of Jesus probably were *slaves (Fleming; Glancy, 54-57; Powell, forthcoming; Schottroff and Stegemann, 8-13). Thus, it is possible that a call to abandon one's (sinful) profession made sense only in select, exceptional cases.

In broad or general terms, the Gospels indicate that "many tax collectors and sinners" ate with Jesus (Mk 2:13), and indeed that "all the tax collectors and sinners" listened to him. It might be reasonable, then, to assume that some of these persons were slaves, who were not free to abandon their profession (as Levi/Matthew did) or to decide the terms under which their profession should be practiced (as Zacchaeus did). In keeping with Sanders's proposal, then, it could be that Jesus promised inclusion in God's kingdom to enslaved tax collectors or prostitutes who believed in him regardless of the fact that they were unable to assume lives in conformity with Torah. Surely, this would have been regarded as scandalous, and yet it would not be wholly inconsistent with the stringent ethical demands articulated by Jesus elsewhere.

Against this suggestion, we must grant that John the Baptist seems to assume that the tax collectors

who come to him for baptism are also able, if willing, to do what is right (Lk 3:12-13). In Luke 18:9-14, however, Jesus promises justification to a tax collector who does no more than beat his breast and cry, "God be merciful to me, a sinner" (i.e., he offers no sign of repentance or promise of amendment of life). In Luke 7:36-50 Jesus also encounters a prostitute who loves him greatly even though apparently she has not abandoned her profession: she is identified as a sinner, not as a former sinner (cf. Lk 7:37, 39). Jesus' only words to her are "Your sins are forgiven" (Lk 7:48) and "Your faith has saved you; go in peace" (Lk 7:50). Noticeably missing are the words "Go and sin no more," counsel that certainly would be appropriate for an adulteress (cf. Jn 8:11) but could have been cruelly irrelevant for a slave forced into prostitution.

4. Conclusion.

Throughout the Gospels meals function as occasions that symbolize (or actualize) a spiritual fellowship that human beings may enjoy with each other and with God. Feasting is more appropriate than fasting as an expression of the rule of God that Jesus proclaims and embodies. The feeding miracles that Jesus performs demonstrate the generosity of God, and Jesus' open fellowship with sinners demonstrates God's scandalous grace. His parables and teaching often utilize banquet themes to reflect on the appropriate human response to such generosity and grace. The last meal that he shares with his disciples draws all of these motifs together in a manner that simultaneously connects the community to Israel's history and identifies them as the eschatological people who will share the great banquet at the end of the age.

See also CLEAN AND UNCLEAN; FASTING; FEASTS; FORGIVENESS OF SINS; LAST SUPPER; MERCY; REPENTANCE; SIN, SINNERS.

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TALMUD. See RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS.

TARGUMS

The Aramaic term "targum" means "translation" (Ezra 4:7), but the ancient Aramaic renderings of the Hebrew Bible to which rabbinic usage refers are not translations in the ordinary sense. Targums feature a unique combination of translation and commentary and provide important insight into the early history of biblical interpretation. This article briefly introduces the Targums and then addresses their relationship to Jesus and the Gospels.

1. Survey of the Targums
2. Literature of the Targums
3. Relationship of the Targums to Jesus and the Gospels

1. Survey of the Targums.

Rabbinic literature finds scriptural justification for the Targum in Nehemiah 8:8: "So they read from the book, from the law of God, with interpretation. They gave the sense, so that the people understood the reading" (NRSV; see *y. Meg.* 74d; *b. Meg.* 3a). But this text mentions only oral explanation of the biblical text. It does not speak of translation or commentary

written in the Aramaic language. The earliest extant Targums are the fragmentary Aramaic translations of Leviticus and Job from the *Dead Sea Scrolls (see *b. Šabb.* 115a). These Targums are pre-Christian in origin and nonexpansive in their method of translation. The *Genesis Apocryphon* is another early text from the DSS. It is not a Targum per se, but it is a rewritten version of Genesis in the Aramaic language.

The two primary groups of Targums are those of the Palestinian and Babylonian traditions. Palestinian tradition has its main representation in the following Targums of the Pentateuch: *Targum Neofiti*, a manuscript from the sixteenth century A.D.; *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, a mixture of traditions that reached its final form around the seventh century A.D.; the *Fragmentary Targum*, a selection of targumic material; and the medieval Cairo Geniza fragments.

Targum Onqelos (Pentateuch) and *Targum Jonathan* (Prophets) are the official rabbinic Targums of Babylonian tradition (*b. Qidd.* 49a; *y. Meg.* 71c; *b. Meg.* 3a). *Targum Onqelos* is less expansive than the Targums of the Palestinian tradition. Comparison with ancient sources indicates that the extant Palestinian and Babylonian Targums contain early and late elements from the pre-Christian period to the Middle Ages. This feature requires dating the origins of individual passages on a case-by-case basis.

The Targums of the Writings have early and late material as well. They fall into three groups. The Targums of Psalms and Job share the tendency to combine different renderings of the same text (e.g., Ps 110). Proverbs and, to a lesser extent, Chronicles have connections to the Syriac (an Aramaic dialect) Peshitta. Targums of the Megilloth are among the latest and most expansive of all the Targums. No Targums exist for Daniel or Ezra-Nehemiah, books in which extensive portions of Aramaic occur.

The Samaritan community also produced a Targum during the first few centuries A.D. to correspond to its version of the Pentateuch, but the total number of extant manuscripts of this Targum is only eight, the oldest dating to the twelfth century A.D. The Samaritan Targum is less expansive than the Jewish Targums, especially those of the Palestinian tradition. The Syriac Peshitta of the Pentateuch is a relatively early (ca. first century B.C. or A.D.) Jewish or Jewish Christian translation of the Hebrew text. It employs methods of exegesis similar to those of the Targums.

2. Literature of the Targums.

The language of the earlier Targums, with variation

in dialect, is Middle Aramaic, a stage of the language not too far removed from the Official Aramaic of the Bible (Ezra 4:8—6:18; 7:12–26; Jer 10:11; Dan 2:4b—7:28). Written Targums often presuppose knowledge of the Hebrew text, revealing the fact that the use of Aramaic was not for the purpose of mere translation into the vernacular of the people. The role of Aramaic was to set apart the commentary of the Targum so as to avoid confusion with the biblical text. Rabbinic protocol for the synagogue requires an oral, nonwritten Targum by a separate translator after the reading of the Hebrew text in order to distinguish Scripture from its translation/explanation (*m. Meg.* 4:4; *b. Meg.* 21b; 32a; *b. Soṭah* 39b; *b. Yoma* 69b; *Pesiq. Rab.* 5; *Tanh.* Gen 18:17; cf. Lk 4:16–30; Acts 13:13–52). Every translation involves interpretation, but the interpretive element in the Targums is much more prominent. A Targum often tracks along with the Hebrew text, giving the impression of a translation, until it is necessary to provide an exposition of the text in the form of expansion or paraphrase. This manner of commentary is obviously distinct from other forms such as that of the *Pesher to Habakkuk* from the DSS or that of the rabbinic midrashim. The Targum appears in the form of the Bible itself and yet is not to have a life of its own apart from the Hebrew original or take its place (see *b. Ber.* 8a).

Three basic types of commentary occur within the Targums: (1) translation/interpretation of the biblical text; (2) addition to the translation of the biblical text; (3) paraphrase in which the translation of the biblical text is not discernible. Commentary of the first type appears in Genesis 3:8 of *Targum Onqelos*: “And they heard the sound of the word of the LORD God walking in the garden at the resting of the day. And Adam and his wife hid from the LORD God in the trees of the garden.” This translation does not involve substantial addition or paraphrase, but it does include a circumlocution for the divine name (“word of the LORD God”), an interpretation of the phrase “at the wind of the day” (“at the resting of the day”), and a rendering of “the man” as “Adam.”

Commentary of the second type occurs in the Targum of Ecclesiastes 1:2, which tells of a time when Solomon foresaw by the Holy Spirit the imminent division of the kingdom between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, the destruction of *Jerusalem and the *temple, and the *exile of the people. Only then does the Targum introduce the famous motto of Qoheleth, adding Solomon’s comment that his work and the work of his father David had come to naught. This type of commentary is not uncommon. Commentary of the third type, however, is relatively rare.

The Hebrew text of Genesis 49:2 consists of the discourse of Jacob in which he gathers his sons to listen to him, but it is not possible to recover this from *Targum Neofiti*. The Targum narrates the assembly of the sons and then includes a discourse from Jacob in which he expresses his concern that one of his sons might become an idolater like Ishmael or Esau. The sons then reassure Jacob with a recitation of the Shema (Deut 6:4; see *Gen. Rab.* 98:3).

Anyone who reads the Targums notices very quickly the effort to revere God. The Targums try to avoid expressions in which God acts like a human or has the form of a human. Such an attempt is evident in the Targum of Isaiah 6:1, where it specifies that Isaiah saw only the Lord’s glory dwelling on his throne, steering clear of the possible impression from the Hebrew text that Isaiah actually saw the Lord himself sitting on his throne. The Targum also makes no mention of the Lord’s royal garment and prefers instead to speak of the splendor of his glory.

It is also apparent that the Targums share the concern of other exegetical sources from antiquity to demonstrate the theological relevance of the biblical text with regard to legal matters, moral issues and prophecy. Thus, they employ contemporary biblical characters in the frame of Torah piety (*Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 24:62; 37:2; *Tg. Neof.* Gen 25:27; *Gen. Rab.* 63:10; cf. Gen 26:5; 2 Chron 6:16). They also reveal their eschatological interest in the fate of the righteous and the wicked, the days of the Messiah, and the world to come (e.g., *Tg. Neof.* Num 11:26 adds prophecies from Eldad and Medad and borrows from Ezek 38:16; 39:9–10 [cf. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*; *b. Sanh.* 17a]).

3. Relationship of the Targums to Jesus and the Gospels.

The primary place of the Targums in studies of Jesus and the Gospels is not in reconstruction of the original *language of Jesus—an enterprise that remains quite dubious, given the problems of dating, variation in dialect, and the gap between literary and spoken forms of the language. The more productive undertaking is the analysis of verbal linkage and exegetical convergence between the texts of the Gospels and those of the Targums. Since any later renderings of the Targums would not have been dependent upon the Gospels, targumic passages with a unique relationship to the Gospels are likely to have been prior to them (or contemporaneous) in either oral or written form.

The quotation of Psalm 118:25–26 with reference

to the *triumphal entry of Jesus is an example of possible dependence upon targumic tradition (Mt 21:9; Mk 11:9-10; Lk 19:38; Jn 12:13). The Targum of Psalm 118:22-29 sets its translation within the context of the anointing of David (1 Sam 16:1-13) and assigns the content of the psalm to various speakers from that scene (cf. Ps 118:2-4): the sons of Jesse, the builders, Jesse and his wife, David, the tribes of the house of Judah, and Samuel. Matthew and Mark have additions to their quotations of Psalm 118:25-26 that mention David: "Hosanna to the son of David" and "Blessed is the coming kingdom of our father David." Matthew and John combine their quotations from Psalm 118 with Zechariah 9:9, which speaks of the ideal Davidic king (Mt 21:5; Jn 12:15).

In a clever wordplay the Targum interprets the "stone" of Psalm 118:22 as the "son" who was forsaken. It is thus noteworthy that the quotation of this verse in the Gospels serves as the conclusion to the parable of the vineyard and the tenants, in which the tenants kill the son (Mt 21:37-39, 42; Mk 12:6-8, 10-11; Lk 20:13-15, 17). The ambiguous statement attributed to David in the Targum of Psalm 118:26b is also significant: "They will bless you from the sanctuary of the LORD." To whom do the pronouns "they" and "you" (pl.) refer if, according to the Targum, David is the one making the entry? It appears that David is joining in the celebration of the entry of another, but why the plural "you"? The context of the Targum might suggest that "you" refers to the builders who speak in Psalm 118:26a or to the people in general, but this makes little sense, given the fact that these are the candidates for the antecedent of "they" (contra those who suddenly see the voice of priests here). Another possibility is that the *mēm* of the second-person masculine plural pronoun in the Hebrew text ("we bless *you*") is a case of ditto-graphy (the next word begins with a *mēm* prefix). Its omission would leave a second-person masculine singular pronoun. If so, then the Targum is simply following its source text, but its meaning is the same as the original: "you" refers to the one who comes in the name of the Lord, perhaps the son of David in accordance with Matthew 21:9 (see *Tg. Ps.-J.* Exod 12:42).

The programmatic passage Luke 4:16-30 is another instance of possible influence from targumic tradition, especially in view of the setting. Jesus enters the synagogue in Nazareth and stands to read a portion of text from Isaiah 61:1-2. After reading, he sits and tells the people, "Today this Scripture is fulfilled in your hearing" (Lk 4:21). This causes an initial commotion, but the scene becomes violent when

Jesus identifies himself as a prophet like *Elijah or Elisha who is unwelcome in Israel but received by *Gentiles (Lk 4:24-30). The Targum begins Isaiah 61 as follows: "The prophet says, 'The Spirit of prophecy from before the LORD God is upon me.'" Thus, Jesus' designation of himself as a prophet makes explicit what is only implied in Luke 4:21 (i.e., Jesus is the fulfillment of the Scripture). This would explain the shift from amazement in Luke 4:22 to fury in Luke 4:28. Luke then develops this theme of Jesus' role as a *prophet over the course of the book (Lk 6:22-23; 7:16; 10:13-16; 11:47-51; 13:33; 24:19).

The background of John's prologue (Jn 1:1-18) remains a subject of considerable debate, including the matter of whether or not the targumic "word" (see Gen 3:8 above) has anything to do with John's "Word" (see Lord). But the language of the first five verses has undeniable connections to the opening verses of Genesis, in particular the first verse of *Targum Neofiti*: "In the beginning, with wisdom, the Son of the LORD finished the sky and the land." Many scholars have rejected this reading and followed a suggestion by A. Díez Macho: "In the beginning, with wisdom, [the word] of the LORD created and finished the sky and the land."

Díez Macho noted the erased *wāw* conjunction before the word "finished," which would force "the Son" to be the verb "created" (same consonants). Díez Macho saw the erasure of the *wāw* as a later attempt to introduce Christian theology (Díez Macho discovered *Targum Neofiti* miscataloged in the Vatican Library). But such Christian tampering is not characteristic of the manuscript elsewhere. It has been suggested on the basis of the small space in the manuscript for the erased *wāw* that the *wāw* was introduced secondarily and then subsequently erased to restore the original reading. The text as it now stands is similar to Proverbs 8:22-31; 30:4; John 1:3 (cf. Jer 10:12; Col 1:9-20).

John furnishes another example in his quotation of Zechariah 12:10: "They will look at him whom they pierced" (Jn 19:37 [cf. Rev 1:7]). Besides the change of pronoun from "me" to "him," this text is notable in that it sees a suffering messianic figure in the Zechariah passage. *Targum Jonathan* does not interpret Zechariah 12 messianically (see *Tg. Jon.* Zech 3:8; 4:7; 6:12; 10:4), but the following marginal reading to the Targum in Codex Reuchlinianus (A.D. 1105) belongs to a no longer extant Palestinian Targum of the Prophets: "And I will let rest upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Spirit of prophecy and true prayer. Afterwards Messiah son of Ephraim will go out to wage

war with Gog, and Gog will kill him before the gate of Jerusalem. And they will look at me and ask why the peoples pierced Messiah son of Ephraim, and they will mourn over him." It is difficult to date with certainty this interpretation of Zechariah 12:10 and the theory of two Messiahs (of Ephraim/Joseph and David; see *Tg. Ps.-J. Ex* 40:9-11; *Tg. Song* 4:5; *b. Sukkah* 52a; *b. Sanh.* 98a; cf. *b. Pesah.* 118a; 4 *Ezra* 7:28-29), but a different theory of two Messiahs (Aaron and Israel) did exist among the Qumran community (4QD^a 10 I, 12; 1QS IX, 11; 1Q28a II, 11-22; cf. *Zech* 6:13; *Ps* 110).

These examples illustrate the rich exegetical heritage shared by the Targums and the Gospels. Obviously, the two sources diverge in many ways, but this makes their points of contact all the more remarkable. The Targums thus are factors not only in textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, but also in understanding early Jewish and Christian interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, not to mention Jewish interpretation and thought beyond the first century A.D.

See also DEAD SEA SCROLLS; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; RABBINIC TRADITIONS & WRITINGS.

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TAXES. See **ECONOMICS**.

TEACHER

Jesus' authority as a teacher is a recurring theme in the Gospels. He is often addressed as "teacher" and sometimes even designates himself as "teacher." Viewed against the backdrop of Judaism, and with careful attention to the settings and forms of Jesus' teaching, Jesus' role as teacher sheds light on the nature of his authority as well as the process by which his teachings were transmitted as reliable tradition.

1. Teacher as a Form of Address for Jesus
2. Teacher as Jesus' Self-Designation
3. Teacher as a Christological Title of Exaltation?
4. The Teaching Authority of Jesus
5. Teaching Settings
6. Forms of Teaching
7. Jesus as Teacher and the Tradition of the Gospels

1. Teacher As a Form of Address for Jesus.

1.1. The Forms of Address Used. In all four Gospels Jesus is addressed as *didaskalos*. The parallelism in Matthew 23:8 shows that the vocative *didaskale* normally translates the Hebrew/Aramaic *rabbī* ("my great one"). John 1:38 makes this equation explicit, and it is further supported by some epigraphic evidence from Jerusalem in NT times (*CIJ* II.1266, 1268-69). In the first century *rabbī* was not yet a fixed title for academically schooled, ordained *scribes as was later the case; it was, however, the form of address most of all for teachers. The Gospels reflect the usage of the word at this earlier stage in its development. *Rabbūnī* is a more exalted sounding Aramaic variant of *rabbī*. In Jewish literature the title *ribbôn* is reserved for *God except in the *targums.

1.2. Luke. The Evangelist who wrote for non-Jews omitted the term *rabbī*, which would have been meaningless to his readers. *Didaskale* also never appears as the form of address used by the disciples for Jesus. Here Luke prefers his own word *epistatēs*, a more general term for a supervisory or official person. Luke uses it once instead of *rabbī* (Lk 9:33) and twice in place of *didaskale* (Lk 8:24, 9:49),

which occur in the parallel incidents found in the other two Synoptics. This word is also used as a term of address (*epistata*) twice by *disciples (Lk 5:5; 8:45) and once by those seeking help (Lk 17:13). It has been assumed that with this special expression Luke sought to heighten Jesus' authority. Since *epistatēs*, however, occurs not only in material unique to Luke (Lk 5:5; 17:13) but also in pericopes showing strong influence of non-Markan textual variants (Lk 8:24, 45; 9:33, 49), it could just as well be due to the usage in Luke's sources. Luke has also preserved the use of *didaskale* as a term of address for Jesus by outsiders (Lk 7:40; [8:49]; 9:38; 10:25; 11:45; 12:13; 18:18; 19:39; 20:21, 28, 39; 21:7). The Third Evangelist thus makes it clear that while Jesus appeared to be a teacher, this function did not exhaust the significance he held for his disciples.

1.3. Matthew. In Matthew, as in Luke, *didaskale* is never used by the disciples to address Jesus. Twice Matthew, in contrast to Mark, has replaced the term with the more exalted *kyrie* (Mt 8:25; 17:15; see Lord). Where Mark uses the *rabbi* title twice, Matthew omits it in one instance (Mt 21:20) and replaces it with *kyrie* in another (Mt 17:4). Perhaps one cannot fully exclude the possibility that Matthew found *māri* once in a semitic source where other exemplars read *rabbi*. It is more likely, however, that intentional replacement is going on. According to Matthew Jesus is more than simply a teacher for his followers; he is the Lord. This is confirmed by the apparent exception in the choice of titles of address: it is a disciple of Jesus, but also the betrayer Judas, who greets Jesus with the normal designation for a teacher, *rabbi* (Mt 26:25, 49). In Matthew it is also outsiders who use *didaskale* (Mt 19:16; 22:16, 24, 36), occasionally more so than in the Lukan parallels (see also Mt 8:19; 12:38).

1.4. Mark. In Mark *rabbi* is used only by disciples (Mk 9:5; 11:21; 14:45); in lieu of this a blind beggar calls Jesus *rabbouni* (Mk 10:51). Both Jesus' disciples (Mk 4:38; 9:38; 10:35; 13:1) and outsiders (Mk 9:17; 10:17, 20; 12:14, 19, 32) say *didaskale*.

1.5. John. The Fourth Evangelist, like Mark, presents an unredacted picture of the terms of address for "teacher." *Didaskale* is used by followers (Jn 1:38; 20:16). Disciples say *rabbi* (Jn 1:38, 49; 4:31; 9:2; 11:8), as do outsiders (Jn 3:2; 6:25). One female follower uses *rabbouni* (Jn 20:16).

2. Teacher as Jesus' Self-Designation.

In the pericope of the preparation for the Last Supper, which Luke knew both in a Markan and in an additional, strongly semiticized tradition, Jesus

speaks of himself in the third person as *ho didaskalos* (Mt 26:18; Mk 14:14; Lk 22:13). The proverb-like logion of Matthew 10:24-25 and Luke 6:40 implies a teacher-pupil relationship of Jesus to his followers. In contrast to the assumption that Matthew 23:10 is a hellenized variant of Matthew 23:8-9, formal analysis suggests the division of Matthew 23:8 into a three-part logion and Matthew 23:9-10 into a four-part logion. Probably in conjunction with the pre-Easter sending out of the disciples (cf. Mk 6:30), Jesus forbade his disciples to let themselves be called *rabbi*, because he is their only authoritative teacher (*didaskalos*, Mt 23:8). Matthew 23:9-10 forbids the disciples to submit themselves to other teaching authorities ("fathers") or to assume such a position themselves. Perhaps the semitic equivalent to *kathegetēs* in Matthew 23:10 is the term *môreh* found in the Qumran writings (see Dead Sea Scrolls).

3. Teacher as a Christological

Title of Exaltation?

The total absence of "teacher" as a title for Jesus outside the Gospels speaks against seeing in it an early Christian title of exaltation. Prior to Justin only Ignatius of Antioch (*Eph.* 15.1; *Magn.* 9.1) uses the designation *didaskalos*. Both the frequency of the titles for teacher and their apparent christological suppression in Matthew and Luke show that we are dealing with an authentic feature of the life of Jesus. Josephus, too, called Jesus a *didaskalos* (*Ant.* 18.63). The Hebrew/Aramaic *rabbi* points most overtly to ancient tradition; outside of Palestine there are hardly any epigraphic instances of it. Furthermore, aside from the canonical Gospels, in the entire corpus of early Christian literature the concept is attested only in one apocryphon (*PBerol.* 11710). The designation of Jesus as teacher in the Gospels serves, not to express his exalted status, but to describe the outward form of his ministry.

4. The Teaching Authority of Jesus.

If the respectful title *rabbi* placed Jesus on a level with other scribes, his own claim went much farther. This was sensed by his own contemporaries (Mk 1:21-22 par.). Jesus laid claim not merely to prophetic (see Prophet and Prophecy) but to messianic (see Christ) authority, first in a hidden fashion and then quite openly within the inner circle of his disciples (Mk 8:27-30). Various Jewish groups expected that the messiah would teach in the fullness of God's wisdom. This is borne out both in the targums (*Tg. Gen.* 49:10-11; *Tg. Isa.* 53:5, 11) and in apocalyptic (1 *Enoch* 46:3; 49:3-4; 51.3), Essene (CD VI, 11; VII, 18; 4Q174 1

I, 11; 4Q534; 4Q541; 11Q13 18-20, cf. *T. Jud.* [A] 21:1-4; *T. Levi* 18:2-6), *Samaritan (*Memar Marqa* 4:12, cf. Jn 4:25) and rabbinic (e.g., *Midr. Ps* 21:90a) writings (see Rabbinic Traditions and Writings). Such a claim becomes clear also in various words of Jesus (Mt 11:16-19, 25-26; 12:42; 23:37-39 par.; Mt 11:28-30). Thus he did not view his words on the same level as those of other Jewish teachers but rather ascribed to them eschatological validity (Mt 7:26-29; 24:35; Mk 8:38 par.). This was an inducement for Jesus' followers, already at the pre-Easter stage, to take the most important of his statements deeply into their minds.

5. Teaching Settings.

5.1. Teaching in the Synagogues. The establishment of *synagogues facilitated the instruction of broader masses of the people in the Law. It also furnished a setting for them to be involved in *Sabbath worship (*GBL* 3.1507-12). In Jesus' day every adult Jewish male could take part in the worship service by leading in *prayer and Scripture reading as well as by giving an interpretation of the Scripture. Training for this was provided by an elementary school system, unique for its time (*GBL* 3.1410-14), in which youth were taught reading and writing from the holy Scriptures, usually by the person who oversaw synagogue activities (*m. Šabb.* 1:3-4; cf. Lk 4:20). Knowledge of reading and writing in Second Temple Judaism was not a question of belonging to the upper class but of being pious. Jesus' frequent question "Have you not read [i.e., in the Scriptures]?" (Mk 2:25; Mt 12:5; Lk 10:26 etc.), the incident with the woman caught in adultery and his writing in the sand (Jn 8:6, 8), and his reading from the prophet Isaiah in the synagogue of Nazareth (Lk 4:16) show that Jesus was literate. In the synagogues adult males had access to at least the most important scrolls of Scripture (Pentateuch, Isaiah, Psalms) for making preparations for the worship service. It was natural for Jesus to teach in the framework of the synagogue, both through the interpretation of Sabbath readings from the *Law and Prophets (Lk 4:16-21) and in conjunction with preparation for the worship service.

5.2. Scribal Debates. There is no evidence that Jesus, like Paul (Acts 22:3), studied under a scribe, although he would have heard the teachings of some rabbis in the synagogues or in the temple courts. Neither was Jesus a pupil of John the Baptist. Although he had received no formal academic training, Jesus was accepted as a discussion partner by other scribes, who at the time were by no means all members of the sect of the *Pharisees (e.g., Mk 12:13-34 par.). The everyday language in *Galilee was

probably Aramaic, whereas in *Jerusalem and Judea Middle-Hebrew was also a spoken language. It seems probable that scribal debates were conducted in the so-called holy language of Hebrew. There were also pious Jews living in Jerusalem who spoke Greek (Acts 9:29, *hellēnistai*). It is accordingly possible that Jesus himself sometimes debated and taught in Greek. In any case, translating his teaching presented no particular problem in a Palestine that was strongly bilingual if not indeed trilingual (see Languages of Palestine).

5.3. Proclamation to the Masses. While the leading rabbis taught in fixed locations and as a rule devoted themselves only to a chosen circle of pupils, Jesus resembled *John the Baptist and other prophetic preachers in directing his proclamation to the general populace (e.g., Mk 3:7-8 par.). In order to address people Jesus also taught in the open air in heavily traveled locations such as the northwest shore of the Sea of Galilee. Nevertheless, that does not exclude temporary stays in Capernaum and making a building belonging to Peter's family estate into a sort of teaching center (Mt 4:13; 9:1; Mk 1:29; 2:1-2). Jesus distinguished himself fundamentally from the Zealot preachers of revolution (see Revolutionary Movements) by directing his call for *repentance and discipleship not to the masses but to individuals from among the masses (Mk 1:16-20; Lk 9:57-62 par.). Chief among the themes of Jesus' public proclamation was the message of God's *love and the imminent manifestation of his sovereign reign (see Kingdom of God/Heaven).

5.4. The Instruction of the Disciples. From among a larger number of followers, Jesus called a circle of men who accompanied him constantly and learned from him by both word and example (Mk 3:13-19 par.). For this reason these followers were designated "disciples" (Heb. *talmidim*, Gk. *mathētai*). In contrast to early forms of rabbinic schools, the initiative for membership lay entirely with Jesus himself. The bond to him was so absolute that connection with another teacher was out of the question (Mt 23:9-10). Jesus instilled in his *disciples rules for their common life and for dealing with those outside their circle. He also sent them out on their own preaching mission, preparing them for this with special instruction (Mt 10; Mk 6:6-11; Lk 9:1-5; cf. Lk 10:1-12). Those who listened to Jesus' messengers (Heb. *šēlūhīm*, Gk. *apostoloi*; Mk 3:14 [Ⲛ, B], Lk 6:13; cf. Mt 10:16; Lk 10:3) expected them to be capable of passing on the basic features of their master's teaching in his own words. After rejection of his call to repentance in Galilee, Jesus (reminiscent of Is 8:16-

17) withdrew into the inner circle of the Twelve (Jn 6:66-69) (see Apostle). He disclosed to them his messiahship and the way of substitutionary suffering for sin (Mk 8:27-32 par.; 10:35-45 par.). In this manner the Twelve came to be especially qualified transmitters of Jesus' teaching in the aftermath of the first Easter (cf. Acts 1:21-26; 2:42; 6:4). If one asks which ancient didactic school Jesus' band of disciples most closely resembles, the best answer is probably those circles of followers attached to the OT prophets. There are also similarities with the early rabbinic schools. On the other hand, only remote comparisons are possible with the circles that formed around the peripatetic *Cynic philosophers. On the whole, however, Jesus' band of followers in its entirely distinctive orientation must be traced back to Jesus' messianic *authority (see Messiah).

6. Forms of Teaching.

6.1. Interpretation of Scripture. Apart from the abbreviated account of a synagogue sermon in Luke 4:21-27, the Synoptics preserve no extended examples of Jesus' interpretations of Scripture. Entire sermons were not well suited for polished oral reproduction, and the Synoptic writers declined to create any on their own. Nevertheless, quite apart from direct citations, Jesus' words are pervaded by allusions to Scripture (see Old Testament in the Gospels; Typology). Through school and synagogue he must have learned large sections of the OT by heart. This was a virtual necessity in part because the vowelless Hebrew texts could be recited error-free and with the right emphasis only through memorization. Occasionally one encounters interpretive methods (like the inference from the lesser to the greater, e.g., Mt 10:29-31) found in rabbinic exegesis as well; other passages remind one of the Qumran-Essene exegesis (Mt 11:2-6 // Lk 7:18-23; cf. 4Q521). Apparently the extended family of Jesus belonged neither to the Pharisees nor to the Essenes but to circles of the older hasidim, standing behind writings like the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and parts of the Enochic tradition (cf. Jud 14).

6.2. Summaries of Teaching. In order to impress the basic tenets of his teaching on both outsiders and his disciples, Jesus made use of another technique already developed by the OT prophets. He summarized pithy sayings in short, poetically constructed utterances (Heb. *māšāl*, Gk. *parabolē*). In so doing he made use of parallelism (*parallelismus membrorum*) or chiasm. But translating his sayings back into Aramaic or Hebrew indicates that he also took advantage of such mnemonic helps as rhythm

and rhyme or alliteration and assonance. Jesus often called attention to the importance of such summaries through the introductory *"amen" formula typical of him or through admonitions to "listen." Jesus' words were also easily remembered because of their vividness and his frequent use of rhetorical devices such as paradox, hyperbole, riddles, contrast, irony or emphasis.

6.3. Parables. While Jesus formulated many utterances as summaries of a sermon or debate, he set others before his hearers for their contemplation (cf. Mt 13:24, 31). Most worthy of mention here are those pericopes commonly known as *parables. Even these were not blurted out ad hoc but show every indication, like other forms above, of being very deliberate and condensed formations. The boundless allegorization of Jesus' parables was without doubt a mistake. Comparison with Jewish parables shows, however, that metaphorical depictions of spiritual matters enjoyed wide circulation. It presented no difficulties in a religious context (e.g.) to relate the mention of servants to prophets (Mk 12:1-11 par.). Jesus' parables are such densely formulated oral texts that it is legitimate to interpret them by paying close attention to each individual detail. Sayings of Jesus that we call parables are normally longer than the summaries of teaching mentioned in the previous section. This helps explain why there is rather more divergence in wording in the transmission of these parables.

6.4. Parabolic Acts. Following prophetic precedent, Jesus also often taught in this memorable manner. An example would be the *temple act (Mk 11:13-17 par.) or the cursing of the fig tree (Mk 11:12-14). A number of miracles (e.g., the Sabbath healings) need to be seen not only as merciful acts of assistance but also as acted out parables. When they were sent out, the disciples are sure to have told of such deeds, as well as incidents illustrative of Jesus' exemplary deportment. It is therefore highly likely that prior to the first Easter not only words of Jesus but also the beginnings of a historical tradition were already being passed on. Instruction through exemplary stories was an established custom both in Hellenistic schools in the form of *chreiai* and later with the rabbis (*ma'āšim*) (see Chreia/Aphorism).

6.5. Memorization and the First Oral and Written Tradition. The summaries of teaching and parables were forms deliberately shaped to preserve memoirs; they were easily remembered oral texts. About eighty percent of Jesus' sayings take the form of *parallelismus membrorum*. As an itinerant preacher, Jesus repeated them many times. They would have quite naturally embedded themselves in

the hearers' minds. In addition, as the example of the Lord's Prayer shows (Lk 11:1-4), one may even assume that Jesus' disciples learned some material from him by heart in rather direct fashion. Learning through memorization was a basic pedagogical method in first-century *Judaism (Philo, *Som.* 1.105; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.210; *Ag. Ap.* 2.178) as well as in antiquity as a whole, whether at the elementary or advanced academic level. Most of Jesus' devotees maintained their residence where they heard him, not traveling with him. For them the need was all the more pressing for a body of teaching that could be easily remembered in the absence of the master. In the circle of resident sympathizers it is possible that words of Jesus were already fixed in written form prior to Easter (Ellis, 242-47).

7. Jesus as Teacher and the Tradition of the Gospels.

Classic form criticism (M. Dibelius, R. Bultmann) assessed the Synoptic tradition using the analogy of uncontrolled folk traditions. At the beginning of the Gospel tradition, however, stood Jesus as the messianic teacher of his disciples. In other respects as well there is every indication that the Jesus tradition will not admit of being treated as a fluctuating tradition of folklore. It was passed on within the early church in the form of a school tradition, a body of information taught and learned (1 Cor 11:23-26; 15:1-8). In both the popular and scientific mind today there is a widespread romantic notion that regards Jesus and his disciples as uneducated country folk. This appraisal overlooks the role that teaching and learning played among pious Jews already at that time. Acts 4:13 expresses the haughty point of view of the Jerusalem ruling class. It says nothing about the competence of Jesus' disciples—some of whom had already been pupils of John the Baptist (Jn 1:35-39; cf. Acts 1:21-22)—to pass on tradition. From the contemporary standpoint early Christianity, like Judaism, functioned rather more like a philosophy than a religion. For this reason teachers played an important role in the early church (Acts 13:1; 1 Cor 12:28-29; Eph 4:11; Jas 3:1). This holds especially true for the passing along of traditions. Perhaps Matthew had such Christian teachers in mind when he recorded words of Jesus like those found in Matthew 13:52; 23:8-10, 34-36.

Attempts have been made to minimize the significance of teaching and learning by referring to the prophetic-eschatological consciousness that reigned among Jesus' disciples and the early church. But the example of Qumran shows how little an end-times

orientation excludes methodical handling of Scripture and cultivated transmission of texts. Oral tradition can accomplish a great deal when it is passed along (1) by a group of limited size using (2) mnemonically effective techniques. Both of these qualifications were fulfilled by the Gospel tradition through the form of Jesus' words and the existence of the circle of disciples. Not only against older form criticism but also against some more recent social memory theories, we must stress that especially in the Synoptic Gospels we not hear only the disciples of Jesus but the voice of the master himself.

See also CHREIA/APHORISM; FORM CRITICISM; HISTORICISMS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY; ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS; SCRIBES.

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R. Riesner

TEMPLE

Many agree that for all its diversity, *Judaism was unified by three central components: Scripture, *Sabbath and the temple. The temple in first-century A.D. Palestine was central to Jewish life and practice; it was the centerpiece of not only Israelite religious practices, but also societal structures and political conflicts for the environment in which Jesus lived, ministered and died. It was the setting for political controversy and strife, both among Jews themselves and with respect to the Roman overlords. Finally, the temple provides the setting for some significant scenes in the life of Jesus and is the topic of some controversial discussion in the Gospels. Prior to examining its place in the Gospels themselves, there is merit in exploring its history and function, in addition to how it was viewed by Jews contemporary with Jesus.

1. Background to the Temple
2. Perspectives on the Temple in First-Century A.D. Judaism
3. The Temple in the Gospels
4. The Temple in Contemporary Historical Jesus Research

1. Background to the Temple.

1.1. The Temple of Solomon. From the account of the exodus to the monarchy, Israelites worshiped in the tabernacle until King David sought to construct what he viewed as a more suitable dwelling for Israel's God (2 Sam 7:2). God announced to David (through Nathan the prophet) that it was to be David's son Solomon who would build the temple (2 Sam 7:13; 1 Chron 22:10; cf. 1 Kings 5:5). The edifice was constructed on Mount Moriah (2 Chron 3:1) or Mount Zion, specifically identified as the place where a certain Araunah had his threshing floor (1 Chron 21:22-23). Solomon solicited the participation of Hiram, king of Tyre, who aided him by supplying skilled craftsmanship.

The structure was largely stone (limestone?). The interior was lined with cedar overlaid with gold, graven with cherubim, palms and flowers (1 Kings

6:15-29). It was divided into two main sections, the holy place (*hēkal*) and the "most holy place" or "holy of holies" (*dēbīr*) (1 Kings 6:16-18). The building, 60 cubits long, 20 wide and 30 high (1 Kings 6:2; cf. 1 Kings 6:20), was long and narrow, facing east. The holy place was 40 cubits by 20 cubits, and the most holy place 20 cubits in length, width and height. Within the porch were two bronze pillars, named "Jakin" and "Boaz," which are described in some detail (1 Kings 7:15-22; 2 Chron 3:15-17; 4:11-13; cf. Jer 52:20-23) but whose function remains obscure. Within the most holy place stood the ark of the covenant, with its two golden cherubim stationed atop its lid, wings outstretched so as to reach the walls of the room (1 Kings 6:23-28; 2 Chron 3:10-13). Within the holy place there were more temple furnishings, including the altar of incense, built of cedar and overlaid with gold (1 Kings 6:20-22; 7:48; 2 Chron 4:19). There were also ten candlesticks (1 Kings 7:49; 2 Chron 4:7) and a table for the showbread (1 Kings 7:48; cf. 2 Chron 4:8), all made of gold. Further courts contained an altar for burnt offerings (1 Kings 7:40, 45; 2 Chron 4:1, 11, 16), a bronze laver (1 Kings 7:23-26; 2 Chron 4:2-5, 10) and other cultic furnishings.

Once the structure was completed, the ark of the covenant was brought into it and deposited in the most holy place (1 Kings 8:1-21; 2 Chron 5; 6:1-11). The temple was dedicated by Solomon (1 Kings 8:22-61; 2 Chron 6:12-42), and the glory of the Lord dwelled within it (1 Kings 8:10-11; 2 Chron 5:13-14). Religious decline began in Solomon's lifetime (1 Kings 11:1-8) and continued thereafter. Eventually, Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon looted the temple and palace (cf. 2 Chron 36:7) and carried the king and a significant part of the population into captivity (2 Kings 24:1-17). The ruination was completed after an eighteen-month siege in 586 B.C. (2 Kings 25:1) with the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, with only a few left behind (2 Kings 25:11-12).

1.2. The Temple of Zerubbabel. Putting an end to this captivity, Cyrus, king of Persia, permitted Jews to return to Jerusalem and rebuild their temple (2 Chron 36:23; Ezra 1:1-4). The return began in 538 B.C., and the ensuing temple was similar to that of Solomon, though apparently lacking its adornment (Ezra 3:12-13; Hag 2:3). The temple was known as that of Zerubbabel, governor during that period. He restored the sacred vessels and provided for further building (Ezra 1:6-11; 6:3-8:36). Despite his ongoing efforts (Ezra 3:7-13), the building project faced opposition and was suspended until 520 B.C. (Ezra 4). At the exhortation of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, building resumed and was completed

with celebration in 516 B.C. (Ezra 5—6). As was the case with the earlier temple, the temple grounds were also divided into a holy place and a most holy place, though the latter did not contain the ark (*m. Yoma* 5:2), and the contents of both rooms were more modest than that of its predecessor (cf. 1 Macc 1:21-22). Subsequent history of the temple is found in 1 Maccabees and Josephus, though details are scant.

1.3. The Temple of Herod. Sources for the Herodian temple are somewhat conflicted, with Mishnah *Middot* probably presenting an idealization rather than historical reconstruction, and further information provided by Josephus's *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities*, which are inconsistent (*Ant.* 15.380-402; *J.W.* 5.184-227; see also *Let. Arist.* 83-90). Nevertheless, we can still know some important things about the temple. Herod began his work on the temple in 20-19 B.C. (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 15.380-87; *J.W.* 1.401-2). To allay fears of his intent, he gathered materials for the new temple before the dismantling of the old. He trained one thousand *priests in the skilled labor required for the sanctuary (ten thousand skilled workmen were used altogether). The temple proper (*naos*) was finished in about eighteen months, although eight years were required for the courts and considerably longer for the entire complex (Jn 2:20 records forty-six years). It was not completed until A.D. 64. Its white marble and gold plating resembled a snow-covered mountain (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.222-27).

The Herodian structure was nearly double that of the Solomonic temple (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.401-2), though exact measurements, at least of the court of Gentiles, differ in the sources (cf. *m. Mid.* 2:1; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.391-403). It was an irregular structure, more broad on the north than south, surrounded by a stone wall with several gates (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.410-20; cf. *m. Mid.* 1:3), a porch on the east side (Jn 10:23; Acts 3:11) and open spaces where some commerce occurred (Mt 21:12 par.; Jn 2:14-16). Here was the location where Jesus ministered to the blind and lame (Mt 21:14) and overturned the money tables (Mt 21:12 par.). Increasing the size required extensive topographic reconfigurations, including filling in the valleys to the west and north, and part of the Kidron Valley to the south. Modern archeological analysis suggests that the retaining wall for the Temple Mount was 1,590 feet (west) by 1,035 feet (north), by 1,536 feet (east) by 912 feet (south).

The "sanctuary" (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.190-200) contained the court of women, the court of Israel and the court of the priests, as well as the temple itself (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.410-20). The court of women admitted Jewish women (and men), but not Gentiles. It

was about 135 cubits square (*m. Mid.* 2:5). It also contained receptacles for financial offerings (cf. Mk 12:41; Lk 21:1; Jn 8:20). This is where the reader of Scripture meets Anna (Lk 2:36-37) and the widow who offers her mites (Luke 21:1-4). This court gave way to the inner courts: the court of Israel and that of the priests (cf. *m. Mid.* 2:5). The entire portion of the structure was about 187 cubits long (east to west) by 135 cubits wide (*m. Mid.* 2:6; 5:1), split in half (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.372-76).

Within the court of priests stood an altar for burnt offerings and other cultic articles (cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 5.222-27). The temple itself was built on blocks of white marble, decorated with gold, 100 cubits high and 60 wide (though cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 15.391-402). The temple's interior was divided into the holy place (*hēkal*) and the most holy place (*dēbīr*). The holy place, as with Solomon's temple, was 40 cubits long by 20 cubits wide, and 60 cubits high (*J.W.* 5.215-21; though cf. *m. Mid.* 4:6, which says 40 cubits). Between the two chambers hung a veil (or two veils [*m. Mid.* 4:7]). According to Josephus, the veil symbolized "a panorama of the heavens, excluding the signs of the zodiac" (*J.W.* 5.214). The holy of holies was empty (cf. *m. Yoma* 5:2), and the holy place was richly ornamented (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.391-402; *J.W.* 5.212-14). According to Josephus, the outside of the temple was adorned with so much gold that when the sun shone upon it, it virtually blinded those who looked at it. Other sources concur: "No one has seen a truly beautiful building unless he has seen the Temple" (*b. Sukkah* 51b). Indeed, the structure was praised by Josephus as a building with a "magnificence never surpassed" (*J.W.* 1.401), seemingly comparable to that of Solomon (*J.W.* 5.137, 185), whom he attempted to outdo, or at least outspend (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 15.385-87, 396).

2. Perspectives on the Temple in First-Century A.D. Judaism.

Daniel's vision (Dan 7—12) anticipates a renewal of the temple as part of God's eschatological triumph (Dan 12:11-12). Other biblical prophets similarly look to the establishment of an enormous eschatological temple (cf. Ezek 40—47), despite misgivings about cultic practices of the time (Ezek 8—10). God would one day restore the fortunes of Jerusalem (Zech 1:16-17; cf. Is 2:1-4). Its location, Zion, was the mountain of God (cf. Ps 68:16; Is 40:9). Such tension between dissatisfaction and corruption, on the one hand, and hope of restoration and promise, on the other, continues into the Second Temple period. The destruc-

tion of the temple was anticipated prior to the time of Jesus (cf. *T. Levi* 10:3; 14:1–15:3; 16:1–5; *T. Jud.* 23:1–5), likely in reaction to the Hasmonean priesthood of the second century B.C. (although Christian interpolations into the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* render such observations tenuous; cf. *Liv. Pro.* 12:11). Even Josephus foresaw its end (*J.W.* 3.400–402; cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.10; 5.13).

Apocalyptic traditions of the Second Temple period, likely drawing from Ezekiel's vision of a new temple, similarly looked to a future sanctuary (cf. *1 En.* 90:28–29). Initially, it was widely held that Zerubbabel's structure paled in comparison to that of Solomon (cf. Hag 2:9; Zech 14:8–11; *1 En.* 90:29) and was even considered ritually impure (*1 En.* 89:72–74; cf. *T. Levi* 15:1; *T. Mos.* 5:3–4). An earlier portion of *1 Enoch* (the so-called Apocalypse of Weeks [*1 En.* 91; 93], dating from ca. 200 B.C.) asserts that ever since the *exile all of Israel was apostate, apparently because of its inability to rightly engage in cultic worship (*1 En.* 93:9). Others viewed any human structure as inferior to that which God showed Moses at Sinai (Ex 25:8) and therefore anticipated the establishment of that heavenly sanctuary on earth (cf. *2 Bar.* 4:5; *T. Levi* 5:1; 18:6; *Jub.* 1:16, 27–28; 25:21; 49:18). Shortly after the destruction of the Herodian temple in A.D. 70, *2 Baruch* anticipates a heavenly sanctuary (*2 Bar.* 32:2) that will “be renewed in glory and perfected forever” (*2 Bar.* 32:4; cf. *2 Bar.* 32:5; 68:5). Some of the cultic articles are said to have been removed prior to its destruction (*2 Bar.* 6:7) in anticipation of their restoration in an eschatological cultic structure (*2 Bar.* 6:8; cf. *2 Bar.* 10:19; 80:2; *2 Macc* 2:5). Similarly, even the Herodian cult's most ardent critics anticipated a renewal for the house of the Lord (*T. Levi* 17:10).

The members of the Qumran sect seem to have separated themselves from the Jerusalem temple, but whether they rejected it entirely or instead hoped for restorations of its conservative practices of ritual purity is debated (see Dead Sea Scrolls). Qumran documents are, of course, replete with condemnations of the cultic practices in Jerusalem, with their frequent references to the high priest as the “wicked priest” (*1QpHab* I, 13; VIII, 8–9; IX, 9; XI, 4–5) who has defiled God's sanctuary (*1QpHab* XII, 8–9), robbed the poor (*1QpHab* VIII, 12; IX, 5; X, 1; XII, 10) and accumulated personal wealth (cf. *1QpHab* XII, 9; *4Q169* I, 11). Building on the vision of Ezekiel 40–48, the Qumran *New Jerusalem* document (*5Q15*) provides an angelic tour of the heavenly city and its eschatological temple that provides a description and some variances from

that described by Ezekiel. The *Temple Scroll* (*11Q19*) reads as revelation to Moses like the one he received for the fashioning of the tabernacle. The text describes in considerable detail, not unlike the tabernacle texts of Exodus, specifications for its dimensions and fabrication. Further Qumran texts discuss the temple in a variety of contexts, either as the “house of the Lord” or “house of God” (*4Q522* 9 II, 5; *11Q19* XXIX, 3; XXX, 4; cf. *11Q19* III, 4) or, more commonly, the “sanctuary” (*miqdāš*). Frequently, such language conceives of a heavenly sanctuary (*4Q201* 1 IV, 7) where Sabbath sacrifices are offered by an angelic priesthood (*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* [*4Q400–407*]). Yet the centrality of worship in Zion (cf. *11Q5* XXII, 1–15) and its sanctuary (*11Q5* XXIV, 4) are presumed. The temple took on cosmological symbolism, with its earthly practices thought to reflect that of its heavenly counterpart. In that sense, priests are sometimes thought of in terms of angelic beings (cf. Mal 2:7; Eccles 5:6; *Jub.* 31:14; Philo, *Spec.* 1.114–16; *4Q511* 35; *4Q286* 2, 2).

Some documents (CD-A I, 3) speak of God's anger toward the temple where improper services are conducted (CD-A IV, 1, 18–19; *4Q394* 8 III, 5; *4Q396* I, 1; II, 1, 6, 8, 10; cf. CD-A III, 18–19), cultic orders are changed (CD III, 6; *1Q22* I, 8–10; *4Q390* 1) and forbidden marriages take place (CD-A V, 6; cf. *Jub.* 30.15–17), causing its contamination and rendering the cult ineffective (CD-A VI, 12–13; cf. CD-A VI, 16; CD-B XX, 23; *4Q390* 2, I; *1 En.* 89:73). To compensate, the *yahad* (community) seems to have considered its practices a necessary, sufficient and temporary substitute for the cultic practices of the Jerusalem temple (*1QS* IV, V, 6; VIII, 11; cf. *4Q258* 1 I, 4; *4Q258*; 2 II, 6–7; *1Q34* + *1Q34bis* 3 II, 1–8; *4Q511* 35, 3). Similarly, Josephus says, “God himself . . . turned away from our city . . . because he deemed the temple to be no longer a clean dwelling place for Him” (*Ant.* 20.166 [cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 5.19]).

3. The Temple in the Gospels.

3.1. Temple in Matthew. The temple first appears in Matthew's Gospel in the *temptation narrative (Mt 4:1–11), where the devil places Jesus “on the pinnacle of the temple” (Mt 4:5). At times, Matthew depicts temple cult in such a way that participation in it seems to be presumed (Mt 5:23–24; 8:4). Yet even cultic worship is put in perspective, such as in Matthew 9:13, where the Matthean Jesus states that he desires “mercy, not sacrifice” (also Mt 12:7; cf. Hos 6:6). The expression is a Hebraic idiom meaning that God desires mercy more than sacrifice, and it indicates a priority over the temple and its cult. This is

similar to Jesus' assertion that "something greater than the temple is here" (Mt 12:6; cf. Mt 12:41-42).

Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21:1-11) and his cleansing of the temple (*see* Temple Act) are interpreted by many as a demonstration of the completion of the necessity of the temple's sacrificial system. Jesus now replaces the temple, and he is the location where God's presence and atonement were experienced. Others recognize that Jesus' insistence on the temple being a house of prayer, accompanied by his actions, looks for it to retain some legitimate function, which was being frustrated by corruption and exploitation within the temple precincts. On this view, Jesus, as messianic king, comes to the temple to purge it of practices that mocked its divinely intended purpose.

Immediately upon entering Jerusalem (Mt 21:12-13), Jesus goes into the temple (Mt 21:12) and heals the "blind and lame" (Mt 21:14), even though they are explicitly forbidden entrance to the house of the Lord (2 Sam 5:8; cf. Lev 21:17-19; 1QSa II, 5-22; CD-A XV, 15-17). The reader perhaps is intended to recall Jesus' claim to superiority over the temple, but it seems more likely that Jesus is in fact upholding the law by removing the quality that forbade them entrance in the first place: he "heals their disabilities so that they may then enter (cf. Mt 8:4). Questions about Jesus' authority later arise, likewise in the temple courts (Mt 21:23; cf. Mt 21:33-46; 22:1-14).

The temple is a prominent feature in Matthew's unique "seven woes" section (Mt 23), where Jesus chastises the "blind guides" for thinking that swearing by the temple means nothing, but swearing by the gold of the temple is binding (Mt 23:16). Jesus insists that swearing by this temple (and its gold) is the same as swearing by the one who dwells in it (Mt 23:21-22). Matthew seems to presume God is still present within the temple (Mt 23:21). In the same chapter Matthew records the curious murder of Zechariah, son of Berechiah, between the temple and the altar (Mt 23:35; cf. 2 Chron 24:20-22), where Jesus' point of contention, in typical prophetic fashion (Jer 7:11), is misuse of the temple (Mt 21:13; cf. Is 56:7). In the same chapter the Matthean Jesus declares, "Look, your house is left to you desolate" (Mt 23:38). Traditionally, scholars have seen this as a reference to God's abandonment of his own temple, reminiscent of divine abandonment of the first temple just prior to its destruction (Ezek 8:6, 12; 9:3, 9; 11:23; cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 5.412-13; 6.295-300; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.13; 2 Bar. 4:12, 8:2; 64:6-7), when the Shekinah departed the temple (cf. 1 Kings 9:6-9; Is 64:10-11). (The destruction of the temple was seen as subse-

quent to God's departure, both of which were inescapably the result of the sins of God's people.) This is apparent in a similar use of Matthew's "desolation" (cf. *T. Levi* 15:1), perhaps underscored by the departure of Jesus' presence (Mt 18:20; cf. *m. 'Abot* 3:2) from the temple and in prophetic fashion going toward the Mount of Olives (Mt 24:1-2; cf. Zech 14:4). Subsequently, Jesus' disciples marvel at the structure, yet Jesus emphatically predicts that "not one stone will be left here upon another; all will be thrown down" (Mt 24:2 NRSV), likely a characteristic of divine judgment (Mt 23:39 [citing Ps 118:26]; 24:3-25:46; cf. Zech 14:4).

Among the signs of the end of the age (Mt 24) is "desolating sacrilege standing in the holy place" (Mt 24:15). The citation is taken from Daniel (Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11), by which Matthew seems to identify the defilement of the temple with God's judgment on rebellious Israel. Later, Jesus is falsely accused of claiming to destroy the temple (Mt 26:59-61). Matthew seems to emphasize Jesus' ability, while identifying the temple as God's (cf. Mt 26:61). Finally, at the cross a passer-by refers to the false accusations pertaining to the temple against Jesus by mocking him (Mt 27:40). The temple is largely seen as a legitimate institution established by the Hebrew Scriptures, yet the corruption of the priests and others (Mt 21:13; 23:35) and the rejection of Jesus (Mt 21:42-43; cf. 22:5-7) bring divinely ordained destruction.

3.2. Temple in Mark. Discussion of the temple in Mark's Gospel, though relatively concise, is not insignificant. There are some references to the temple and its cult early on (Mk 1:40-45; cf. Mk 5:43; 7:36), but the temple becomes more significant in Mark 11-15. Mark's view of the temple seems to be largely negative. On his entry into Jerusalem, Jesus enters the temple, only to leave it again (Mk 11:11). Prior to his return the next day, he symbolically curses the fig tree for having borne no fruit (Mk 11:12-14), often taken as symbolic of the fruitlessness of the temple cult enacted under a corrupted priesthood. Upon his return to the temple (Mk 11:15), Jesus drives out those selling and buying, overturns the tables of the moneychangers and allows no one to carry anything through the temple (Mk 11:16). Mark says that Jesus was "teaching" (Mk 11:17) about the "house" being called a "house of prayer for all nations," which they have made into a "den of robbers" (NRSV). Here Jesus' language refers to the condemning prophecy of Jeremiah (Jer 7) in which the prophet announces doom for the Solomonic temple. In response, the chief priests and scribes look for a way to kill Jesus (Mk 11:18), but he and his disciples leave the city for

the night (Mk 11:19). The next morning (Mk 11:20-21) the fig tree is withered away “to its roots” (NRSV), and his cursing is largely taken as a proleptic sign prefiguring the destruction of the temple cultus (Telford) to symbolize the fruitlessness of the temple, which faces a similar fate. It is ripe for eschatological judgment.

Later in the same pericope Jesus and his disciples come to Jerusalem, where Jesus is walking in the temple (Mk 11:27). He is confronted by chief priests, scribes and elders who question his authority to do “these things” (Mk 11:28), presumably in reference to his overturning tables, if not also his teaching. Although Jesus refuses to answer (Mk 11:33), he seems to remain in the temple when he speaks in parables (Mk 12). He begins with the parable of the vineyard (Mk 12:1-11), which is directed against the Jewish leaders (Mk 12:12), who, for fear of the crowds, left him alone and sent some Pharisees and Herodians “to trap him in what he said” (Mk 12:13 NRSV [similarly, Mk 12:14-34]). Later, the Markan Jesus discusses the Davidic identity of the Messiah (Mk 12:35-37) within its precincts, which may suggest that his identity is in some sense tied with the temple (*see* Son of David).

Mark 13 is a complicated and debated text. It begins with Jesus’ departure from the temple and his disciples’ statement of admiration of it (Mk 13:1). Immediately Jesus anticipates its destruction: “Not one stone will be left here upon another; all will be thrown down” (Mk 13:2 NRSV); and he prophetically leaves the temple for the Mount of Olives (Mk 13:3), where he discusses the sign that all these things will be accomplished (Mk 13:4-31). Jesus warns against misleading (false) signs (Mk 13:5-13) but points to a seemingly more secure sign regarding seeing “the desolating sacrilege set up where it ought not to be” (Mk 13:14 NRSV [cf. Dan 9:27; 11:30]) and gives instructions for their flight. Again, eschatological *judgment for the temple is likely in view (*see* Apocalypticism and Apocalyptic Teaching).

Later, Jesus is brought to the courtyard of the high priest (Mk 14:53), where the accusations are made against him to put him to death (Mk 14:55-56). Some explicitly false testimonies (Mk 14:57) claim to have heard him say, “I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another, not made with hands” (Mk 14:58 NRSV). The high priest associates such questions with Jesus’ messianic identity (Mk 14:60-61). Surely statements about the destruction of the temple and Jesus’ messiahship (Mk 14:57-62) belong together, misunderstood even at the cross (Mk 15:29-32) where passers-by scoff at him for

the aforementioned false testimony (Mk 15:29-30). Some scholars see Mark’s presentation of Jesus’ messianism as one in which the end of the present temple foresees the establishment of a new one, the *church. Some have contended that the temple theme is a means of restoration, with Jesus presented as a new eschatological temple.

3.3. Temple in Luke. Luke’s interest in the temple is found in its opening verses. In recounting the story of Zechariah, the narrative introduces his service as priest before God to serve in the sanctuary (Lk 1:8-10). The *angel of the Lord appears to him there and announces the coming of *John the Baptist (Lk 1:12-18). When Zechariah doubts this, he is made mute (Lk 1:19-20) for a time. The people are concerned about his delay in the sanctuary and soon realize that he had seen a vision there (Lk 1:21-22). Later, John is circumcised (Lk 1:59), presumably at the temple. Similarly, when Jesus is born, his parents bring him to Jerusalem “to present him to the Lord” (Lk 2:22) and to offer the sacrifices required by the law (Lk 2:24, 27). There, at the temple, they met Simeon, who was led by the Spirit into the temple (Lk 2:27) and who takes the child in his arm and praises God (Lk 2:28-32) for bringing in the child “a light for revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to your people Israel” (Lk 2:32 NRSV). Similarly, the elderly prophetess Anna, who “never left the temple but worshiped there with fasting and prayer night and day” (Lk 2:37), praised God and spoke about Jesus “to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem” (Lk 2:38 NRSV). Jesus and his family leave Jerusalem, only to return every year for the Passover (Lk 2:41). There, at the age of twelve, Jesus was found in the temple, “sitting among the teachers, listening to them and asking them questions” (Lk 2:46). When questioned about this, Jesus informs his parents, “I must be in my Father’s house” (Lk 2:49).

Later, we find the temple in the third of Luke’s temptation encounters (Lk 4:1-12). Here the devil takes Jesus to Jerusalem and places him on the pinnacle of the temple, imploring him to throw himself down (Lk 4:9). When Jesus refuses, the devil leaves him (Lk 4:12-13). Later, Jesus heals a man with leprosy (Lk 5:12-15) and commands him to show himself “to the priest, and, as Moses commanded, make an offering for your cleansing, for a testimony to them” (Lk 5:14 NRSV). Luke also makes cryptic reference to the blood of Zechariah, “who perished between the altar and the sanctuary” (Lk 11:51 NRSV), likewise without explanation. In anticipation of his death in Jerusalem (Lk 13:33-35), Jesus announces to the people of the city that their “house” is left to

them, but the language of its desolation found in the other Synoptics seems muted (Lk 13:35). Similarly, Jesus enters the temple (Lk 19:45) and drives out the vendors. He quotes, as in the other Synoptics, about God's house being a house of *prayer (Lk 19:46), and the narrator mentions the Jesus was teaching every day in the temple (Lk 19:47). One such incident is described in Luke 20, where Jesus is teaching people in the temple and telling the good news (Lk 20:1). On that occasion Jesus' authority is questioned by his opponents. Perhaps it is not incidental that questions of authority arise there, of all places, implying Jesus' divine authority (Lk 20:3-8). Likewise in the temple Jesus is questioned regarding the payment of taxes to Caesar (Lk 20:21-26) and the resurrection (Lk 20:27-38). His answer raises questions about his identity, again within the temple as the messianic son of David (Lk 20:41).

In Luke 21 Jesus is still in the temple, where he observes a poor widow putting her two "mites" into the treasury (Lk 21:1-4). While some present spoke of its beauty, Jesus announces that "the days will come when not one stone will be left upon another; all will be thrown down" (Lk 21:6 NRSV). This general observation is then followed by more specific announcements about armies surrounding Jerusalem (Lk 21:20) and other such eschatological calamities when "Jerusalem will be trampled on by the Gentiles" (Lk 21:24 NRSV). Jesus' presence in the temple was not an isolated incident, according to Luke's account. Luke records that "every day [Jesus] was teaching in the temple" (Lk 21:37 [cf. Lk 22:53]), yet he would spend the night on the Mount of Olives only to return to the temple in the morning and teach (Lk 21:38). At the end of Luke's Gospel, after Jesus' *death, *resurrection and *ascension, his followers "were continually in the temple blessing God" (Lk 24:53 NRSV).

Luke's portrayal of the temple, then, is largely positive. For Luke, along with Acts, the temple is a (legitimate) place of worship, service and sacrifice to God. It is a place where divine revelations are received (Lk 1:18-23), and it is identified by Jesus as his house (Lk 2:49; cf. Is 56:7). Jerusalem and its temple are the locus of God's presence. Yet some scholars see that as a symbol of Jewish election, it is a barrier. Luke's concern is the gospel for all people—Jew, Samaritan, *Gentile. Therefore it becomes, in Luke, a place of departure for missions to all peoples rather than a gathering place for all peoples.

3.4. Temple in John. Scholars have often suggested that in John's Gospel Jesus not only reveals divine presence but also replaces the temple as the

location of that presence. Much of the temple's centrality is confined to John 1—12 (the prologue and the so-called Book of Signs), where it is the setting for Jesus' interaction with Jews. It is debated whether the Johannine Jesus replaces and fulfills the Jerusalem temple and its cultic activity, or whether the temple remains the continuing manifestation of divine presence.

From the outset of the Fourth Gospel readers recognize Jesus dwelling among people (Jn 1:14) in a manner recalling God's travels with his people in the tabernacle of the Hebrew Scriptures (Ex 26—27; 1 Kings 6:13). Jesus' cleansing of the temple occurs much earlier in John's narrative (Jn 2:14-22) than in its Synoptic counterparts, perhaps foreshadowing the temple's destruction. Jesus' concern, in this reading, is the restoration of pure worship (cf. Zech 14:21; Mal 3:1, 3). Strikingly, as Jesus is driving out those who are making God's house a "marketplace" (Jn 2:16), the disciples recall Psalm 69:9: "Zeal for your house will consume me" (Jn 2:17 NRSV). When asked by the Jewish leaders for a sign to justify his actions (Jn 2:18), Jesus responds, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (Jn 2:19). When his opponents object (Jn 2:20), the narrator reveals that he was speaking of "the temple of his body" (Jn 2:21 NRSV). Jesus speaks of a "temple" being destroyed and raised within the temple itself. Moreover, it is significant that this event occurs during the Passover (Jn 2:13, 23) and is recounted some time after the destruction of Jerusalem's temple. Cumulatively, these factors seem to suggest Jesus' supplanting the Jerusalem temple as the center of worship for God's people.

The next reference to the temple comes with Jesus' discussion with the Samaritan woman (Jn 4:19-24). Here the woman recognizes Jesus as a *prophet and indicates her recognition that as such, he would see worship as properly done in Jerusalem (Jn 4:19-20). Strikingly, Jesus announces that the "hour is coming" when she "will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem" (Jn 4:21 NRSV). Indeed, the hour is coming, and is present, "when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth" (Jn 4:23 NRSV). Later, speaking with his disciples, Jesus indicates that he himself is "the truth" (Jn 14:6) and the climactic revelation of the Father (Jn 14:9-11). Again, John makes the connection subtly, but his readers could hardly miss it, particularly through the lenses of historical hindsight with respect to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

Later, Jesus returns to Jerusalem and its temple for the Jewish festivals of Tabernacles (Jn 7:1—8:59)

and Dedication (Jn 10:22-39) (see Feasts). The former recalls Moses' producing water from the rock in the wilderness (Ex 17:1-7; Num 20:8-13), which itself anticipates the flowing of water "from below the threshold of the temple" (Ezek 47:1; cf. Ezek 47:2-12; Zech 14:8). On the last day of that festival Jesus cries out, "Let anyone who is thirsty come to me, and let the one who believes in me drink" (Jn 7:37-38). John adds that this was in recognition of the Scriptures: "As the scripture has said, 'Out of the believer's heart shall flow rivers of living water'" (NRSV [citing Is 58:11]). It seems that whereas in the prophetic tradition it flows from the temple, in John it flows from Jesus, who is the fulfillment of all the Feast of Tabernacles anticipated. Later, at the Feast of Dedication (Jn 10:22-39), Jesus is again in the temple, where he is questioned about his identity as the Christ (Jn 10:24). Jesus both affirms the claim and identifies himself with God (Jn 10:30, 33). That the question of his identity occurs in this location may suggest further connection with his identity as the new center of worship.

The centrality of the temple to Jewish national identity is seen in John 11:48-52, where the chief priests and the Pharisees raise the concern about how the Romans may respond to belief in Jesus. Specifically, they fear that the Romans "will come and destroy both our holy place and our nation" (Jn 11:48 NRSV), after which the high priest Caiaphas "prophe-sied that Jesus was about to die for the nation" (Jn 11:51 NRSV). Yet, although Jesus does indeed die, he will rise again, whereas the temple, which his death was intended to protect, falls. Further explicit references to the temple are wanting. However, with John's suggestion thus far of Jesus' replacement of the temple, it is possible that statements about Jesus providing access to the Father (Jn 14:6-11; 16:16-27) may well suggest that although "temple" language has faded, Jesus' temple function endures. [D. M. Gurtner]

4. The Temple in Contemporary Historical Jesus Research.

It is beyond question that the temple occupies a central role in the plot line and theology of each of the four Gospels. Granting this, however, does not entail that the evangelists' shared interest in the temple cult was also at the heart of the historical Jesus' program. After all, the evangelists had their own interests, and it is possible that the cultic emphasis in each Gospel has more to do with post-Easter concerns than any historical reality in the setting of the historical Jesus. While much of twentieth-century Jesus scholarship would argue that Jesus' interest in

the temple cultus was modest at best, all this began to change when, in a wave of research commonly known as the Third Quest, scholars began to attend much more closely to Jesus' Jewishness and, therewith, the temple. If we take the available data at face value, Jesus' relationship to the temple was one of mutual opposition. But what was the nature of this conflict? To this question, historical Jesus scholars have suggested a variety of answers.

One of the earlier conversation partners in the more recent discussion is B. Meyer. In *The Aims of Jesus* (1979) Meyer argues that Jesus was a self-proclaimed messianic figure who sought to usher in the reign of God through his teaching and symbolic acts. The goal of his ministry was the restoration of Israel, and an important gesture toward accomplishing that goal was the temple action (Mk 11:15-17). Jesus was well aware of the explosive implications of this enacted parable, and through it he betokened both the necessity of reform and the imminence of the eschaton (Meyer, 170). At the same time, the sayings regarding Jesus' intention to rebuild the temple, which are historically secure, seal his messianic self-consciousness (Meyer, 180-81). It also speaks to the totalizing nature of Jesus' agenda vis-à-vis the temple. As Meyer puts it, "To evoke, even conditionally, the destruction of 'this temple' was to touch not just stone and gold and not only the general well being but history and hope, national identity, self-understanding, and pride" (Meyer, 183). Thus, according to Meyer, the temple becomes a kind of foil of self-understanding and template by which Jesus understood the scope of his own program.

A rather different route is taken up five years later in M. Borg's *Conflict, Holiness, and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* (1984). Borg argues that Jesus took exception to the temple not so much on account of the holiness codes bound up in temple worship (a classic position of older liberal Jesus scholarship) as on account of the exclusivity with which such holiness normally was associated (Borg, 164). Moreover, according to Borg, inasmuch as the temple also functioned as a kind of catalyst for national resistance to foreign powers, Jesus' criticism of the temple was aimed not at the cult itself but at the violent resistance that the cult had come to symbolize (Borg, 195-99).

Published around the same time as Borg's book, E. P. Sanders's *Jesus and Judaism* (1985) exhibits similarities with Meyer's outline. Like Meyer, Sanders is concerned to present Jesus as a prophet who saw himself as instrumental in the restoration of *Israel (see Exile and Restoration). Within this restoration

the key event is the temple action: "The conflict over the temple seems deeply implanted in the tradition, and that there was such a conflict would seem to be indisputable" (Sanders 1985, 61). Rejecting the commonly touted interpretation that Jesus' temple action was a reforming gesture, Sanders maintains that the act of overturning the moneychangers' tables was purely a "symbolic demonstration" (Sanders 1985, 69), signifying the imminent destruction of the temple. Jesus' anticipation of the temple's destruction was in turn driven by his expectation of the new eschatological order, which included the long-awaited heavenly temple as a central fixture within the eschatological scenario. For Sanders, as for many scholars, the temple action was a catalyst for his death. A similar approach to the temple is taken nearly two decades later by S. Bryan in *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration* (2002).

In *Jesus and the Victory of God* (1996) N. T. Wright depicts Jesus as a deeply Jewish figure who appropriates traditional Jewish categories and reshapes them, substantively at points, according to his own unique vision of Israel. It was a vision that included, as it did for John the Baptizer, a replacement of existing cultic structures (Wright, 160-61). Displaying a scandalous failure to link *repentance with going to the temple, Jesus acts "as if he is simply bypassing the Temple system altogether" (Wright, 130 [cf. 257]). Although John and Jesus occupied different moments in the unfolding course of redemptive events, for both figures, as for their contemporary observers, the dispensation of forgiveness outside of the temple system signified a reconstitution of the cultus, which in turn implied the end of exile and the coming of the messiah (Wright, 128, 335). Agreeing with Sanders's eschatological focus, on the one side, Wright also agrees with Borg, on the other side, that Jesus objects to the temple precisely as a symbol of malignant nationalism.

Recently, in *Jesus the Temple* (2010), N. Perrin builds on Wright's overall proposal by examining the ways in which the Jesus movement, much like other countertemple movements of the day, functioned as a substitute temple. As such, it both leveled a critique of the existing temple leadership and embodied Israel's long-awaited eschatological temple breaking in through Jesus's life and ministry. The self-identity of the Jesus movement as a temple movement helps explain the origins of temple theology, implicit and explicit, discernible within the NT corpus and other early church writings. Perrin's work was anticipated by C. Fletcher-Louis's two-part study on "Jesus and the High Priestly Messiah" (2006; 2007), arguing that

Jesus' aims fundamentally revolved around the categories of temple and priesthood.

A number of other scholars (e.g., J. Milgrom, J. Neusner, J. Klawans, B. Chilton) have been particularly interested in the connection between the temple and Jesus' purity program (see Clean and Unclean). Of these, B. Chilton is perhaps the most prolific if not the most influential. In his view (Chilton 1992; 1996), Jesus' critique was fundamentally a critique of the temple's purity practices. This critique takes only thinly veiled form in the parable of the wicked tenants, and then finally results in Jesus' attempt, in the *Last Supper, to establish a new sacrificial meal that would in effect constitute a new temple for his followers.

Shifts in scholarship indicate that the temple occupies a far more central role in the historical Jesus' thinking than heretofore recognized. This shift is likely a reflection of closer readings of the Gospels and increased sensitivity to the manifold significance of Judaism's cult. If the temple was, from the time of the early monarchy, the veritable backbone of Jewish life, there is hint that such significance had in any sense decreased by the time we reach the first century A.D. On the contrary, with steadily rising expectations that Yahweh would finally usher in a temple "not made with human hands," one might say that Jesus' world and the world of the evangelists was one in which focus on the cultus was at its peak. [N. Perrin]

See also APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING; CLEAN AND UNCLEAR; ESCHATOLOGY; EXILE AND RESTORATION; JERUSALEM; JUDGMENT; PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD; SYNAGOGUE; TEMPLE ACT; TRIUMPHAL ENTRY; WORSHIP.

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D. M. Gurtner and N. Perrin

TEMPLE ACT

Jesus' temple act is recounted in all four Gospels (Mt 21:12-17; Mk 11:15-19; Lk 19:45-48; Jn 2:13-22). There are some striking variations between the four versions. Despite the differences, the Matthean and Lukan versions clearly appear to be dependent on Mark, whereas the Johannine variant seems to be independent of the Synoptic branch of the tradition.

Hence, the texts of Mark and John will serve as our point of departure in the search for the temple act as an incident in the ministry of Jesus.

Any viable interpretation of the temple act must cohere with other materials in the Gospels on Jesus' relationship to the *temple. Most significant in this respect are the recorded sayings on the destruction (Mk 13:2 par.) and renewal of the temple (Mt 26:61; Mk 14:58; Jn 2:19).

1. The Temple Act Within the Context of the Ministry of Jesus
2. The Temple Act in the Four Gospels

1. The Temple Act Within the Context of the Ministry of Jesus.

1.1. Historical Reconstruction. After Herod the Great expanded and reconstructed the temple in Jerusalem, it reached the impressive size of a complex measuring approximately 450 x 300 m. There was a clear architectural distinction between the temple's blocked-off inner part and the outer court, the former containing the sanctuary proper, the altar for burnt offerings and further equipment for the sacrificial cult, and the latter surrounded by porticoes along all four retaining walls. The market where temple visitors could buy items needed for sacrifices was located in the hall to the south, known as the Royal Portico.

The Johannine version of the incident in the temple, in John 2:14-16, contains some dramatizing features, picturing Jesus as driving out of the temple sheep and cattle with a whip of cords. The rest of what is related in these verses coheres neatly with Mark 11:15b-16. By an analysis of these two texts, a plausible common origin can be inferred on whose basis a historical reconstruction can be formulated: Jesus poured out the coins of some moneychangers and overturned their tables; he reacted against those who sold doves by overturning their seats and ordering them to take away the baskets or cages in which they kept the birds; and he did not allow vessels to be carried through the temple.

1.2. *The Targets of Jesus' Act: Dove Sellers, Moneychangers and Transport Vessels.*

1.2.1. Doves. Turtledoves or pigeons are legitimate sacrificial victims for burnt offerings and sin offerings for poor people who cannot afford more expensive victims, such as lambs or goats (see Lev 5:7; 12:8; 14:21-23; Lk 2:24). It was permitted to bring one's own doves for individual sacrifices, but there was always a risk that the birds would suffer some minor damage during transport and thus not pass the strict priestly inspection demanding absolutely unblemished victims. Hence, the provision of doves for sale

at the market in the temple was definitely an offer appreciated by many pilgrims. Conspicuously, in his actions Jesus disturbed this very activity to the disadvantage of temple visitors in need of doves to offer as their sacrificial victims.

1.2.2. Money Regulations and Temple Tax. With pilgrims coming from all of the vast Jewish Diaspora, bringing with them a wide range of different coins, there was a need of regular exchange and bank services in Jerusalem. In addition to providing such general operations, the moneychangers in the Royal Portico also took care of the specific task of collecting the temple tax. The tax for the temple was annually collected in all Diaspora communities and brought to Jerusalem. However, when individuals or families traveled on pilgrimage to Jerusalem on the occasion of the Passover festival, they could deliver their tax contribution themselves at the very site of the temple. Due to inflationary instability of the value of most currencies at the time, the temple authorities had decided that money transactions in the temple preferentially were to be operated in the exceptionally value-stable silver drachms of the Phoenician town Tyre (*t. Ketub.* 12:6). The temple tax had to be paid with such coins alone: one Tyrian drachm per capita, corresponding to the amount of half a shekel mentioned in Exodus 30:13 (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 3.194-195; 18.312). Hence, the moneychangers provided an indispensable service in offering people the possibility to exchange their money into the required Tyrian drachms and in collecting the temple tax (*m. Šeqal.* 1:3). Once again, in overturning the tables of the moneychangers Jesus interfered with an activity highly valued by all Jewish visitors to the temple.

1.2.3. Vessels. A third action by Jesus was that "he did not allow anyone to carry any vessel through the temple." This prohibition often is understood as an expression of concern for the temple's holiness: Jesus did not accept that people casually were carrying things with them that might be impure into the temple area, or that they abused this area by using it as a shortcut on their way through town (for an analogous concern, see *m. Ber.* 9:5). However, the clear distinction between the inner part of the temple complex, protected by severe purity regulations, and the Herodian expanded platform, on the one hand, and the Royal Portico as the scene of Jesus' action, on the other hand, makes another interpretation of this enigmatic note in Mark 11:16 more likely. The word rendered "vessel," *skeuos*, can denote a wide range of utensils produced of different materials. Within the context of the temple market it most

probably refers to a clay or stone vessel used for storing and transporting either money or vegetable products of some kind. In line with his disturbance of the activities of the dove sellers and the money-changers, Jesus also hindered the transport of either the collected money or flour, oil and wine between the market situated at the southernmost end of the temple complex and the inner precincts, where money was stored and vegetable products were used as ingredients of the sacrifices.

1.3. Interpretation of Jesus' Temple Act. Partly depending on whether or not they accept the recorded sayings by Jesus in Mark 11:17 and John 2:16b as authentic, scholars interpret the incident within the ministry of the historical Jesus either in accordance with what is stated in these sayings or independently of them. There is a crucial difference whether one understands Jesus' concern in his temple act to be the reestablishment of some lost or endangered condition or to signify a fundamental change and break of some kind. Accordingly, it is appropriate to distinguish between noneschatological and eschatological interpretations.

1.3.1. Noneschatological Interpretations. There are different ways of connecting the targets of Jesus' act (see 1.2 above) and the charges made by Jesus in Mark 11:17: "Is it not written, 'My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations'? But you have made it a den of robbers" (NRSV). For example, some scholars have related the accusation that the temple has been made a den of robbers to alleged deplorable conditions of mismanagement in the temple; the reason why Jesus attacked the dove sellers and the moneychangers is supposed to be exploitative prices and charges to the detriment of poor people in particular. Another link assumed is that Jesus reacted against the usage of Tyrian coins, with images of the head of Melkart on the obverse and of an eagle on the reverse, as a desecration of the holy temple. A third proposal is that the metaphor "den of robbers" refers to the Herodian remodeling of the temple in accordance with international Hellenistic standards regarded as compromising the sanctuary of God in making it an instrument for promoting the king's honor and glory and in allowing commercialism. These three proposals have in common that whatever is assumed as the referent of Jesus' "den of robbers" accusation, this intruding factor caused the temple to be alienated from its true purpose of being a place for worship.

1.3.2. Eschatological Interpretations.

1.3.2.1. Preparing Zion for the Pilgrimage of the Peoples. At the time of Jesus, Isaiah 56:3-8, from which

the phrase "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" (Is 56:7b NRSV) is quoted in Mark 11:17, was understood as a prophetic oracle about the new temple to be established on Mount Zion at the end of time (see also Is 2:2-4). On this background, scholars have suggested that Jesus' act was intended as a symbolic preparation for this imminent event. Such an interpretation implies or takes for granted that the presence of a temple market contradicted the conditions applying to the eschatological temple and sees a casual link between Jesus' protest against the market and his aim to prepare Zion for the pilgrimage of the nations (cf. Jer 3:17; Zech 8:20-23).

1.3.2.2. Establishing the Holiness of the Temple. Scholars who take John 2:16b, "Stop making my Father's house a marketplace" (NRSV), to be the authentic saying on the occasion of the temple act predominantly regard this utterance by Jesus as being inspired by Zechariah 14:21b: "And there shall no longer be traders in the house of the LORD of hosts on that day" (NRSV). This prophetic oracle refers to the prevailing circumstances of complete purity in Jerusalem and Judah in the eschatological era, when there no longer will be neither any need nor any legitimate room for traders in the temple.

Either combined with Zechariah 14 or not, the interpretation of the temple act as an attempt to establish the holiness of the temple or as a symbolic reference to the abolition of the market in the future eschatological temple is sometimes given a messianic stamp. In the line of Davidic kings, undertaking cleansing purifications of the temple when needed (cf. 2 Chron 29—31; 34—35), there were some who expected the Messiah to perform a sanctifying cleansing of the temple. Such a messianic interpretation is further substantiated if Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, as recounted by the evangelists (Mk 11:1-10 par.) (see *Triumphal Entry*), is accepted as historical and the two episodes are regarded as two consciously interlinked steps in fulfilling the royal enthronement of Jesus as the Messiah.

1.3.2.3. Symbol of Destruction or Eschatological Renewal. As such, the action of overturning tables has a negative sting to it, but it is too vague to give a clear hint of what meaning is intended. However, in combination with sayings by Jesus about the destruction of the temple—"Not one stone will be left here upon another; all will be thrown down" (Mk 13:2b NRSV)—the demonstrative action might take on the unambiguous meaning of symbolizing destruction.

Unless one considers the temple to be an entity that, according to Jesus, is completely contradictory to his message or superfluous in the eschatological

kingdom, a symbol of destruction appears to be an unconvincing and too limited meaning of the temple act. For this reason, and under due consideration of those sayings by Jesus that are not restricted to a threat or prophecy of the destruction but rather include the renewal or the replacement of the old temple (see Mt 26:61; 27:40; Mk 14:58; 15:29), most scholars suppose an intent on the part of Jesus going beyond a mere negative symbolism. Hence, destruction is not a goal of its own, but only the necessary precondition for bringing about the renewal of the temple that by far will surpass even the most glorious moments in the history of the passed temple.

1.3.2.4. *An Urgent Call for Repentance.* Jesus' central message was the imminent coming of the *kingdom of God. As the harbinger or exclusive mediator of eschatological *salvation, Jesus called people to repent and become his disciples (see Repentance). It is easily conceivable that Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom could turn out to be in rivalry with the temple service. To cling to the traditional sacrificial cult as the basis of atonement and salvation, ignoring or rejecting God's call in the ministry of Jesus, is deceptive. On this background, Jesus' attack on services and functions of the temple market vital to a smoothly functioning incessant sacrificial cult appears as a dramatic call to the priestly authorities in particular to wake up and realize that God is about to bring his kingdom through the work of his messenger Jesus of Nazareth.

1.3.2.5. *Signifying the End of the Old Temple Cult and the Coming of the New Temple.* With the actions and saying transmitted in Mark 11:15-17 taken into due consideration, the interpretation above (in 1.3.2.4) can be specified and developed further. The aim of disturbing the selling of doves, collection of the temple tax and transport from the market to the inner precincts of the temple was to symbolically stop the sacrificial cult. Through his act, Jesus expressed his conviction that the end of the traditional temple cult had come, both individual offerings, exemplified by the doves, and the collective cult on behalf of the whole Jewish people, financed by the temple tax. If we take into account that the daily burnt offerings of two, unblemished one-year-old male lambs, the so-called *tāmīd* (Ex 29:38-42; Num 28:3-8; *m. Tamid*), were classified as atonement sacrifices (*Jub.* 6:14; 50:11; *t. Šeqal.* 1:6), and that for this reason it was firmly regulated that Jews were obliged to pay the temple tax, whereas *Gentiles and *Samaritans were forbidden to do so (*m. Šeqal.* 1:3, 5), the scope of Jesus' intervention becomes clear. Through the temple tax each Jew, regardless of place

or residence, had a share in the collective sacrificial cult and in its atoning effect, and the tax is correspondingly called a "ransom" (see Philo, *Spec.* 1.77; *Her.* 186; *b. B.Bat.* 9a). The disturbance of the collection of the temple tax hit the sacrificial apparatus in its theologically most crucial function.

Jesus' charge in the accompanying saying that they have made the temple a den of robbers is an allusion to the corresponding accusation by the prophet Jeremiah to his contemporaries in a speech held at the entrance to the temple in Jerusalem approximately in the year 609 B.C. (Jer 7:1-15, cf. Jer 26): "Has this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your sight? Also I look upon it this way, says the LORD" (Jer 7:11). In his speech Jeremiah blames the people for combining a most outrageous transgression of the commandments of the Lord with a seemingly high esteem for the temple as the house of God. However, when they consider the temple to be an impregnable refuge thanks to God's presence on Zion, they act the same way as robbers. Robbers seek their den as a safe haven between their operations. When the Judeans who sin and violate God's will think that his holy site is the place of perfect protection, they have defined the role of the temple to be like a den of robbers. In the quoted oracle God says that from now on he will share the Judeans' view of the temple, but the consequence that he will draw is quite contrary to theirs. Unless the people repent to a life in harmony with God's commandments, the temple in Jerusalem will share the destiny of destruction with the previous sanctuary in Shiloh. Some twenty years later the temple in Jerusalem was destroyed. Those listening to Jesus definitely recognized the allusion to Jeremiah 7:11 and the implied threat in his saying. To cling stubbornly to the sacrificial cult and seek security in its atoning effect at this hour of eschatological fulfillment brought by Jesus in messianic authority is as deceptive as the schizophrenic conduct of Jeremiah's contemporaries.

In his saying, recounted in Mark 14:58, probably uttered shortly after the arrival in Jerusalem, Jesus stated his intention to substitute a new sanctuary, one "not made with hands," for the present temple, which was built by human hands. The epithet "not made with hands" alludes to an apocalyptic tradition that God will not leave it to humans to establish the end-time temple on Mount Zion, but instead will do it himself (cf. Ex 15:17 applied to the eschatological temple, and 4Q174 1 I, 1-5; 11Q19 XXIX, 9-10; 1 En. 90:29; 91:13; *Jub.* 1:17, 29; Tob 14:5; 4 Ezra 13:36). Boldly, Jesus claims for himself the divine prerogative of establishing the eschatological temple, and in

the citation of Isaiah 56:7b in Mark 11:17, contrasting the “den of robbers” accusation, he states what will be the legitimate function of this future temple. In the kingdom of God there will be no need for an atonement cult in the temple, but the temple in Zion will be the place where all nations assemble to pray and worship the Lord.

The reaction of the Jewish authorities to the temple act was negative: “They kept looking for a way to kill him” (Mk 11:18 NRSV). Within a short time they were successful, managing to arrest him and convincing the Romans to execute him. Also with this outcome of Jesus’ provocative demonstration there is a positive message inherent in the symbolic temple act. The outdated cultic system will be replaced also in spite of a rejection of Jesus. Paradoxically, in his violent death Jesus becomes the ransom (Mk 10:45), and his body is given and his blood is poured out for many as the definite atonement sacrifice (Mk 14:22, 24).

2. The Temple Act in the Four Gospels.

2.1. Mark. The evangelist Mark sets a striking compositional mark in framing the temple act with the cursing of a fig tree and, as a result, its withering (Mk 11:12-14, 20-25). This clearly is a symbol of judgment. As the fig tree is a traditional image of Israel (Is 28:3-4; Jer 8:13), and the curse of the tree and its withering as an *inclusio* frame Jesus’ act and the negative response to it, the judgment applies to the Jewish leaders and the temple, which has deteriorated to a den of robbers. The temple will be completely destroyed (Mk 13:2). Instead of being elevated at the end of time, as expected (cf. Is 2:2; Mic 4:1), the temple will be cast down (cf. Mk 11:23).

The transition from the old temple, built by human hands, and its cult to a new and different sanctuary is dramatically expressed in the tearing of the curtain between the temple hall and the holy of holies (Mk 15:38; cf. Ex 26:31-33) at the death of Jesus. This is a symbol that his death once for all opens the access to God. The new temple, not made with hands (Mk 14:58), takes shape in the community of believers, Jews and Gentiles, who gather for prayer in this house of the Lord (Mk 11:17, 24-25).

2.2. Matthew. Compared to Mark, Matthew omits the ban on carrying vessels and the phrase “for all the nations” in the saying about the temple as a house of prayer (Mt 21:12-13), and further, he places the cursing of the fig tree as one uninterrupted scene after the temple act (Mt 21:18-22). Following Mark also in the prophecy of the temple’s destruction (Mt 24:2) and the tearing of the curtain (Mt 27:51), Mat-

thew shares the Markan view of judgment and abolition of the temple cult.

Matthew’s unique contribution to the events in the temple is his insertion of a second scene, following immediately after the market controversy: Jesus heals blind and lame persons coming to him in the temple; enthusiastic children praise him; chief priests and scribes object to this, but Jesus justifies the behavior of the children in citing a warrant for it in the Scriptures (Mt 21:14-16). Within this textual structure, the temple act proper is reduced to an introductory episode, establishing the circumstances needed for the scene of *healings that carries the emphasis in the Matthean account. Matthew describes Jesus as the merciful “Son of David caring for the sick (Mt 9:27-30, 35; 15:22, 28-31; 20:30-34), and in control of the temple Jesus can now perform his messianic healing ministry there. There probably is an element of dubious legitimacy for bodily disabled persons being present in the temple (cf. LXX 2 Sam 5:8; 11Q19 XLV, 12-14) presupposed in the account; on an earlier occasion Jesus had provoked opposition by healing on the holy Sabbath (Mt 12:9-14), and now he challenges by healing the disabled on the holy site of the temple. However, the sharpest point of controversy is not the healings but rather the children’s praise: “Hosanna to the Son of David.” When the chief priests and scribes object to it, Jesus justifies the ongoing acclamation with a reference to LXX Psalm 8:3 (ET 8:2): “Out of the mouths of infants and nursing babies you have prepared praise for yourself” (Mt 21:16 NRSV). The psalmist addresses the Lord, and in applying this utterance to the present scene the Matthean Jesus claims for himself a role corresponding to that of God in bringing the small *children to praise him. Hence, not only is God to be glorified for Jesus’ healings (Mt 15:31), but also Jesus himself, as “Emmanuel” (Mt 1:23), the merciful Son of David and messianic doctor, is worthy of worship.

2.3. Luke. Luke reduces the incident in the temple to the short notice that Jesus “began to drive out those who were selling” (NRSV) and omits the phrase “for all the nations” in the accompanying saying (Lk 19:45-46). He immediately continues, “Every day he was teaching in the temple” (Lk 19:47a NRSV). In this way, Jesus’ interruption of the market activities merely appears as his authoritative takeover of the temple in order to make it the scene for his messianic teaching continuing for a long period (Lk 21:37-38). Correspondingly, what the Jewish authorities react against in the Lukan narrative is Jesus’ teaching (cf. Lk 19:47—20:2) (*see* Teacher). The role of the temple as the house of God for prayer and teaching

found, according to Luke's description, its consistent correspondence in the practice of the early community of believers (Lk 24:53; Acts 3:1; 5:20-21, 42).

2.4. John. The most conspicuous differences in John compared to the Synoptic Gospels are the compositional placement of the temple act at the beginning of Jesus' ministry (Jn 2:13-17) and the immediate application of the saying about destruction and renewal of the temple to the incident (Jn 2:18-22). In pulling the clash in the temple act to this initial position, John manages to set the stage for the conflict between Jesus and the Jews that pervades his Gospel. Only superficially is this a controversy about the legitimacy of a market in the temple. What really is at stake is that Jesus' zeal for his Father's house finally will lead to his violent death, as indeed his disciples realized when they were reminded of the psalmist's words "Zeal for your house will consume me" (Jn 2:17 NRSV, citing Ps 69:9). To the request for a sign to prove his authority to act as boldly as he has done, Jesus answers, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (Jn 2:19 NRSV). Whereas his interlocutors take this to be a presumptuous and absurd statement, the evangelist comments to his readers that Jesus actually was speaking of the temple of his body. This reference to Jesus explains the changed rendering of the temple saying in John 2:19 compared to Mark 14:58. Not Jesus, but rather the Jewish leaders, will destroy the temple (cf. Jn 11:47-53; 18:30, 40; 19:6-7, 12), but after three days Jesus will raise it up, and here he employs the verb *egeirō*, which most frequently is used about resurrection from the dead (Jn 2:22; 5:21; 12:1; 21:14). Hence, according to John, Jesus' body is the true temple that has replaced the temple of former times, and therefore the graceful divine presence has moved from the temple in Jerusalem to Jesus (cf. Jn 1:14; 4:19-24).

See also JERUSALEM; TEMPLE; TRIUMPHAL ENTRY; WORSHIP.

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J. Ådna

TEMPLE TAX. See ECONOMICS.

TEMPTATION OF JESUS

A striking theme in the Gospel narratives is Jesus experiencing temptations, which leads us to recognize the cosmic conflict that he underwent as he brought the *kingdom of God to invade the kingdom of this world. The ways he battled temptations

were unique to his person and role, but also become examples for his followers.

1. Temptation Terminology and Concepts
2. Temptations of Jesus
3. Temptation of Jesus in the Wilderness
4. The Emphases of the Gospel Writers
5. Conclusion

1. Temptation Terminology and Concepts.

The Greek and Hebrew words behind the concept of temptation are fairly limited, but they reflect a broad range of meaning. The Greek noun *peirasmos* and verb *peirazō* can be used in the NT in either a negative or positive sense. In a negative sense, the terms are rendered “temptation” and “tempt” (e.g., Mk 14:38; Lk 4:13; cf. Mt 4:1, 3), indicating a hostile enticement intended to lead a person to a deliberate act of evil against God or one’s neighbor. In a positive sense, the terms are rendered “test” (Gal 4:14; cf. Jn 6:6), indicating the endeavor to prove or approve one’s faithfulness, truthfulness or character (e.g., Heb 11:17). The objective of positive testing is ultimately to ascertain and intensify a believer’s faith, commitment and devotion to God (see BDAG 646). The Greek adjective *dokimos* and verb *dokimazō* can be used interchangeably with *peirasmos* and *peirazō*, but generally they imply a positive sense of a testing that will have positive results (e.g., Jas 1:12), as a believer who is “approved” by God (2 Tim 2:15) and as the transformed believer “proves” what is the will of God (Rom 12:2; cf. 1 Cor 11:28) (BDAG 255-56).

In the LXX *peirasmos* is used to translate the equivalent Hebrew noun *massā* (e.g., Ex 17:7; Deut 6:16), and *peirazō* regularly translates the verb *nāsā* (e.g., Gen 22:1; Ex 16:4). The Hebrew verb *bāḥan* corresponds to the Greek verb *dokimazō*. It is used with a secular sense to indicate the testing of gold to determine its purity (Zech 13:9), which leads to the spiritual sense of the testing of persons to determine the purity of their life, heart and mind (e.g., Job 7:18; Ps 7:9; 26:2; 139:23) (Seesemann).

Negatively, these terms are used in a distinct way to denote humans undertaking to put God to a test (Deut 6:16). Such a test challenges God’s plans or purposes (e.g., Ps 78:41 [*nāsā*] = LXX 77:41 [*peirazō*]) or seeks to manipulate God (e.g., Ps 95:9 [*bāḥan*] = LXX 94:9 [*dokimazō*]). This is an expression of unbelief, doubt, disobedience and rebellion.

Positively, God gave manna to the people of Israel, which they were to gather every day so that he would test (*nāsā*) them, whether they will walk in his law or not (Ex 16:4). God tested (*nāsā*) Abraham’s faithfulness by instructing him to sacrifice his

son Isaac but provided a ram when Abraham proved obedient (Gen 22:1-14). Although these terms are rare in the book of Job (e.g., in a neutral sense: *nāsā* [Job 4:2]; *peiratērion* [LXX Job 7:1; 10:17]), it is clear that God gave permission to Satan to test Job with the severest afflictions (Job 1:12; 2:6). Both Abraham and Job demonstrate their faithfulness to God and are rewarded (Gen 22:15-18; Job 42:11-17).

Later Jewish writings understood the reality of temptations to evil and also that divine testings have a positive pedagogical purpose. An evil bent within human beings leads them to put God to the test (*peirazō* [Jdt 8:12]). Wisdom recognizes that the discipline of God’s people leads to great good, because God tested (*peirazō*) them and he found them worthy of himself (Wis 3:5). God tests his people in order to discipline, admonish and benefit them (Jdt 8:25; cf. Sir 4:17; 33:1). Ben Sira insists on the goodness of God in the midst of testing (Sir 15:11-12; cf. Sir 15:20). The rabbis likewise understood that God tests and disciplines those whom he loves (*b. Ber.* 5a), but there is also a clear recognition that there is within humans an evil inclination that is a temptation to sin and iniquity (*b. Ber.* 60b).

The NT writers make it clear that God does not tempt humans to do evil (e.g., Jas 1:12-15), but rather that he uses circumstances to test a person’s character or resolve with the intended purpose of promoting good ends (e.g., Heb 11:17). Additionally, Paul stresses that God makes available the resources necessary to resist temptation (e.g., 1 Cor 10:13) (see Himes). The familiar petition in the Lord’s Prayer—“Do not lead us into temptation [*peirasmos*], but deliver us from evil [or, ‘the evil one’]” (Mt 6:13)—indicates that the *disciples should pray either that God remove tests of their faith (e.g., Ex 16:4; Deut 8:16; 1 Pet 1:7) or that their testing not become an occasion for temptation (see Fitzmyer, 271-72).

2. Temptations of Jesus.

According to the Gospels, Jesus’ life was one of continual temptations. At the *Last Supper, Jesus describes the whole of his ministry as one of temptations as he established the kingdom of God that had been given to him by the Father (Lk 22:28-29).

The overt source of Jesus’ temptations came in large part from the religious leaders of Israel. The *Pharisees and *Sadducees “tested” Jesus by asking him to show them a sign from heaven (Mt 16:1; Mk 8:11). Some had accused Jesus of performing exorcisms through the power of Satan (Mt 9:34; 12:24), so they wanted Jesus to perform a spectacular display of power that would demonstrate that his power was

from God, not Satan (Mt 12:38-42) (*see* Demon, Devil, Satan). Although the request appears innocent enough, their testing of Jesus was seen by him as representative of the *scribes and Pharisees speaking for their generation in its unbelief by asking for a sign (Mt 12:39-42) (Nolland, 510). The motive behind a test can be insidious or innocent, depending on the one doing the testing.

Underlying all temptations in Jesus' ministry is Satan, who is regarded as the prime initiator to the degree that he is referred to as "the tempter" (*ho peirazōn* [Mt 4:3]). His prime target is Jesus and Jesus' mission of establishing the kingdom of God and providing salvation through the cross. He attacks Jesus directly, as in the temptations in the wilderness (*see* Mountain and Wilderness), but also indirectly, even by using Jesus' closest companions. After Jesus' first prediction of his death Peter attempts to dissuade him. But Jesus saw Peter as a tool of temptation from Satan, as he says to him, "Get behind me, Satan!" (Mk 8:33). When Jesus predicted that Peter would deny him, he revealed that Satan was the instigator who demanded to sift Peter like wheat (Lk 22:31-32). Jesus calls Judas Iscariot "the devil" for betraying him (Jn 6:70-71), since Satan put it in his heart (Jn 13:2) and entered him to direct the betrayal (Lk 22:3; Jn 13:27). When Jesus needed his closest companions—Peter, James and John—to support him at *Gethsemane, he reveals that they are being tempted to succumb to their human weakness and not watch with him (Mt 26:41; Mk 14:38; Lk 22:46). In Gethsemane Jesus experienced temptation in his own human struggle of obedience to the Father's will to go to *death in the crucifixion. Jesus refers to the "power of darkness" at his arrest (Lk 22:53), which is his identification of Satan's continuing activity in his betrayal, arrest and crucifixion (McKinley, 27-31).

3. Temptation of Jesus in the Wilderness.

A primary temptation incident in Jesus' earthly life is when Satan tempts him following his *baptism in the Jordan River by *John the Baptist. Mark gives a succinct report (Mk 1:12-13), while Matthew and Luke narrate a more extensive temptation with three confrontations: in the wilderness, on the *temple and on the mountain (Mt 4:1-11; Lk 4:1-13). This temptation narrative does not occur in John's Gospel.

3.1. The Origin of the Temptation Narrative. The prominent place of Jesus' temptations at the outset of the Synoptic narratives signals the importance in their stories. Although some suggest that the Matthean and Lukan versions are such stylized and polished literary pieces that they must have origi-

nated in the early church (e.g., Taylor), other factors point to the temptations as having occurred in Jesus' lifetime and expressing his historical experience.

First, Jesus' initial victory over Satan in these temptations signals the beginning of Satan's defeat. Later in his ministry Jesus alludes to his binding of Beelzubul and plundering his goods (Mk 3:27) and also speaks of seeing Satan fall from heaven (Lk 10:18). Jesus' initial victory over Satan in the wilderness temptations provides a fitting historical origin for those later sayings and would have become a significant part of the developing tradition surrounding Jesus' ministry (Davies and Allison, 1:357).

Second, the initial battle with Satan in the wilderness fits with Jesus' self-perception. He understood that his mission to establish the kingdom of God and encounter the cross would include temptations from Satan that were intended to deter him (Lk 22:28-30). The narrative of the wilderness temptations coheres with this self-perception (Wright, 457-59).

Third, the temptation in the wilderness is an experience private to Jesus. But Jesus' struggle against Satan's temptations as he establishes the kingdom of God is part of a larger *apocalyptic story that he would have recounted later to his disciples in the light of their own trials and temptations (Matthewson). The disciples passed on the story of Jesus' temptation as something unique to his messianic role as the *Son of God (cf. Mt 3:17; 4:3, 6; Mk 1:1, 11), but they found help in Jesus' story for understanding their own temptations (*see* Heb 2:17-18; 4:15).

The development of the Jesus tradition to include such diverse temptation accounts as found in Mark and Matthew // Luke indicates at the least a historical nucleus circulating in the church that the evangelists drew upon. It is likely that Mark draws upon a pre-Markan tradition, and Matthew and Luke drew upon a separate tradition, perhaps the so-called *Q source. A drastic abbreviation by Mark of the Matthew-Luke source is difficult to explain, and the Markan and Matthew-Luke sources are quite different in content; for example, Matthew and Luke do not mention the animals, and Mark does not mention fasting (*see* Marcus, 168-71; Davies and Allison, 1:350-51).

Therefore, while the evangelists offered unique perspectives on the temptations that accomplished their theological and literary purposes, it is probable that the material for their narratives originated in the early stage of the mission of the historical Jesus as he initiated the kingdom of God that threatened to overthrow Satan's kingdom.

3.2. The Order of the Temptations. Matthew and

Luke differ in their order of the second and third temptations. The majority of scholars conclude that Matthew preserves the original order with the purpose of narrating chronological sequence, while Luke reverses the second and third in order to emphasize Jerusalem as the place of the climactic temple test, in accord with the temple theme of Luke-Acts (Taylor). Matthew uses the sequential adverbs “then” (*tote* [Mt 4:5]) to connect the first and second temptations, and “again” (*palin* [Mt 4:8]) to connect the second and third, which he elsewhere uses to note chronological progression (e.g., *tote* [Mt 3:13; 4:1]; *palin* [Mt 22:42-44]). Luke uses simple connectors, “and” (*kai* [Lk 4:5], *de* [Lk 4:9]), which do not imply chronological progression. We follow Matthew’s order below.

3.3. The Setting of the Temptations. The Synoptics agree that the place of the temptation was in the wilderness or desert (*erēmos* [Mt 4:1; Mk 1:12; Lk 4:2]), probably referring to the empty Judean highlands west of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. This is quite likely the same wilderness in which John the Baptist appeared (cf. Mk 1:4). But unlike John, Jesus will not first preach. He will fast for forty days and nights (Mt 4:2; Lk 4:2). The period of forty days of hardship often indicated preparation for a particularly significant involvement in God’s activities (e.g., Moses [Ex 24:18; Deut 9:25], Elijah [1 Kings 19:8], Ezekiel [Ezek 4:6]). Fasting often was used as a means of focusing one’s attention in *prayer, disciplining oneself to unite body and soul in a concerted effort. Jesus was readying himself for his public ministry.

Early Christian tradition placed Jesus’ forty-day fast on the peak Jebel Quarantal. Looking west to the Judean wilderness from the Jordan River in the Jericho area, it is one of the nearest mountains. It is also near Ein Qelt, the freshwater spring that runs through the Wadi Qelt. Fasting did not prohibit drinking water. Emperor Justinian erected a church in the sixth century A.D. on the summit to commemorate Jesus’ vigil. It is possible that this is the actual site, but one cannot be certain.

Several points are important for understanding the temptations. First, the four Gospels emphasize that the Spirit came upon Jesus at his baptism, and the Synoptics emphasize that following the baptism the Spirit led Jesus to the wilderness to engage the enemy. This indicates the role that the Spirit will play throughout Jesus’ ministry. Second, the Synoptics introduce the antagonist of the temptation accounts in different ways: “the tempter” (*ho peirazōn* [Mt 4:3]), “the Satan” (*ho satan* [Mk 1:13]), “the devil” (*ho diabolos* [Lk 4:2; Mt 4:2]).

Third, parallels between Adam’s and Jesus’ temptations have been noted by many since the early church fathers (e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Fragment 17*; John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 13.1-4). What Adam, the first “son” of God in the creation, failed to accomplish, Jesus as the incarnate Son of God will fulfill. The first Adam failed in idyllic conditions; the last Adam succeeds in the wilderness. Death was the result of Adam’s sin, but Jesus’ suffering and temptation will enable him to make atonement for his people’s sin and bring life.

Fourth, Jesus’ early life at places fulfills the history of *Israel (e.g., Mt 2:15, 17), and his victorious encounter in the temptations surpasses the experience of Israel/Moses in the forty years of wandering in the wilderness. Although Israel had been endowed with the Spirit (see Num 11:17, 25, 29; 24:2), Jesus will be fully obedient to the Spirit’s leading where the nation was not. The temptations reenact Israel’s history, but victoriously. Neither the nation Israel nor *Moses the leader of the nation successfully passed the tests in the wilderness. Jesus now fulfills where they failed.

Fifth, Jesus’ victory in the encounter confirms his identity and mission as the unique Son of God (cf. Mt 3:17; Lk 3:22) (see Garlington). The allusions to the fall of Adam and the failures of Israel in the wilderness call for God’s new beginning, and Jesus is called upon as the unique Son of God to rectify the previous failures. But further, the obedient Son becomes the prototype of victory over temptation for all who follow him (cf. Heb 4:14-16). Satan tries to foil God’s plan for humanity’s redemption by disqualifying Jesus as the sinless Savior and obedient Son, but he will be unsuccessful.

3.4. The First Temptation (Mt 4:3-4; Lk 4:3-4). A pattern can be observed in the first temptation that is repeated at least partially in all three of them. The nature of the temptations is expressed in the tempter’s first words: “If you are the Son of God.” This key phrase, repeated in the second temptation (Mt 4:6; cf. Lk 4:9), is, in Greek syntax, the protasis of a first-class conditional statement that reflects the tempter’s overall intent to manipulate Jesus: “If [or, ‘since’] you are the Son of God, command these stones to become bread.” Satan does not doubt Jesus’ identity as the Son of God, nor is he trying to get Jesus to doubt it, but rather he is trying to get Jesus to misuse his prerogatives as the Son of God. Jesus had it within his powers to perform such a miracle, because later he will miraculously multiply loaves and fishes to feed five thousand and then four thousand people. But it was not the Father’s will for him to

acquire food miraculously here. For Jesus to have turned the stones into bread would have led him outside of the will of the Father for the Son's incarnational experience.

Jesus does not pit his powers as Son of God against Satan's power. Instead, he uses the truth of Scripture to guide his perception of reality. By quoting a passage from Deuteronomy, as he does in the following two temptations, a link is established between Jesus' temptations and Israel's experience in the wilderness (see Old Testament in the Gospels). In Deuteronomy 8:2 Moses reminded the people of Israel that God had led them those forty years in the wilderness in order to humble and to test them. One of the tests was through hunger and God's miraculous provision of manna. Moses states that the purpose of the test was to teach them "One does not live on bread only, but upon every word that comes from the mouth of the LORD" (Deut 8:3). This lesson Jesus quotes in his response to Satan's temptation (Mt 4:4; Lk 4:4). Jesus does not need to turn stones into bread in order to confirm his identity or to supply his needs.

3.5. The Second Temptation (Mt 4:5-7; Lk 4:9-12). According to Matthew, the devil next takes Jesus to Jerusalem, the holy city, and sets him on the highest point of the temple. The identification of "the pinnacle" (*to pterygion*) is debated, but it may refer to the southeast corner of the temple area, where it looms some 450 feet high over the Kidron Valley (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 15:411-413). Satan approaches Jesus again with the words "If you are the Son of God," but this time Satan quotes from Psalm 91, where the psalmist asserts God's protecting care for the faithful in Israel (Ps 91:11-12). The devil urges Jesus to throw himself down from that high place so that God will send angels to rescue him (Mt 4:6; Lk 4:10). Jesus had the ability to do what the devil tempts him to do. Just prior to his arrest and crucifixion, Jesus states that if he wanted to do so, he could call on his Father to rescue him by sending more than twelve legions of *angels (Mt 26:53).

The devil's quotation is a misuse of Scripture to try to manipulate Jesus (Kähler). The OT context does not imply that God will send protecting care for any and every harmful situation. Jesus sees through the devil's Scripture-twisting to the motivation behind it, and he replies again with a quotation from the book of Deuteronomy: "Again it is written, 'You shall not tempt the Lord your God'" (Mt 4:7; Lk 4:10-11).

By taking Jesus to the temple, the devil may also be tempting Jesus to test the Father's will for his messianic reception and gain the following of the nation

Israel by a spectacular display at the central place of Israel's religion, the temple. But Jesus is not to gain a following in that way. His following will come by proclaiming the *gospel of the kingdom of God, and he will suffer whatever consequences may come.

3.6. The Third Temptation (Mt 4:8-10; Lk 4:5-8). The devil then takes Jesus to a very high mountain and shows him all the kingdoms of the world and their splendor (Mt 4:8). Luke does not mention a mountain, only that the devil "took him up" (*anagagōn auton* [Lk 4:5]). This may indicate that this temptation came through some type of visionary experience, since no mountain could make visible all of the kingdoms on the earth's sphere.

The devil then makes an offer: "All this I will give to you, if you fall down and worship me" (Mt 4:9; Lk 4:7). Jesus' ultimate purpose is to gather the nations into the kingdom of God (cf. Mt 25:31-34), but first he must suffer execution (Mt 16:21-23; cf. Mt 26:39-46). So the devil offers a shortcut to bypass the suffering. But taking the shortcut requires an immense condition: he must give up the will of his Father in heaven to worship the devil on earth.

Worship is to be given only to God (see Deut 6:13-14; 10:20), but Satan calls for Jesus to value the creature more than the Creator, to value the kingdoms of the world more than the kingdom of God. Satan's call for Jesus to worship him is an indication of his overall objective and is, indeed, the essence of sin itself—Satan desires to supplant God. Jesus counters the devil's temptation with a final quotation from Deuteronomy: "You shall worship the Lord your God and serve him only" (Mt 4:10 // Lk 4:8 [cf. Deut 6:13]).

3.7. The Outcome of the Temptations. Matthew states that after the temptations the devil leaves Jesus (Mt 4:11), but Luke indicates that Satan would return (Lk 4:13) throughout Jesus' ministry to attempt to sidetrack him from his messianic mission. Rejecting the role of a wonder-worker, commander of angels and ruler of kingdoms, Jesus demonstrates that he has not adopted many of Israel's messianic expectations of God's deliverance from economic, spiritual and military oppression (Wright, 458). Jesus succeeds where his precursors Adam and Israel failed, and this marks the beginning of his messianic mission to bring the eschatological *salvation that will renew the fallen created order (McKinley, 22-23).

4. The Emphases of the Gospel Writers.

The Synoptics agree that the place of Jesus' temptation was in the wilderness or desert, that the Spirit played an active role in Jesus' ordeal, and that the

duration of Jesus in the wilderness was forty days. From there, they have different emphases.

4.1. Matthew. Matthew uses an infinitive of purpose, *peirasthēnai* (“to be tempted” [Mt 4:1]), to indicate why the Spirit led Jesus to the wilderness—the temptation was part of a divine plan. Matthew alone emphasizes that the temptations come after a fast of forty days and forty nights, which comports with the same period of time that Moses was on Mount Sinai neither eating nor drinking (Ex 34:28). This has been understood by some to indicate that Jesus is the new Moses, but a more comprehensive perspective recognizes that Jesus actualizes the promise of redemption to the nation Israel through Moses that was initiated with the Passover and the exodus (e.g., Mt 2:13, 16–18, 19–21).

The conditional clause “If you are the Son of God” (Mt 4:3, 6) takes the reader back to the voice from heaven in the baptism: “This is my beloved Son” (Mt 3:17). Matthew’s arrangement reproduces Jesus’ quotations of Deuteronomy 8:3; 6:16, 13, pointing to the sequence of events experienced by the people of Israel in the wilderness: provision of manna (Ex 16), testing at Massah (Ex 17) and worship of the golden calf (Ex 32). Matthew contrasts Jesus’ obedient response as God’s Son with the disobedience of Israel as God’s son (Mt 2:15; cf. Hos 11:1–2).

Matthew alone has a commanding ending to the temptations when Jesus declares, “Away from me, Satan!” (Mt 4:10). The one called “the devil” (Mt 4:1, 5, 8) is now called “Satan”—the “Adversary.” In this response Jesus exerts his rightful authority over Satan by issuing his first command (cf. Mt 16:23). As powerful as Satan may be, and as frail as Jesus must be because of the extended fasting and the intensity of the temptations, Jesus vanquishes him with a word, and as Matthew states simply, “Then the devil left him” (Mt 4:11). This is only the first of many attacks from Satan that Jesus will experience throughout his ministry. But Jesus’ victory here establishes the precedent for his, and all, spiritual warfare: resisting the devil’s onslaught through standing firm on the truth of God will cause Satan to flee (cf. Jas 4:7; 1 Pet 5:8–9).

Matthew, like Mark, adds a final comforting comment: “Angels came and were serving him” (Mt 4:11). The angels attended to Jesus’ physical needs after the long period of fasting, but more importantly, this indicates the cosmic significance of the scene. The Son has begun the invasion of Satan’s domain. This has been a momentous initial victory in the cosmic battle. Heaven knows the significance, and angels serve the Son who advances the kingdom (cf. Mt 4:12–17).

4.2. Mark. Mark’s account of Jesus’ temptation in the wilderness has a graphic simplicity. In four brief statements, each joined by the simple conjunction “and” (*kai*), Mark highlights the operation of the Spirit, and forty days enduring the hostility of Satan, and the presence of wild animals, and the service of angels. There is no mention of fasting and no identification of specific temptations.

Although Mark provides no details of the temptations, he will highlight how Jesus later endured testing or temptation from the religious opposition at three critical points in his ministry (Mk 8:11; 10:2; 12:13). Mark emphasizes that the enemies of Jesus, like Satan, are the epitome of duplicity and hypocrisy in their quest to deny Jesus his messianic mission (Garrett 1998, 61–62).

Mark, like Matthew, links the temptation story with Jesus’ baptism, the introduction of the Spirit, and the voice from heaven: “You are my beloved Son” (Mk 1:1). Mark has a unique perspective of the activity of the Spirit. Matthew and Luke narrate that Jesus was “led” (variants of *agō*) by the Spirit, whereas in Mark the Spirit “impelled” or “drove out” (*ekballō*) Jesus to the wilderness (Mk 1:12). Mark emphasizes the controlling power of the Spirit in Jesus’ ministry, even in his temptations.

Mark does not state explicitly the outcome of the temptations, but instead states only that Jesus was “with the wild animals and the angels served him” (Mk 1:13). The imagery has been interpreted quite differently. Some understand the imagery of the wild animals as simply a descriptive aside that comports with the loneliness of the wilderness scene. Others contend that Mark associates the wild beasts with demonic forces that are Satan’s allies against Jesus, so that the wilderness motif evokes the image of an eschatological battleground where Jesus wins an initial and decisive victory (Gibson, 64–79). Others have understood the imagery as intended to evoke impressions of Adam and the garden, whether idyllic (Bauckham) or hostile (Marcus, 167–71), signifying the restoration of the fallen paradise: the eschatological Adam resisted Satan and did not yield to temptation as did the first Adam (Bauckham). Still others emphasize that Mark intends to evoke the image of Israel’s forty-year wanderings and testings in the wilderness, with Jesus victorious where Israel failed (Caneday; McKinley [22–23] links both Adam and Israel imagery).

While the imagery of the wild beasts is enigmatic, the concluding image of angels serving Jesus clearly signifies that he has been victorious in the temptations from Satan. As God’s Son, who is beloved and

pleasing to the Father (Mk 1:11), Jesus' victory over Satan and his faithfulness to the Father finds him worthy of service from God's ministering angels.

4.3. Luke. Like Matthew and Mark, Luke's narration of John the Baptist's ministry culminates in Jesus' baptism, in which the Spirit descended on Jesus and the voice from heaven declared him to be "my beloved Son" (Lk 3:21-22). Luke then uniquely inserts the genealogy of Jesus that begins with Jesus as "the son, as was thought [*hōs enomizeto*] of Joseph" (Lk 3:23) but climaxes with Jesus as the descendent of Adam, who is identified as "son of God" (Lk 3:38). The dual declaration of the baptism and *genealogy that Jesus is the Son of God ushers in the temptation narrative, where Jesus is tested as God's Son (Lk 4:3, 9). Adam as God's son and Israel as God's son (Ex 4:22-23) prepare for Jesus as God's Son. But where both Adam and Israel were unfaithful, Jesus will be faithful to the Father's mission as the agent of God's redemptive program (Green, 190-93).

With a more pronounced emphasis upon the Spirit than Matthew or Mark, Luke states that at the beginning of the temptation scene Jesus was "full of the Holy Spirit," and that he "was led [*ēgeto*, imperfect passive] by the Spirit" (Lk 4:1) (*see* Holy Spirit). Luke alone remarks that at the end of the temptations Jesus returns to Galilee "in the power of the Spirit" (Lk 4:14). The Spirit leading Jesus into the wilderness demonstrates that while Satan intends these as temptations, God intends them as tests to strengthen Jesus for his messianic mission. The confrontation in the wilderness is not only between Jesus and the devil, but simultaneously a confrontation between the Spirit and the devil. The battle of cosmic forces sets the stage for Luke's narration of Jesus' incursions into Satan's domain throughout his mission (Garrett 1989, 37-43).

Luke's account includes the devil's claim that he will give to Jesus the *"authority" (*exousia*) of the kingdoms of the world, which had been given to him, and the devil can give it to whomever he wishes (Lk 4:5-6). Luke elsewhere refers to the "authority" of political and military powers (e.g., Lk 7:8; 12:11; 19:17; 20:20; 23:7), but his more typical usage points to the spiritual authority of Jesus' teaching (e.g., Lk 4:32, 36) and *forgiving sins (Lk 5:24), and the authority that Jesus gave to the Twelve to cast out demons, walk on snakes and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy (Lk 9:1; 10:19). The range of the devil's powers is immense, and he does have significant influence over the people and powers of this world (cf. 2 Cor 4:4; Eph 2:1-2; Rev 13:1-2). But Satan's influence is limited. Jesus counters that God

alone is to be worshiped and served, indicating that God alone has all authority and *glory.

Both Matthew and Mark end their temptation narratives on a comforting note, with angels ministering to Jesus. But Luke concludes his temptation narrative on an ominous note: when the devil finished every temptation, he left Jesus "until a favorable time" (*achri kairou*). Jesus has been victorious in these temptations, but it is not the end of his battle with Satan (cf. Lk 11:18; 13:16).

5. Conclusion.

The temptations of Jesus have a unique aspect in that they are Satan's attempt to sidetrack Jesus from his unique messianic ministry. But Jesus' temptations also have commonalities to the experience of believers today. Jesus succeeded where Adam and Israel/Moses failed. And the way that he succeeded becomes the example for the way that his followers can succeed under similar types of temptations. Jesus' example includes resisting the devil in the power of the Spirit through the guidance of the word of God to accomplish the will of God.

See also DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; GETHSEMANE; MOUNTAIN AND WILDERNESS; SON OF GOD.

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M. J. Wilkins

TESTIMONY. See **WITNESS**.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM

The text-critical study of the Gospels has undergone a fundamental overhaul in recent years. The discovery of new manuscripts, the redefinition of the nature and goal of the task(s), and the continued march of scholarship have altered the text-critical landscape in significant ways. The prevailing concern over the “original” form of the text has been replaced with a more nuanced perspective, and the value placed on the recovered Greek “text” has been reassessed. The printed text in the United Bible Societies *Greek New Testament* (4th ed.) and the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (28th ed.) is no longer equated with the “original,” and later textual variants are no longer dismissed as unimportant. Diplomatic editions of the Gospels (i.e., editions belonging to a particular textual tradition) are published alongside critically reconstructed ones, and the text-critical canons have been reevaluated. Individual manuscripts are valued irrespective of age, material or

classification, even if their role in reconstructing the text is minimal.

Textual criticism traditionally has been concerned with the recovery of the earliest form of the text—in this case, the individual texts of the four Gospels. Every available manuscript is compared in an attempt to trace the history of changes and recover the “original.” Today, the “initial text” has displaced the “original text” as the goal (and phrase) of choice, signaling a shift in how the reconstructed text is understood. The initial text, as currently conceived, is the hypothetical witness that stands at the beginning of the extant textual tradition. The distinction underscores the fact that our printed texts may not be exactly what the ancient authors penned. Some editorial intervention may have occurred between the writing of the authorial text(s) and the extant manuscript tradition. The relationship between the authorial text(s) and the initial text must therefore be argued rather than assumed at each variation unit.

1. Rationale for Textual Criticism
2. Text-Critical Methods
3. Textual Harmonization Within the Gospels
4. The Western Non-Interpolations
5. Conclusion

1. Rationale for Textual Criticism.

A number of early papyrus manuscripts have surfaced over the last few years. These include papyrus fragments from Egypt (Oxyrhynchus) of Matthew (P⁷⁷, 101-104, 110), Luke (P¹¹¹) and John (P¹⁰⁶⁻¹⁰⁹, 119-122). Mark, however, continues to lag in early attestation. No early manuscripts of Mark’s Gospel have been recovered from the site. The *Gospel of Thomas* is actually better attested, with three early manuscript fragments preserving the work (P.Oxy. 1, 654, 655). The newly discovered papyri, however, have not altered our reconstructed texts. The readings of these papyri either are attested elsewhere or are unique but clear corruptions. Their discovery nonetheless underscores the need for continued text-critical research. The original writings of the NT have perished and are no longer available for inspection. Further, the legacy of a millennium and a half of manual copying has been a textual tradition riddled with every conceivable scribal error. Finally, of the over 5,800 Greek manuscripts of the NT currently extant (nearly 2,400 of them Gospels), no two witnesses are exactly alike. Textual critics therefore must sift through the available data, compare witnesses, identify changes, and select the readings that most likely reflect the initial text of the Gospels.

Equally important is the attention granted to the textual history of the Gospels and the hermeneutical implications of their varied transmission. Although the discovery of the early papyri has not affected our reconstructed texts, they have confirmed known variants, offered new readings, contributed to the grouping of manuscript families, and, in the case of P⁷⁵, debunked the idea of an early Alexandrian recension. The data provided by these early manuscripts have also enhanced our understanding of scribal copying practices, the use of the codex, and the grouping of Gospels into collections.

2. Text-Critical Methods.

A number of text-critical methods are used to establish the initial text. Each involves a measure of selectivity and judgment, and final decisions often pivot on the “balance of probabilities.” That balance, however, tips in a given direction depending on the chosen method and individual text-critical judgments. Reasoned eclecticism, the predominant text-critical practice today, attempts to chart a path between internal and external evidence to establish the text. Thoroughgoing eclecticism sides with the internal evidence, while Byzantine eclecticism selects readings from the majority of Byzantine manuscripts. The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) is also used alongside internal and external criteria to determine the tradition’s textual flow and establish the text. Every approach must nonetheless weigh both internal and external data (even if each does so differently). The external evidence consists of NT manuscripts, patristic citations, the translations and lectionary material. The internal evidence is comprised of transcriptional and intrinsic probabilities. Transcriptional probabilities are determined on the basis of scribal copying habits and practices. Intrinsic probabilities arise from an assessment of the NT author’s vocabulary and style.

2.1. External Evidence. The external evidence is assessed in relation to particular variation units. A unit of variation is a section of the manuscript tradition in which at least two variant forms of a word, phrase or clause(s) exist, each of which is supported by at least two Greek witnesses. Once a variation unit has been isolated, the external evidence for each variant can be identified and weighed. The age of manuscripts, the geographical distribution of witnesses and the genealogical relationship of texts and families are considered in identifying the earliest readings in circulation. A reading supported by all three categories has nearly unassailable external support. More important than a manuscript’s age is

the age of the text that it preserves. Later manuscripts may preserve early readings. Readings once considered Byzantine, for example, were subsequently found among the early papyri; P⁴⁵ preserves a number of distinctively Byzantine readings in Mark. The usefulness of the third category (genealogical relationships of texts and families), however, is disputed. The use of “text-types” to identify textual affinities is considered by some textual critics an inadequate characterization of the manuscript tradition. Other means of identifying and categorizing textual relationships continue to be explored.

The importance of the external evidence for establishing the initial text is manifest in the account of the adulterous woman in John 7:53–8:11. The earliest and best Greek manuscripts do not preserve the story. Neither do the early Greek church fathers regard the story as part of the John’s Gospel. The fifth-century Codex Bezae, joined by several Old Latin manuscripts, is the earliest Greek witness to contain the story. The account’s poor external support among early Greek manuscripts, coupled with differences in the story’s style and vocabulary against the rest of John’s Gospel, decreases the likelihood that it was ever part of the initial text of John.

2.2. Transcriptional Probabilities. The recovery of the initial text is aided by a consideration of transcriptional probabilities. Transcriptional probabilities allude to what a scribe is most likely to have written and derive from recognizable patterns of copying habits. The observation that scribes have a tendency to harmonize parallel passages, ease difficult readings, add words and phrases where necessary, and replace ungrammatical, unfamiliar or inelegant expressions led to the formulation of criteria designed to identify and invert the dynamics of scribal corruption. These text-critical canons tend to privilege readings that are shorter, more difficult or grammatically and stylistically infelicitous. The “less perfect” reading is generally identified as the likely cause for subsequent textual improvements and is believed to lie nearer to the initial text. A textual variant in John 7:8 offers a case in point. Did the author write, “I am not [*ouk*] going up to the feast,” or “I am not yet [*oude*] going up to the feast”? The fact that Jesus does go up to the feast in John 7:10 makes “not” the more difficult reading and explains the appearance of “not yet.” The scribal correction, however, appears to miss a word play. Jesus’ brothers call for him to literally “go up” to the feast. Jesus replied that he would not “go up” in the ultimate (Johannine) sense.

The text-critical canons are being reassessed to-

day. The shorter-reading canon, for example, has been called into question in recent years due in large measure to a proliferation of studies on scribal habits. The scribes responsible for transcribing P⁴⁵, P⁴⁶, P⁴⁷, P⁶⁶, P⁷² and P⁷⁵, for example, appear to have omitted more often than they added to their texts, leading textual critics to reconsider the viability of the shorter reading canon.

2.3. Intrinsic Probabilities. Intrinsic probabilities concern what an ancient author is most likely to have written. The author's vocabulary, style and theology in a given document are weighed in making textual decisions. The immediate literary context, the Aramaic background of Jesus's teachings, the presumption of Markan priority and consistency with the author's attested usage elsewhere are also considered. Intrinsic probabilities may tip the scales where the evidence is divided. The consideration of intrinsic probabilities, however, is the criterion most susceptible to circularity. The author's putative tendencies, upon which text-critical judgments partly rest, must themselves be established. The process between the reconstruction of the text and that of the author is not always easily differentiated. Caution therefore must be exercised in applying this criterion. All things being equal, the reading that best explains the rise of the others is most likely the initial text.

3. Textual Harmonization Within the Gospels.

Establishing the initial text of the Gospels is complicated by textual harmonization. The complexity occurs at two levels. First, the interdependence of the Gospels means that traces of harmonization are already present in the earliest recoverable text. Irrespective of the paradigm chosen to explain the literary interdependence of the Gospels, the writers appeared to use the text of one (or two) of the others in varying degrees for the construction of their own Gospels. A family resemblance is therefore unavoidable, particularly among the Synoptics. Second, copyists possessed a clear and demonstrable tendency to harmonize parallel passages. Additional precautions are thus necessary in assessing textual harmonization.

First, not every form of harmonization is the same. Harmonization may occur between or among the Gospels, within a single Gospel, in the direction of the LXX, or, in the direction of a known phrase or idea unrelated to a particular parallel. The addition of "for bread, will give him a stone" in Luke 11:11 is a harmonization to Matthew 8:9. The addition in Mark 9:44, 46 of "where the worm does not die and

the fire is not quenched" is harmonization to Mark 9:48. And the addition of "and lamentation" in Matthew 2:18 is a harmonization to the LXX version of Jeremiah 31:15 (LXX 38:15). Two or more of these forms of harmonization may also occur within a single variation unit. Decisions thus often hang on the balance of probabilities.

Second, the location of the harmonization matters. The close verbal correspondence of the Synoptic Gospels, for example, cautions against unwarranted assumptions about what an author or scribe might have done. The double tradition (tradition common to Matthew and Luke) is telling in this regard, where the wording of parallel passages can be identical. Textual harmonization may therefore stem from the author rather than scribal activity. As for scribes, a measure of selectivity attends their harmonizing. The sayings of Jesus are more susceptible to harmonization than are larger narratives. Significant words or major additions and omissions are also more likely to undergo harmonizing than the alternative. Knowledge of what material is most prone to harmonization will therefore aid textual decisions. The availability of Gospel synopses also means that more harmonization will be detected than probably was the case. The modern ability to identify every jot and tittle from parallel passages cannot be imposed upon the ancient scribe.

The dynamics of scribal harmonizing will also differ from Gospel to Gospel. The manuscript tradition bears witness to varying degrees of popularity among individual Gospels. The early and widespread use of Matthew, for example, means that the manuscript traditions of Mark and Luke will exhibit a greater degree of assimilation toward Matthew than the reverse. Mark probably will outpace Luke in this regard. The impact of Matthew's popularity is thus a key consideration in the analysis of scribal harmonizing.

Degrees of harmonization will also differ within the broader streams of the textual tradition as well. Harmonization is present in every tradition. And yet, certain textual streams preserve greater degrees of harmonizing than others. The Western and Byzantine traditions, for example, surpass the Alexandrian in harmonizing tendencies. Even here, however, caution must be exercised. The Western tradition is as early as the Alexandrian, and later Byzantine readings have been known to contain early readings. Scribes may also disharmonize readings. The initial text might well preserve a harmonization.

Finally, decisions regarding textual harmonization are invariably informed by one's approach to

the *Synoptic Problem. Judgments regarding harmonization are inseparable from presumptions of Gospel priority. The fact that our text-critical tools cannot be constructed without a preliminary solution to the problem is a further complication. K. Aland's *Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, for example, does not claim to espouse a particular source theory; yet, the placement of its pericopes reflects a presumption of Markan priority and a subscription to the two-source theory. Moreover, what appears to be a harmonization in a critically reconstructed text may look differently against the backdrop of the entire textual tradition.

4. The Western Non-Interpolations.

A handful of textual variants confound traditional considerations. The origin and authenticity of the so-called Western Non-Interpolations, for example, remain an intractable problem for the textual history of the Gospels. These are a collection of readings omitted from the Western tradition (Mt 27:49; Lk 22:19b-20; 24:3, 6, 12, 36, 40; 24:51c-52). Their absence, however, defies every expectation of a tradition characterized by harmonization, paraphrase and interpolation. F. J. A. Hort considered the shorter readings (i.e., the omissions) authentic; the longer, non-Western readings would have otherwise surfaced in such an early and "full" tradition. The odd designation "Western Non-Interpolations" reflects Hort's inability to acknowledge that the Alexandrian tradition had interpolated in these locations; the status of the Alexandrian tradition, as a witness to the "Neutral" text (i.e., the "original"), would have been compromised. Today, largely on the basis of the external evidence (i.e., *P*⁷⁵), all but one of the longer readings (Mt 27:49) have been readmitted into UBS⁴ and NA²⁸. The recently published Society of Biblical Literature *Greek New Testament*, however, includes two (Lk 24:6, 12), omits three (Mt 27:49; Lk 24:3, 36), and leaves four undecided, as indicated by brackets (Lk 22:19b-20; 24:40; 24:51; 24:52). The debate over their authenticity thus continues, with a variety of reasons, theological and otherwise, marshaled for their rejection or acceptance.

5. Conclusion.

The recovery of the initial text remains an integral part of the text-critical task. The fact that our texts may not represent the very wording of the author in every respect, however, does not imply textual chaos. The textual tradition is stable en masse. Even the well-known exceptions, however, are no longer dismissed as merely inauthentic. Contested episodes—

for example, the story of the adulterous woman (Jn 7:53–8:11) and the multiple endings of Mark (the shorter addition to Mk 16:8, the longer in Mk 16:9-20, or the two combined)—are valued as witnesses to the church's ongoing engagement with its traditions. Even the later Byzantine tradition is now represented by a diplomatic edition of the Greek NT for the Orthodox Church (*The Gospel of John in the Byzantine Tradition*). Textual variation, in other words, is the hallmark of a living tradition. Establishing the initial text is an essential but by no means final step in the textual criticism of the Gospels.

See also CANON; CRITERIA OF AUTHENTICITY; SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

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THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPELS

This article focuses on the present attempt to recover the practice of reading Scripture theologically, particularly as it relates to the Gospels. As with theological interpretation of Scripture in general (Green, 1-9; Hays, 5-15), what constitutes a theological interpretation of the Gospels is not always obvious and cannot be demarcated by methodological boundaries. Interpreting the Gospels theologically is characterized more by a particular orientation toward them in which interpreters self-consciously locate themselves and their interpretations within an ecclesial framework characterized by a commitment to the Christian canon(s), the creeds (i.e., the Apostles' and Nicene-Constantinopolitan creeds), and a variety of ecclesial practices. They assume that canonical considerations, doctrinal commitments and concerns, and ecclesial practices might clarify and deepen understanding of the Gospels, and that the Gospels might clarify and deepen understanding of the church's doctrine and practices. Hence, the aim of interpreting the Gospels theologically is to stimulate critical reflection on the church's beliefs and practices in order to facilitate its ongoing formation

into the visible body of the cruciform, living Christ, to whom the Gospels bear witness.

1. Basic Assumptions
2. Expressions of Theological Interpretation of the Gospels
3. Conclusion

1. Basic Assumptions.

Theological interpretation of the Gospels focuses on the four canonical *Gospels in their literary wholeness (rather than various aspects of their composition history), affirming that they are already theology in narrative form (see Canon). They are theologically driven narrative representations of past events, early church testimonies calling their hearers to reorient their lives on the basis of their depictions of Jesus' identity and significance (Green, 43-56; Placher, 2-5). Theological interpretation maintains that together the four diverse Gospels constitute the fourfold gospel, four witnesses to the one gospel. Hence, theological interpreters are less interested in historical reconstructions of the “life of Jesus” in which the historian offers essentially a fifth narrative depicting the significance of Jesus. They are not, however, uninterested in historical information. Familiarity with basic sociocultural and political assumptions taken for granted in the ancient Mediterranean milieu is important for understanding how the Gospels utilize, represent, critique and transform such assumptions in attempting to shape their audiences (Green, 53-56).

Theological interpretation does not assume that each of the Gospels, or passages within them, has a single meaning limited to the intention of the human author. Rather, it assumes that the triune God is Scripture's ultimate author, who has been active before, during and after the writing of the Gospels, also generating a wider interpretive framework for their interpretation. That interpretive framework is constituted by the church's canon(s) of Scripture, its doctrinal confessions, and its ecclesial practices. The primary intention of that author is to form a people who reflect God's holy character as they witness to his mission to redeem creation. Within this wider interpretive framework, Gospel passages may have multiple senses that go beyond the purview of their original writers and hearers (Hauerwas, 25n2).

2. Expressions of Theological Interpretation of the Gospels.

Theological interpretation may draw on an array of methods that facilitate a full engagement with the Gospels. Hence, describing every sort of endeavor

that might count as theological interpretation of the Gospels is unfeasible. What follows here, then, is an effort to describe and illustrate some expressions of reading the Gospels theologically under the headings of the particular commitments that undergird them.

2.1. Commitment to the Christian Canon(s) as an Interpretive Framework. Discerning typological correspondences between events in Israel's story and Jesus' story is an ancient form of interpreting the Gospels theologically (see Gonzalez, 24-25) (see *Old Testament in the Gospels*). For example, interpreters have long recognized that Luke, leading into the *temptation scene in Luke 4:1-13, invokes typological correspondences between Jesus and Adam (via Lk 3:22, 38) and follows that by establishing a typological correspondence between Israel's and Jesus' testing in the wilderness. The effect is to draw parallels (and contrasts) between Adam's temptation in the garden, Israel's testing in the wilderness, and Jesus' own testing, making the former two a matrix of meaning within which to discern the significance of the latter.

Even those who do not claim to be interpreting the Gospels theologically might recognize these connections. But theological interpreters will explicate their significance in explicitly theological terms. For instance, a theological interpreter might argue that such scriptural connections indicate that Jesus' testing is a part of an overarching scriptural story in which God, by calling *Israel to be his obedient son (e.g., Hos 11:1), attempted to undo the evil that Adam's trespass/disobedience did to creation. Whereas Israel ultimately failed in their calling, Luke's narrative typology effectively depicts Jesus as the true Son/human through whom God intends to redeem creation from the consequences of Adam's trespass (see Gonzalez, 56-62). Given a commitment to the Christian canon(s) as an interpretive framework for interpreting Luke, such an interpretation is plausible whether or not Luke's human author intended to suggest it.

In calling attention to a variety of OT Scriptures to which Jesus either quotes or alludes and then demonstrating how they prefigure his actions and teachings in ways that create theologically significant patterns of meaning, the work of R. B. Hays on the Gospels is particularly noteworthy (see Hays, 16-21). The work of Hays and others invites critical reflection on the fact that the creeds move directly to Jesus in their second articles with no explicit reference to Israel in their first articles. Such interpretive work insists that the church cannot ignore the fuller story of Israel that is missing between the creeds' first two articles.

With the Christian canon(s) as an interpretive framework for the Gospels, portions of other NT documents might be useful theological "commentaries" on them (Hauerwas, 21). For example, the fact that both Luke and Paul evoke typological correspondences between Jesus and Adam raises the possibility of using Romans 5:12-21 as a commentary on Luke's temptation scene and subsequent narrative of Jesus' suffering and death. When an audience influenced by Romans 5:12-21 hears Luke's centurion pronounce Jesus "righteous" (*dikaïos*) in Luke 23:47, they may make the theological judgment that Luke's narration of Jesus' obedience (in contrast to Adam's trespass) from the temptation scene through the moment of death is indeed that "righteous act [*dikaiōma*] of the one" that "leads to justification [*dikaiōsis*] characterized by life for all" (Rom 5:18). If so, this frame of reference might bring to light aspects of Luke's narrative related to the saving significance of Jesus' life and *death that the audience might not have noticed otherwise. For extended examples of this sort of endeavor, see A. Johnson (who uses Pauline conceptuality as commentary on portions of Mark) and R. W. L. Moberly (who brings Matthew into conversation with Phil 2:5-11 [Moberly, 220-24]).

2.2. Commitment to the Nicene Tradition and Doctrinal Discussions as Clarifying Lenses. Most modern NT scholarship has assumed that doctrinal commitments and concerns obscure Scripture. In contrast, theological interpretation assumes that a commitment to the rule of faith as represented by the Nicene tradition, as well as doctrinal discussions carried on within its bounds, potentially clarifies the lenses through which the Gospels are interpreted (see the series preface in Hauerwas, 12-13). This happens in an ongoing dialogical process between creedal/doctrinal commitments and the Gospel texts to which these commitments orient the interpreter. The former form the most basic convictions that theological interpreters bring to their interpretive endeavors (Jenson, 47-51). While these creedal/doctrinal commitments and concerns remain (in some way) subject to the Gospel texts, they shape the primary questions theological interpreters bring to them.

For example, rather than focusing on issues such as its authenticity or tradition history, the primary questions that J. Gonzalez brings to Luke's temptation scene (Lk 4:1-13) are shaped by doctrinal concerns surrounding the nature of sin and temptation (Gonzalez, 56-62). He, therefore, rightly recognizes that the typological connection with Adam raises the issue of how to understand the nature of sin and temptation itself, and he initiates a dialogue between

this text and those doctrinal discussions. Starting from the perspective of the powerless and considering the movement of Luke's narrative with Genesis in the background, he argues that Augustine's conception of *sin as pride is too limited, thereby attempting to clarify and deepen the church's understanding of the nature of sin and temptation (Gonzalez, 59-61).

At the same time, theological interpretation of the Gospels insists that the bare framework of the creeds' three articles need to be filled out and explicated with close readings of the Gospels. Such readings become, in essence, commentary on the creeds. For example, one might read John 11, on the raising of *Lazarus, within the framework of the creed in a way that attempts to fill in gaps between its three articles, explicating not only the link between Father, Son and Spirit, but also between creation, salvation and final redemption (Thompson, 236-44). Or one might intentionally read Matthew within the context of the Nicene tradition, insisting, however, that Jesus' death and *resurrection cannot be abstracted from his life and teaching, which the creeds' gap in moving directly from birth to crucifixion has the potential to encourage (Hauerwas, esp. 237-49). Recognizing that Matthew's Jesus is none other than the Jesus of the second article might indeed clarify and deepen Christian understanding of Matthew. But Matthew's narrative of Jesus' life and teaching in turn clarifies and deepens our understanding of the one "born of the virgin, Mary" and "crucified under Pontius Pilate."

Prior to the last couple of decades, NT scholars routinely characterized the *Christology of the Synoptic Gospels as "merely functional" as opposed to "ontological." Such readings leave a ditch between these Gospels' depictions of Jesus and the pattern of judgments about Jesus in the creeds. Using the category of "identity," some theological interpreters challenge such accounts (Bauckham; Rowe). They do not necessarily start by appealing to creedal commitments, but they refuse to rule them out. They argue that "identity" should not be understood in static terms but rather as constructed via story/narrative; that is, the question of who someone was is answered by telling what that person did. For example, paying close attention to the pattern of judgments in the movement of Luke's narrative, K. Rowe shows how Luke sews together Jesus and Israel's God in a shared identity as Lord, which reflects a similar pattern of judgments made about Jesus in the creeds. Hence, a reading of Luke that refuses to rule out creedal commitments at the start might not only co-

incide with creedal judgments but might also clarify implicit claims made by that Gospel.

2.3. Commitment to Christian Formation/Church Practices as Clarifying Lenses. The aim of theological interpretation of the Gospels is to facilitate Christian formation (Green). Hence, theological interpretation of the Gospels is best carried out in communities open to being shaped by them whose aim is to live in ways analogous to that of Jesus (Hauerwas, 29-30). The practices of such communities might fit interpreters within them with lenses that sensitize them to particular aspects of the Gospels. For example, a community that regularly practices the Eucharist might readily discern eucharistic overtones in Luke's feeding of the multitude (Lk 9:10-17), given that the sequence of verbs describing what Jesus does with the bread there parallels his actions at the *Last Supper (Lk 22:19) (*see* Table Fellowship). When that passage is heard in a eucharistic service where the church is fed, it connects the Eucharist table with the physical hunger on display in the world. As such, it reminds the church of God's rich resources and that God's call on the church to be the body of Christ for the world necessitates addressing such hunger (Gonzalez, 115-18). Hence, regularly practicing the Eucharist provides a clarifying lens that helps interpreters better understand Luke's feeding of the multitude as related to what happens at the table. This, in turn, helps the church better understand the implications of its own eucharistic practice.

3. Conclusion.

The present effort to recover the practice of interpreting the Gospels theologically is not a methodologically monolithic movement. Within an ecclesial framework characterized by canon, creeds and ecclesial practices, theological interpreters make use of a variety of approaches to the Gospels. No doubt, there will be interpretive disagreements among its practitioners. But if their churches take on a more cruciform character, thereby giving public testimony to the living Christ, to whom the Gospels witness, theological interpreters of the Gospels will have achieved their interpretive aim.

See also CANONICAL CRITICISM; GOSPELS: HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION.

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THIRD QUEST. See QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS.

THREE-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS. See SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

TIBERIAS. See ARCHEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

TITHES. See ECONOMICS; LAW.

TOMB OF JESUS. See BURIAL OF JESUS.

TORAH. See JUDAISM, COMMON; LAW.

TRADITION. See ORALITY AND ORAL TRANSMISSION; RABBINIC TRADITIONS AND WRITINGS.

TRANSFIGURATION

Although they vary on details, all three Synoptic Gospels recount an event in which Jesus ascends a *mountain with three of his *disciples, after which he is transformed (or transfigured) in their presence. The reports include the presence of *Moses and *Elijah, Peter's proposal to construct three tents, the overshadowing cloud, and the divine voice with its acclamation of Jesus; also the subsequent descent of the disciples and Jesus down the mountain, together with a note about the disciples' ensuing silence about this experience (Mt 17:1-9; Mk 9:2-10; Lk 9:28-36). In

all three Synoptic Gospels the transfiguration appears in the immediate context of questions about Jesus' identity (Mt 16:13-20; Mk 8:27-30; Lk 9:7-9, 18-21), an issue addressed here directly by Jesus' Father. In all three Synoptic Gospels this visionary experience occurs in temporal proximity to Jesus' first prediction of his pending suffering, death and resurrection (Mt 16:21-28; Mk 8:31-9:1; Lk 9:21-27) (see Predictions of Jesus' Passion and Resurrection), underscoring the significance of the divine command to the disciples to listen to Jesus (Mt 17:5; Mk 9:7; Lk 9:35). For each of the Synoptic Gospels, the transfiguration is deeply embedded in the plot line and theological development of the narrative, where it serves both to emphasize Jesus' identity and to disclose proleptically Jesus' *glory. Jesus' transfiguration is also referred to in 2 Peter 1:16-18, where it plays a similarly significant theological role.

1. Jesus' Transfiguration in Recent Study
2. Jesus' Transfiguration in Matthew
3. Jesus' Transfiguration in Mark
4. Jesus' Transfiguration in Luke
5. Jesus' Transfiguration in 2 Peter

1. Jesus' Transfiguration in Recent Study.

Until the modern era, the transfiguration generally was read as a historical event, complete with three eyewitnesses—Peter, James and John, who were with Jesus on the mountain. Early in the nineteenth century, D. F. Strauss anticipated what would later become a widespread view in claiming that the Synoptic reports of the transfiguration cannot be explained in terms of natural phenomena (e.g., a lightning storm illuminated Jesus' face, and a thunder clap was mistaken for the heavenly voice [see Spitta, 121-23]) and cannot be accepted as a supernatural event, but is better explained as a legendary account based on (while surpassing) the report of Moses' luminous countenance in Exodus 34:29-35. Thus, for example, R. Miller recently concluded, "Even on its own terms, the story does not seem plausible" (R. Miller 1994, 246), and C. Moss has argued that Mark, in his transfiguration account, has created a collage of religious motifs drawing on Jewish and Greek religious traditions.

Modern discussions of the historicity of this scene have been hobbled by a common misunderstanding of religious experiences, including a visionary experience such as the one represented by the transfiguration accounts (see *Dreams and Visions*), as inner, subjective experiences reducible to psychological explanation. Recent inquiry into religious experiences, including study of altered states

of consciousness underlying visionary experiences, has underscored their basis in embodied activity susceptible to study and a range of explanations (e.g., Runehow). This has effectively laid aside modern prejudice against assigning historical veracity to reports of this kind in favor of focusing attention instead on their interpretation. The transfiguration scenes of the Synoptic Gospels are prime examples (among others—e.g., accounts of Jesus' *baptism and of his *prayer at *Gethsemane/on the Mount of Olives) of the absurdity of modern attempts to segregate "history" (i.e., "what really happened") from "theology" (as interpretations of "what really happened"), since the memories of such occasions are irreducible amalgams of documentary and interpretive interests (see History and Historiography).

The significance of an account such as this one is determined in part by the literary form(s) through which it is conveyed. On this point, the history of interpretation has scarcely been of one mind, identifying the transfiguration as a misplaced post-resurrection account, for example (a once-popular view now thoroughly refuted [see Dodd; Stein]), or as an *apocalyptic vision, an epiphany, an enthronement scene, or a pronouncement story, to name a few possibilities championed in recent years. Drawing on precursors in Israel's Scriptures and related Jewish traditions, and with reference to their function in the Synoptic Gospels, J. Heil refers to these accounts as "pivotal mandatory epiphanies" (Heil 2000). Although lacking in elegance, this moniker aptly identifies these accounts as epiphanic (God temporarily transforms Jesus' appearance in anticipation of his heavenly glory), in which a divine mandate is given (listen to Jesus!), and which serve as a pivot point in their respective Gospels (gathering up motifs from previous chapters and pointing to what is to come). (For surveys of related critical issues, see Reid, 3-30; Moses, 20-49; Heil 2000, 21-33; on the history of interpretation, see Bovon, 372, 380-81.)

2. Jesus' Transfiguration in Matthew.

From a source- or *redaction-critical perspective, we have little reason to imagine that Matthew had access to a transfiguration account other than what he found in Mark's Gospel.

Matthew's account is framed by Matthew 17:1, 9: the ascent up and descent down "a high mountain." Commonly identified today as Mount Hermon (though there are other candidates, especially Mount Tabor), the specific location is not as important to Matthew (or the other evangelists) as is the

topographical marker itself (see Mountain and Wilderness). Mountains generally serve as places of revelation and/or divine encounter, and this is true in Matthew (e.g., Mt 5:1; 14:23; 15:29; 28:16). The closest analogy to Matthew's phrase "a high mountain" (*oros hypsēlos*) appears in Matthew 4:8, where the devil took Jesus to "a very high mountain" (*oros hypsēlos lian*)—an ironic association, since the one scene has the devil revealing to Jesus the splendor of worldly kingdoms while the other has God transforming Jesus in order to reveal his glory to his disciples. Given Matthew's wider interest in Moses' typology, it is difficult not to find here one of a series of echoes of Moses' encounter with God on the mountain (Ex 24:15-18) and the consequent transformation of Moses' countenance (Ex 34:29-35).

Matthew 17:1-2 sets the stage further with a temporal marker ("after six days"), followed by references to Jesus' companions and the transfiguration itself. The phrase "after six days" immediately recalls the preceding narrative sequence concerning the identification of Jesus by Peter as "the Messiah, the Son of the living God," followed by Jesus' *prediction of his suffering, death and resurrection and his promise that "some standing here . . . will not experience death before they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom" (Mt 16:13-28). In the presence of other allusions to Moses, it may also recall Exodus 24:15-18. This is the first appearance of the triad of Peter, James and John in Matthew's Gospel (cf. Mt 26:37), although, together with Andrew, they are among the first disciples called and the first disciples named in Matthew 4:18-21; 10:2-4. Matthew describes Jesus' transfiguration with a passive verb, presumably a so-called divine or theological passive, *metemorphōthē* ("he was transformed," with God as the agent of his transformation), the result of which was that "his face shone like the sun and his clothes became as white as light." Links to Moses are again visible (Ex 34:29, 35), and we may see Daniel's heavenly figures in the background (e.g., Dan 10:6: "his face like an appearance of lightning"; cf. Rev 10:1; *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:11; 2 *En.* 1:5; 19:1), but Matthew's language also recalls Matthew 13:43, with its eschatological portrait of the righteous as those who "will shine like the sun in their Father's kingdom." "White as light" recalls the resplendent clothing of the Ancient One in Daniel 7:9: "white as snow" (cf., e.g., 1 *En.* 14:20-21: "white as the light"). Such texts dress Jesus in the apocalyptic and eschatological garb of heaven. That is, the effect of Jesus' transformation is that he not only shares in, but now also displays, *God's own glory.

Matthew designates three emphases through his

repeated use of the interjection *idou* (“Look!” [though often left untranslated]) in Matthew 17:3, 5 (2x): (1) the discussion between Jesus, Moses and Elijah; (2) the appearance of the cloud; (3) the voice speaking from the cloud.

(1) Moses, the prototypical prophet (Deut 18:15-18; 34:10), has served as a type of Jesus since Matthew’s birth narrative (Mt 1–2), and Matthew identifies Elijah with *John the Baptist (Mt 11:13; cf. Mt 17:10-12). These two figures appear with Jesus, then, in their roles as those who prefigure and prepare the way of Jesus, in conformity with the pairing of Moses and Elijah in Malachi 4:4-6, a prophetic word concerning *Israel’s restoration (see Exile and Restoration). Representing the other disciples, Peter’s response to the vision (*horama* [Mt 17:9]) is to propose the construction of three “tents” (*skēnē*), recalling a constellation of images: the temporary places of dwelling in the exodus journey and, thus, the Festival of Booths (see Feasts), and perhaps even the tent of meeting (e.g., Ex 33:7-11). That Peter proposes three tents suggests his concern to honor each of these heavenly figures.

(2) The inappropriateness of Peter’s suggestion is signaled immediately by the second use of the interjection *idou*, drawing attention to a radiant cloud that overshadows them, interrupting Peter “while he was still speaking” (Mt 17:5). Echoing Jesus’ own transformed appearance, “like light [*phōs*]” (Mt 17:2), the cloud is “full of light [*phōteinos*]” (Mt 17:5), emphasizing the scriptural portrait of clouds as an evocation of God’s presence and as God’s means of transportation, from which God may speak (e.g., Ex 16:10-11; 19:9; 24:15-18; Pss 18:10-11; 104:3). Matthew does not clarify who is overshadowed by the cloud; his “them” could refer to the three heavenly figures and the three disciples or to some combination of them. Heil has made the intriguing suggestion that the cloud overshadows Moses and Elijah only, removing them from sight so that Jesus stands alone as God’s authorized Son (Heil 2000, 129-49). However one adjudicates the referent of “them,” the point is clear enough that the disciples’ focus must rest on Jesus.

(3) The cloud motif identifies the voice that speaks as God’s own voice, and his words echo word-for-word what was heard at Jesus’ baptism (Mt 3:17), “This is my beloved Son, with whom I am delighted,” to which is now added the command “Listen to him!” Scriptural resonances abound, from Genesis 22:2; Exodus 4:22-23; Psalm 2:7; Isaiah 42:1; and, finally, Deuteronomy 18:15, marking the transfiguration scene as one of the high points of this Gospel’s

*christological development. The presence of Jesus and his disciples in Matthew 17:6-7, without Elijah and Moses (see Mt 17:8), lends support to Heil’s suggestion about the cloud. We may hear echoes of Daniel 10:9-12, with its similar sequence of events—hearing a voice, falling prostrate, being touched, being raised, being directed not to fear—with the disciples taking the role of Daniel, recipient of the vision, and Jesus the role of the heavenly figure.

Set in relation to Jesus’ passion prediction and exchange with Peter regarding the Messiah’s destiny (Mt 16:21-28), Matthew’s transfiguration account draws deeply from the wells of Israel’s scriptural tradition in order to provide an unmistakable disclosure of Jesus’ identity. This scene provides a temporary and proleptic portrait of Jesus in his heavenly glory and divine confirmation that Jesus is the prophet who speaks on God’s behalf, even when his words anticipate his ignominious treatment at the hands of the Jewish leadership in *Jerusalem.

3. Jesus’ Transfiguration in Mark.

Mark’s transfiguration scene is loosely organized by means of a series of five statements oriented especially around Peter, James and John. In keeping with Mark’s interweaving of Christology and discipleship, this scene dramatically sets forth Jesus’ identity only in relation to Jesus’ followers.

(1) Jesus took them up a high mountain, by themselves, where he was transfigured in their presence (Mk 9:2-3). The opening phrase “after six days” ties this scene to the preceding material and may recall Exodus 24:15-18, where an interval of six days is preparatory to divine discourse on a mountain. Mark sets the scene further by identifying Jesus’ inner circle of disciples (see Mk 5:37; 14:33) and locating them on a high mountain, a place of revelation and discourse with God (see Mk 3:13; 6:46). The effect of Jesus’ transfiguration is described with reference to his clothing. Radiant white clothing is associated with glory (e.g., Dan 7:9; Mk 16:5; Acts 1:10; Rev 3:4), and Mark goes out of his way to ensure that the unsurpassed glory of Jesus’ clothing cannot be explained with reference to even the most skilled of earthly launderers.

(2) “Elijah with Moses” appeared before them and spoke with Jesus (Mk 9:4). Some interpreters imagine that Mark has thus cast Moses in a subsidiary role, since he is mentioned second and in relation to Elijah (e.g., Hooker); however, Heil has demonstrated that, for Mark, the party mentioned second and introduced with the term *syn* (“with”) is the more notable (e.g., Mk 2:26; 4:10; 8:34; 15:27);

thus, “not only Elijah but even Moses!” (Heil 1999). Among the scriptural resonances that may have been stirred by the appearance of this pair, those prompting eschatological expectations would have been paramount: Moses, with respect to the anticipated prophet like Moses (Deut 18:15-18; cf. Jn 6:14), and Elijah, whose appearance would signal Israel’s restoration (see Mk 9:12; cf. Mal 4:4-6). (The often-repeated view that Elijah represents the “prophets” and Moses “the law” founders on the strong identification of Moses as the prototypical prophet. When coupled with the view that Jesus thus supersedes the *law and the *prophets, this view fails to take seriously Jesus’ essential continuity with Israel’s story and overlooks his role as the interpreter of, and not a replacement for, Israel’s scriptural traditions.)

(3) The disciples were afraid; failing to understand, Peter proposes to make three tents (Mk 9:5-6). Speaking as a representative of the other disciples, Peter observes that “it is good for us to be here,” but without making clear why this is good. Perhaps it is so that these three disciples can undertake the building of three tents, one each for Jesus and his conversation partners. Peter’s interjection of himself into the scene appears unwarranted, and his words seem born of bewilderment. Peter’s proposed tents may recall the Festival of Booths, but absent further connection to the festival tradition, they may refer to nothing more than an attempt to extend hospitality to or honor Jesus, Elijah and Moses.

(4) A cloud overshadowed them, and a voice from the cloud addressed them (Mk 9:7). The irrelevance of Peter’s remarks could hardly be underscored more clearly. The scene continues to unfold apart from any acknowledgement of his proposal. Mark simply narrates what happens next. In the scriptural tradition clouds can serve as divine transport and to evoke the divine presence, and thus as the place from which God speaks; for example, this is the cloud’s significance in the exodus tradition (e.g., Ex 19:9, 16; 24:15-16; cf. Ps 68:4). The divine words are similar to the words spoken to Jesus at his baptism (Mk 1:11: “You are my beloved Son, with whom I am delighted”). However, the words here are spoken to the disciples about Jesus, the phrase “with whom I am delighted” is dropped, and the command “Listen to him!” is added. At the transfiguration scene, then, these disciples receive an unambiguous and unimpeachable affirmation of Jesus’ status as God’s *Son (cf. Ps 2:7; Mk 1:1; 15:39) and an explicit directive that Jesus is God’s spokesperson, the promised prophet like Moses (Deut 18:15). The significance of this affirmation and directive must be

calculated with reference to the difficult words concerning Jesus’ destiny and the concomitant character of discipleship sketched in Mark 8:31-38.

(5) They found themselves alone with Jesus (Mk 9:8). The scene ends abruptly (*exapina*, “suddenly” or “unexpectedly” [the term appears only here in the NT]). Moses and Elijah have disappeared. They were “by themselves” at the outset (Mk 9:2), and now “they saw no one with them anymore, except for Jesus only” (Mk 9:8).

Mark’s Gospel frames Jesus’ transfiguration with Jesus’ first prediction of his suffering, death and resurrection, including his saying about the imminent coming of God’s *kingdom (Mk 8:31—9:1), on the one hand, and, on the other, with a discussion between Jesus and his followers concerning the role of Elijah and Jesus as the suffering *Son of Man (Mk 9:11-13). As a result, Mark’s readers are challenged to grapple with the character of God’s kingdom and, especially, the role of Jesus’ suffering within it. Accordingly, those who are “standing here who will not experience death until they see God’s kingdom has come with power” (Mk 9:1) are Peter, James and John, before whom Jesus was transfigured. Such a reading is encouraged by the way the transfiguration account is told from the disciples’ perspective (e.g., “transfigured in front of them” [Mk 9:2], “appeared before them” [Mk 9:4], “no one with them” [Mk 9:8]), as well as the way the emphasis on “seeing” in Mark 9:1 is matched by what is seen in Mark 9:2-8. Accordingly, the transfiguration would provide a momentary but nonetheless significant anticipation of Jesus’ heavenly glory along with the fullness of God’s kingdom, together with God’s own legitimization of the hard words that Jesus has spoken concerning the suffering Son of Man and the character of discipleship.

4. Jesus’ Transfiguration in Luke.

Although a good case can be made for Luke’s access to Mark’s Gospel and a second source in the construction of his transfiguration scene (e.g., Schramm, 136-39; Reid, 31-94), it remains possible to explain Luke’s composition in terms of his redaction of Mark’s account (e.g., Trites; R. Miller 1998).

Luke’s transfiguration scene features the following elements: staging (Lk 9:28), Jesus’ transfiguration and glory (Lk 9:29-31), responses from the disciples (Lk 9:32-33), God’s response (Lk 9:34-35) and denouement (Lk 9:36). Two other structural features help to guide our interpretation of this scene. We find, first, a movement from an emphasis on what the disciples see—“Look!” (*idou*), “they appeared” (*ophthentes*), “they saw” (*eidon*) (Lk 9:30-32)—to an

emphasis on what they heard (Lk 9:35-36a), with the shift made necessary by their being enveloped in the cloud. These two emphases are brought together in Luke 9:36b: the disciples did not speak about what they had seen. Here is a straightforward recognition that events do not carry within them their own interpretation but rather require God-given insight. In Luke's Gospel God-given insight, or revelation, is often correlated with times of *prayer, so it is hardly coincidental that Luke's transfiguration scene is cast as a time of prayer (Lk 9:28, 29; cf. Lk 3:21-22; 9:18-21) (cf. Crump). Second, Luke's scene juxtaposes a heightened emphasis on Jesus' "glory" (Lk 9:31-32) with the topic of Jesus' conversation with Moses and Elijah, his "exodus"—that is, his "departure" (*exodos*). Jesus' exalted identity is thus inseparably tied to his journey through suffering and death.

The evangelist sets the stage in Luke 9:28 by tying this event to Jesus' previous teaching ("after these sayings") about his suffering, death and resurrection, the nature of discipleship, and his promise regarding the imminent disclosure of God's kingdom (Lk 9:21-27). The reference to "about eight days" is puzzling, unless it is preparatory for an understanding of the "tents" that Peter proposes to build in relation to the Festival of Booths (cf. Lev 23:36). Peter, John and James are likewise Jesus' inner circle of disciples in Luke 8:51. In Israel's Scriptures mountains are often implicated in theophany and prayer, and this is true for Luke's Gospel as well (Lk 6:12; 22:39-46). Luke identifies Jesus' purpose in ascending the mountain with his disciples as prayer—hardly a casual remark in this setting, both because of their location on a mountain and because prayer has just been associated with revelation of Jesus' identity (Lk 19:18-20).

With the stage set, Luke proceeds to recount Jesus' transformation (Lk 9:29-31). Using an infinitive construction, *en tō proseuchesthai auton* ("while he was praying"), Luke actually envelops the moment of Jesus' transfiguration in prayer. Not Jesus' identity per se, but rather the "form of his face," was different. We understand, therefore, that Luke does not imagine that Jesus has become in this episode what he was not already, but rather that his exalted identity is momentarily on full display. This exalted identity is represented in part with reference to his clothes, which are "white, flashing like lightning." Elsewhere in Luke-Acts clothing signifies status, with dazzling clothes portending heavenly glory (cf. Lk 24:4; Acts 10:30), similar to what we find more broadly in the scriptural tradition. Jesus' exalted identity is represented further by the reference to "glory," portraying

him as a heavenly figure, together with Moses and Elijah, who shares in God's majesty. At the same time, Jesus is differentiated from these other two, since their discussion focuses on the earthiest of realities, his mission through suffering and death. The word *exodos* can refer simply to "death" (e.g., Wis 3:2; 7:6; 2 Pet 1:15), but, given the many resonances of this account with Israel's departure from Egypt (e.g., Garrett; M. Strauss), it is difficult to escape the view that the topic of conversation centers on the nature of Jesus' journey through rejection and death to his exaltation, a journey with liberating consequences for God's people.

That Jesus stands on the mountain with Elijah and Moses ensures, first, that the crowds were wrong to think that Jesus was Elijah (Lk 9:7-8, 18-19). Although Jesus' ministry can be understood in terms of Elijah's career (e.g., Lk 4:25-26), Luke has actually cast John the Baptist more in this role (Lk 1:17). Second, casting all three "in glory," Luke is clearly not trying to censure Moses and Elijah in relation to Jesus, but rather demonstrates their shared exalted status and the basic continuity between their work and that of Jesus.

Luke's transfiguration scene contrasts two viewpoints: the disciples' (Lk 9:32-33) and God's (Lk 9:34-35). He describes the disciples as drowsy (*bebarēmenoi hypnō . . . diagrēgorēsabtes*, "heavy with sleep, but remaining awake") but nonetheless aware of what is taking place before their eyes; they are thus witnesses, though hardly alert ones, characterized instead as spiritually dull. With the vision slipping away ("as they were departing"), Peter proposes to preserve the moment by constructing three tents. Even before God's own interjection into the scene, however, Luke has already censured Peter for "not knowing what he was saying." Presumably, Peter's intent should be read against the backdrop of the Festival of Booths, which commemorated God's provision during the wilderness journey and anticipated God's restoration of his people as a new exodus.

In a rare intrusion into the narrative itself, God's response breaks in on Peter's words ("while he was saying these things"). God's presence is marked by the threefold reference to the cloud (that clouds might evoke and convey God's presence, see, e.g., Ex 13:21-22; 33:9-11; 34:5), by the language of overshadowing (cf. Lk 1:35) and by the voice from the cloud (for God's speaking from a cloud, cf., e.g., Ex 19:16-25; Deut 5:22). Jesus, Moses and Elijah already share in God's glory, and Moses and Elijah are portrayed as exiting, so it makes sense that for Luke the cloud encompasses the disciples, bringing them also into

the sphere of God's presence. Their fearful response is typical of a theophany (cf. Lk 1:12), and the account shifts from what is seen (since the cloud obstructs their vision) to what is heard. The divine voice identifies Jesus in three ways: as God's Son (see Lk 1:31-35; 3:21-4:13), as Isaiah's Servant of the Lord ("my Chosen" [cf. Is 42:1; Lk 23:35]) (see Servant of Yahweh) and as the prophet like Moses ("Listen to him!" [cf. Deut 18:15-18; Acts 3:22-23]). Here we find an explicit and unassailable response to questions of Jesus' identity (raised in Lk 9:7-9, 18-20), together with an incontestable legitimization of Jesus' words regarding his own destiny and the related nature of discipleship (Lk 9:21-27).

This scene clarifies that it is not so much that the time of the law and the prophets has passed as it is that Jesus as God's Son is their authorized interpreter: "Listen to him!" However, the disciples are unable to grasp what has taken place. Their silence at the end of this scene is carried over into their lack of perception in the face of Jesus' repeated predictions of his suffering and death (Lk 9:43-45; 18:31-34); only after the resurrection will they comprehend (Lk 24).

5. Jesus' Transfiguration in 2 Peter.

In 2 Peter 1:16-18 the author initiates his offensive against the false teachers by undermining their charge that the eschatological teaching of the apostles is based on "cleverly devised myths" (2 Pet 1:16). It is grounded, instead, in the apostles' (and especially Peter's) testimony of what they had seen (Jesus' majesty) and heard (God's affirmation of Jesus). The picture that he paints obviously recalls the transfiguration scene, Matthew's rendition of that scene in particular. The emphasis in this account is twofold: (1) "on the holy mountain" God himself identified Jesus' co-regency in anticipation of Jesus' eschatological glory (2 Pet 1:17); (2) the apostles themselves witnessed this revelatory moment (2 Pet 1:16, 18). Given the numerous deviations of this report from the scenes in the synoptic Gospels, it seems likely that 2 Peter provides independent testimony to the transfiguration tradition (so, e.g., Bauckham, 205-10; *contra* R. Miller 1996).

See also DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP; DREAMS AND VISIONS; ELIJAH AND ELISHA; GLORY; MOSES; MOUNTAIN AND WILDERNESS; PRAYER; PREDICTIONS OF JESUS' PASSION AND RESURRECTION; RESURRECTION.

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J. B. Green

TRIAL OF JESUS

Jesus' trial is told in two halves: an interrogation before the Jewish leaders, and questioning before *Pilate, the Roman governor of Judea. The events occur after Jesus' arrest on the Mount of Olives, and just prior to his crucifixion. Although scholars debate the historicity of the trial's specific details, there is general agreement that the Jewish leaders and Pilate would have worked together in handling any significant challenge to their respective authority. This article first discusses each Gospel's depiction of the trial, and then it addresses questions concerning the trial's historicity.

1. Trial in the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 26:57—27:26)
2. Trial in the Gospel of Mark (Mk 14:53—15:15)
3. Trial in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 22:54—23:25)
4. Trial in the Gospel of John (Jn 18:12-14, 19-24; 18:28—19:16)
5. Questions Concerning the Historicity of the Trial of Jesus

1. Trial in the Gospel of Matthew

(Mt 26:57—27:26).

Matthew begins the narrative of Jesus' trial at Caiaphas's house, where Jewish leaders convene at night to condemn Jesus. Come morning, they take Jesus to Pilate. This basic framework of events, in which Jesus is taken first to Jewish leaders and then in the morning to Pilate, is found in all four Gospels. Matthew also includes Peter's denial and Judas's suicide, juxtaposing them to demonstrate, from his own perspective, (1) appropriate and inappropriate responses to Jesus' messianic claims; (2) fulfillment of Scripture; (3) the actors' responsibility for Jesus' *death. Finally, Matthew includes the dream of Pilate's wife (Mt 27:19) and Pilate's hand washing (Mt 27:24) as further attempts by central characters to avoid or deny their complicity in Jesus' death.

1.1. Jesus' Trial Before the Jewish Leaders (Mt 26:57-68). Awaiting interrogation, Jesus stands before the chief priests and elders in Caiaphas's house. Peter remains in the outer courtyard, as Matthew tells us, desiring to know how this will "end" (*telos*). Twice in Matthew's Gospel (Mt 10:22; 24:13) Jesus stated that those who endure persecution to the end for the sake of his name will be saved. Matthew raises the expectations for Peter when he reports Peter's promise to Jesus that he would never desert him (Mt 26:33). Yet the reader is not surprised that the end for Jesus is one of suffering and then death (see Mt 16:21; cf. Mt 5:12). The interrogation commences with witnesses, but only the final two corroborate each other with claims that Jesus spoke about destroying the temple (see also Mt 27:40). The reader recalls Jesus saying that something greater than the *temple is here (Mt 12:6), as well as his cleansing of the temple (Mt 21:12-13).

Jesus does not defend himself against their testimony that he spoke against the temple, thereby exasperating the high priest and leading him to demand from Jesus a response to their charges. But Jesus remains silent, and so the high priest makes another demand, asking Jesus to state whether or not he is the Messiah. In this the high priest is cutting to the chase, for only the Messiah would have spoken and acted thus in the temple. To this direct question Jesus responds obliquely ("You have said so") but affirmatively, and he goes on to quote from Psalm 110:1 and Daniel 7:13 (Mt 26:64). Yet because the Jewish leaders had already determined Jesus' guilt, his affirmative answer brings not their worship, but rather their condemnation and accusations of blasphemy. Matthew notes that they slap him and spit on him, perhaps a nod to Jesus' teaching that after being

struck on one cheek, a person should offer the other (Mt 5:39). Their assault and taunts connect their judgment with the punishment of the false *prophet (see Deut 18:20).

1.2. *Peter's Denial and Judas's Suicide* (Mt 26:69-75; 27:3-10). Matthew recounts two stories between the trial of Jesus before the Jewish leaders and the one before Pilate. Matthew's is the only Gospel to describe Judas's death, and he places it in the wider narrative so as to highlight the fulfillment of Scripture and the establishment of responsibility for Jesus' death. The fulfillment of Scripture has been a constant theme in Matthew (five fulfillment passages are mentioned in the birth narrative alone [Mt 1:23; 2:6, 15, 17-18, 23]) (see Old Testament in the Gospels). Judas's return of the thirty pieces of silver brings to mind Zechariah 11:12-13, although Matthew points to Jeremiah in what is a very difficult and complex quotation (Mt 27:9-10). In three other places Matthew points to Zechariah or perhaps a collection of prophetic texts that included a "shepherd king" motif (Mt 21:4-5 [cf. Zech 9:9-10; 24:30 [cf. Zech 12:10-14]; 26:31 [cf. Zech 13:7]) (see France, 1045). Matthew portrays Jesus as the rejected shepherd-king. Judas's return of the silver coins set in motion cascading denials of responsibility for Jesus' death. Judas's claim to have condemned an innocent man is brushed aside by the priests (Mt 27:4), and Pilate will speak similar words to the same priests when he seeks to absolve himself of guilt (Mt 27:24). The Jewish leaders persuade the crowds to take responsibility (Mt 27:25), but Matthew shows that the Jewish leaders themselves are among the crowds, calling for Jesus' crucifixion (fulfilling Mt 23:29-36). The people declare, "His blood be on us and on our children," which likely was understood in Matthew's day to have been fulfilled with the destruction of the temple. Sadly, this verse has a horrific history of interpretation as lending justification to all manner of mistreatment of Jews. But as Matthew tells the story, both the Jewish leaders and the Romans, even Judas and the crowds—all are complicit in Jesus' death. A curious note about Pilate's wife's dream neatly articulates the sentiments of all the players. In what was likely a very uncommon act of interrupting her husband as he heard cases, she warns him that a dream the previous night about Jesus has caused her great suffering (Mt 27:19). She does not ask Pilate to release Jesus because he is innocent; in fact, his suffering is immaterial to her. It is her own suffering that she reflects upon; it is her own well-being that she desires. In this she speaks for all the characters of the trial scene.

As he did with the Jewish leaders, so to with Pilate Jesus remains silent except to answer a single question. Pilate asks, "Are you king of the Jews?" to which Jesus replies simply, "You say so." This ambiguous reply is quite similar to his response earlier to Judas's query as to whether he will betray Jesus (Mt 26:25) and to the chief priests' interrogation about his identity as Messiah (see Christ) and *Son of God (Mt 26:64). Because of the varying levels of deceit in each inquiry, and due to the inaccurate assumptions behind the titles "Messiah," "Son of God" and "King of the Jews," Jesus rejected the implications of the questions, while opening another possible understanding of those titles and his ministry. Jesus' silence amazes Pilate and stands in strong contrast to the growing unrest of the crowds who begin to call for Jesus' crucifixion. Matthew presents Pilate as fearing a riot and steadily losing control of the situation, in sharp contrast to Jesus' steady silence (perhaps an allusion to the servant in Is 53:7). To appease them, he turns Jesus over to his own soldiers for crucifixion (Mt 27:26).

2. Trial in the Gospel of Mark (Mk 14:53—15:15).

Mark's account of Jesus' trial before the Jewish council helps resolve the character of Jesus; it speaks to the "messianic secret" of Jesus' identity.

2.1. *Jesus Before the Jewish Leaders* (Mk 14:53-65). Jesus is brought to the high priest's house for questioning. Before the council of Jewish leaders he declares that he is the Messiah, the Son of God (Mk 14:62), and he continues with a quotation taken from Psalm 110:1 and Daniel 7:13. Mark emphasizes the significance of Jesus' earlier actions in the temple as he describes the false witnesses' statements declaring that Jesus asserted that he would destroy the temple and in three days build another (Mk 15:29; see also Mk 13:1-2). Yet Mark's account also raises several questions: (1) Were there one or two trials before the Jewish leaders? (2) What was false about the witnesses' testimony? (3) Why was Jesus charged with blasphemy? We look at each of these in turn.

That the Jewish leadership should be seeking to condemn Jesus comes as no surprise to the reader, since Jesus proclaimed as much in Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:33-34. Mark makes clear that a night meeting took place with the chief priests, elders and scribes (Mk 14:53), then he indicates that the chief *priests, *elders, *scribes and the whole council convened on the following morning (Mk 15:1). This second meeting should not be understood as a second trial for Jesus, but rather as a finalization of their plans to take Jesus

to Pilate. At issue is the translation of the term *sym-boulion* (Mk 15:1), which can indicate the making of a decision or the drawing together of a council. During the night meeting witnesses were brought forth to testify, but even with the Jewish leaders previously convinced of his guilt, corroborating evidence from two witnesses was not to be found. Perhaps through this detail Mark asserts Jesus' innocence (Stein, 681).

Mark alleges that the witnesses accused Jesus of saying, "I will destroy this temple made with hands and build another not made with hands" (Mk 14:58). The term used here for "temple" (*naos*) refers to that most holy place in the *temple (see also Mk 15:29, 38): the court of the priests, the holy place and the holy of holies. Jewish sources indicate that some Jews believed that the Messiah would build another temple (*Targum* Zech 6:12; *Tg. Isa.* 53:5), while others held that God would build a new temple (*Jub.* 1:17). Although Jesus predicts the temple's destruction (Mk 13:2), nowhere in Mark's Gospel does Jesus differentiate using the category "made/not made with hands." The enigmatic contrast is not unique to Mark (see Acts 7:48-50 [which quotes Is 66:2]; 17:24; see also 2 Cor 5:1; Eph 2:11; Col 2:11-12; Heb 9:11, 24). The temple built "with hands" is likely the Jerusalem temple, and the one made "without hands" could be a reference to (1) the Christian community, or (2) an eschatological temple built by God, or (3) the glorified body of Christ (Brown, 1:439-44). Mark indicates that the witnesses are "false," which invites the reader to ask what precisely is wrong with the witnesses' statement. It may be that they were relaying second- or third-hand information and thus are not witnessing from personal knowledge. That is historically possible, but it seems unlikely that Mark intends such a deduction, for it is not even hinted at in the narrative. It is also doubtful that their entire accusation is false, since the crowds that passed by Jesus hanging on the cross mock him with a similar charge, that he claimed that he would destroy the temple and build it in three days (Mk 15:29). The most likely option is that Mark rejects their claim "made/not made with hands" (Brown, 1:452-54), since that phrase on the lips of the false witnesses is an indictment of Jesus as an apocalyptic fanatic. Mark emphasizes instead that Jesus builds a new people based on his suffering and death, a community that follows the crucified Son of God.

Finally, the question of the charge of *blasphemy against Jesus invites comment. The irony of the charge is that Jesus is guilty of blasphemy only if, in fact, he is not who he says he is. It was not blasphemous

to declare oneself the Messiah if indeed one was the Messiah. But since the chief priest had already determined Jesus to be guilty, Jesus' words could hardly be understood as anything but blasphemous. Mark's readers, however, know that Jesus was not speaking blasphemy (Mk 8:29; 9:41), for he can *forgive sins (Mk 2:5-7) and is the Lord of the *Sabbath (Mk 2:28). The chief priest identifies the Messiah as the son of the Blessed One, using a circumlocution to avoid saying "God." Mark's readers know Jesus as the Son of God, and Jesus has indicated as much in his parable of the vineyard (Mk 12:1-12) and his interpretation of Psalm 118:22-23 (see also Mk 1:1, 24; 3:11; 5:7; 15:39). The Jewish leaders prepare to hand Jesus over to Pilate.

2.2. Jesus' Trial Before Pilate (Mk 15:1-15). Pilate's question "Are you King of the Jews?" introduces another title, but one that the reader might expect, given Jesus' extensive teachings on the kingdom of God. Moreover, Pilate's question is juxtaposed to the chief priests' interrogation concerning Jesus as the Messiah, suggesting that the terms share similar meanings. Again, Jesus' answer to Pilate is similar to the one that he gave to the chief priest: he accepts the royal titles. Later in the story, while Jesus is on the cross, the Jewish leaders mock him as the "King of Israel" (Mk 15:32). Having answered Pilate in the affirmative, Jesus remains silent as the Jewish leaders level a myriad of charges against him before Pilate. With this detail Mark may be alluding to Isaiah 53:7, the servant's silence in the face of his oppressors (see *Servant of Yahweh*).

Typical of Mark, the trial scene before Pilate unfolds in sets of three. Three times Pilate queries Jesus (Mk 15:2, 4 [2x]); three times he questions the crowd (Mk 15:9, 12, 14); three times the crowd responds (Mk 15:11, 13, 14). This matches Jesus' three prayers in the garden (Mk 14:35-36, 39, 41) and Peter's three denials (Mk 14:68, 70, 71).

3. Trial in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 22:54-23:25).

Luke stresses Jesus' innocence throughout his trial and crucifixion, including testimony from the most unlikely sources such as the penitent thief (Lk 23:41) and the centurion (Lk 23:47), as well as Herod Antipas (Lk 23:15).

3.1. Peter's Denial (Lk 22:54-62). Jesus' trial scene in Luke begins not with Jesus, but with Peter. The chief priests, temple guards and elders take Jesus to the house of the high priest in Jerusalem. Luke gives no further details about this time, and for the moment Jesus steps out of the literary spotlight. In-

stead, Luke turns to describe Peter, who remains in the courtyard. Over the course of less than one hour he is questioned three times as to his relationship with the accused. With the third denial still on his lips, Peter hears a rooster crow. Jesus suddenly steps back onto center stage, turning and looking directly at Peter. The latter recalls Jesus' prophecy that he would deny him three times before the cock crowed. Peter's bitter weeping is sharply contrasted to the soldiers who begin to mock and beat Jesus, blindfolding him and taunting him to "prophecy" who hit him. Luke's readers already know that Jesus is able to prophesy, and also that not all will accept him as a prophet (Lk 4:24). Luke's setting for Jesus' trial is similar to that of trials presented in Acts: the accused is arrested at night and tried in the morning (Acts 4:1-5; 5:17-21; 22:30).

3.2. *Jesus Before the Sanhedrin (Lk 22:66-71).*

With the coming of dawn, the *Sanhedrin convened and Jesus was brought before them. Luke does not state whether the council met in the high priest's home, but there is no indication that Jesus was moved from that location (Lk 22:54). They raise two questions: "Are you the Messiah?" and "Are you the Son of God?" Jesus answers the latter question, "You say that I am" (Lk 22:70), to which the council responds that they need no more testimony. Yet Luke offers no prior testimony, leaving the reader to wonder if in fact during the hours before dawn Jesus was questioned and witnesses were brought forth (as in Matthew and Mark).

In the brief exchange with the Jewish leaders Luke focuses on the person of Jesus and the question of who speaks for God—that is, who has authority from God. Jesus makes two claims. First, he declares that he is the Son of Man, from now to be seated at the right hand of the power of God, an image from Psalm 110:1 and Daniel 7:13. In so doing, Luke presents Jesus as the judge of his accusers. Second, Jesus accepts the title "Son of God," a reference that might connect back to Jesus' temptations, where Jesus is addressed as the Son of God (Lk 4:3, 9). This is an ominous allusion, for with it Luke draws a parallel between the actions of the Jewish leaders and that of Satan, both working actively against God's plan.

The Jewish leaders' negative reaction to Jesus' declarations comes as no surprise to the reader. Luke noted that Jesus predicted such an outcome (Lk 9:22; 17:25). Moreover, after Jesus healed a man on the Sabbath (Lk 6:6-11) and leveled charges against Pharisees and scribes (Lk 11:39-54), certain Jewish leaders (scribes and Pharisees) determined to stop him. When Jesus "cleansed" the temple (*see* Temple

Act), the chief priests, scribes and leaders of the people also determined to kill him (Lk 19:47-48).

3.3. *Jesus Before Pilate (Lk 23:1-5, 13-25).* Luke's brief sketch of Jesus' trial before the Jewish council serves to sum up the Jewish leaders' growing frustration and animosity toward Jesus. Luke spends the bulk of his time describing Jesus before Pilate and Herod Antipas. The charges leveled against Jesus before Pilate center on the claim that Jesus is leading Israel astray (see Deut 13:1-5; see also Acts 13:6-8), in part by claiming to be the Messiah and by calling on Jews to resist paying taxes. These charges are both religious and political. The Jewish leaders force Pilate to act, although he repeatedly resists their prodding. Luke is not trying to exonerate Pilate or the Romans. Indeed, his Gospel alone notes the violent death inflicted by Pilate on a group of Galileans (Lk 13:1). As to the claim about paying taxes, Jesus' failure to unambiguously endorse payment of taxes to Rome is cited as rebellious. A close look at Luke 20:20-26 shows that while Jesus states that Caesar should receive what is rightfully his, exactly what that might be is left unstated. Did Caesar rightfully deserve all the tax receipts placed on the people? The Jewish elite chose to interpret Jesus' words as highly negative toward Rome because it suited their overarching purpose of condemning Jesus. Luke shows Pilate's arrogance and failure to perceive the risks to Jerusalem's stability (as the Jewish leaders see it) inherent in Jesus' teachings and person. When Pilate asks Jesus directly, "Are you the King of the Jews?" the reader already knows that the answer is yes (Lk 1:33; 2:11); moreover, Mary's song prophesies that Jesus will bring down rulers from their thrones and lift up the humble (Lk 1:52). Yet both the Jewish leaders and Pilate also believe that they know the answer, and it is a strong negative. The question is meant to mock Jesus, not to discover his identity. Luke emphasizes the theme that Jesus is innocent, stressing the three times that Pilate says as much. Additionally, the centurion at the cross declares, "This man was innocent" (Lk 23:47), as does the penitent thief (Lk 23:41). So too Herod Antipas does not condemn him (Lk 23:15). Continuing the theme of the innocent accused, Acts notes that Paul is declared innocent three times (Acts 23:29; 25:25; 26:30-32).

3.4. *Jesus Before Herod Antipas (Lk 23:6-12).* Luke alone tells of Jesus' interrogation before Herod Antipas. Because Luke stands as a lone voice, and Pilate did not need this client king's permission to act on Jesus' charges, and the earliest Christians could not have known of this encounter, this historical veracity of this pericope has been ques-

tioned. In favor of seeing this account reflecting a historical event is the following: (1) Luke notes that Joanna was a disciple of Jesus, and she was married to Herod's chief steward, who might have been an eyewitness to this exchange (Lk 8:2-3). (2) Pilate might have desired Herod's support because his own patron, Sejanus, was either currently falling out of Tiberius's favor or had already died. Sejanus was known to be strongly anti-Jewish; perhaps Pilate believed that his own future in Rome's eyes would be more secure if he had a good word or two from the local Jewish client king. (3) Having only one account of an event is unfortunately commonplace for historians seeking to reconstruct first-century A.D. Judean history, and so this account should not be dismissed as unhistorical simply because we find it only in one source.

While the Jewish leaders continue to accuse Jesus before Herod Antipas, Jesus remains silent. Luke may be drawing on the image of the Servant of the Lord in Isaiah 53:7. Though professing a desire to see Jesus perform a sign, Herod displays only mocking contempt, fulfilling Jesus' prediction that prophets and kings longed to see what Jesus' disciples saw but would fail to appreciate it (Lk 10:24). Herod did not understand *John the Baptist's message either, and Luke links Jesus' fate with that of the Baptist's (Lk 3:19-20; 9:7-9). Moreover, Jesus was warned during his ministry that Herod plans to kill him (Lk 13:31).

4. Trial in the Gospel of John (Jn 18:12-14, 19-24; 18:28—19:16).

The Gospel of John presents the trial of Jesus primarily as a three-way exchange between the Jewish leaders (twenty-eight verses), Pilate and Jesus. John spends little time describing the interaction between Jesus and the chief priests (seven verses). This strategy allows John to emphasize the complicity of both Pilate and the Jewish leaders in Jesus' death, as well as to establish that these events serve to fulfill Jesus' words spoken earlier in the Gospel about the nature of his death. John's chronology varies from the Synoptic Gospels in several ways, including the following: (1) The cleansing of the temple occurred earlier in Jesus' ministry (Jn 2:13-22). (2) Pilate has Jesus flogged before the sentence is rendered. John presents the trial in two stages, and both stages are described in two parts. In the first stage Jesus is before the Jewish leaders, and in the second Jesus is before Pilate. The trial or interrogation before the Jewish leaders is separated into two parts by Peter's first denial. The trial before Pilate is divided by the report of the Roman soldiers flogging Jesus.

4.1. First Stage: Jesus Before the Jewish Leaders (Jn 18:12-14, 19-24). Jesus is taken for questioning first to the house of Caiaphas's father-in-law, Annas, who served as high priest in the years A.D. 6-15. Annas's five sons also served as high priests, and although Annas was no longer serving as the high priest, he held great authority among Jewish leaders. C. Keener notes, "The nature of Jesus' encounter with Annas fits the Johannine perspective on conflict with the authorities" (Keener, 2:1090). John reminds the readers that Caiaphas is the presiding high priest, the one who spoke with such irony earlier in the Gospel about Jesus' death: "It is better for one man to die for the nation, than that the whole nation perish" (Jn 11:50). For John, Caiaphas has already played his part by uttering these words, and thus Caiaphas has no speaking part in the trial. Instead, the first character to speak is Peter, who utters his first of three denials of being Jesus' disciple. John notes that a second man is with Peter, an unnamed disciple who is known to the high priest's household (Jn 18:16). This unidentified disciple vouches for Peter so that the latter may enter the courtyard. This point is not found in the Synoptic Gospels, but neither does it fit any particular theological theme in John, and thus it seems likely that John preserves a piece of historical data in this detail.

John highlights the contrast between Peter's denial and Jesus' declaration before Annas. To the latter's question about his disciples and teaching, Jesus answers boldly that he has always spoken his message publicly and openly. Jesus also asks that witnesses might be called to support his testimony. With this detail, John may be indicating that this is far from an official trial, but is better understood as an interrogation. In reaction to Jesus' challenge to Annas's questioning, a guard slaps Jesus in the face. Perhaps John is drawing an allusion to LXX Isaiah 50:6 ("I gave my back to scourges, and my cheeks to blows"); it is also possible that he is preparing the readers for a parallel between the Jewish and Roman treatment of Jesus. Interestingly, John connects Peter's denial to his testimony that he loves Jesus at the end of the Gospel in part through the detail of the charcoal fire (*anthrakia*) noted in the description of both Annas's courtyard (Jn 18:18) and the scene on the shores of the Sea of Galilee (Jn 21:9). John might also be making a more remote contrast between Peter's denial and the blind man's testimony to the Jewish leaders; the healed man boldly confessed that Jesus is a prophet (Jn 9:17, 24-34).

After establishing that Jesus' teachings were done in front of the people, not in secret, John informs the

reader that Jesus is moved to Caiaphas's house. At this point in the action Peter denies being a disciple of Jesus for a second and then a third time. Including the sad end of this scene of Peter's life at this point in John's trial narrative allows him to note the time of day: it is the time when the cock crows. In the next verse John states that it is early in the morning when Jesus is transported to Pilate. How long did Jesus remain at Caiaphas's house? The rooster signaled dawn between 3:00 AM and 5:00 AM, so Jesus left Anna's house at some point after 3:00 AM. At day-break, clients could approach their patrons (Horace, *Sat.* 1.1.9-10); the cockcrow alerted the Jewish leaders that they might now approach Pilate. Interestingly, John adds that it was early in the morning (Jn 18:28), a detail that the reader could deduce from the previous mention of the rooster's call. The only other time that John mentions "early" is when Mary Magdalene hurries to the tomb (Jn 20:1). John's extensive use of irony is again active, here contrasting the Jewish leaders' eagerness to convict Jesus with Mary's desire to care for his body.

For those readers familiar with the Synoptic Gospels' telling of the trial, it is surprising that here we find no mention of charges of blasphemy, of the temple, or of a hearing before the Sanhedrin. This observation is true to a point, but John has already noted that Caiaphas with the Sanhedrin indicted Jesus (Jn 11:47-53). Moreover, John describes Jesus' cleansing of the temple earlier in the narrative and includes Jesus' statement "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (Jn 2:19). John notes that Jesus intended this statement to refer to his body, and after his resurrection the disciples recalled this statement and understood it (Jn 2:21-22). Finally, John presents Jesus addressing the question "Are you the Messiah?" during the Feast of Dedication (Jn 10:22-39). Jesus replies that he and the Father are one, to which the listeners respond by wanting to stone him for blaspheming. Again, in John 1:51 he tells Nathanael that he will see the heavens opened and angels ascending and descending on the *Son of Man. Therefore, although these elements of the Synoptic Gospels' trial are not discussed in John's telling of the same, the latter includes them in his general portrait of Jesus.

4.2. Second Stage: Jesus Before Pilate (Jn 18:28—19:16). The second stage of Jesus' trial takes place at Pilate's headquarters, most likely Herod the Great's old palace. The account is contained within two references to the Passover (Jn 18:28; 19:14), noting that it was the day of preparation for the Passover. Here John uses a chiasmic construction (Keener, 2:1097).

In the first pair, John presents two interviews with the Jewish leaders that stress the latter's insistence that Jesus be crucified (A = Jn 18:29-32, A' = Jn 19:12-16). In the second pair, John indicates conversations between Pilate and Jesus, first concerning kings, kingdoms and truth, and second concerning the Son of God, authority and power (B = Jn 18:33-38a, B' = Jn 19:9-11). The third pair reflects Pilate's declarations of Jesus' innocence to the Jewish leaders (C = Jn 18:38b-40, C' = 19:4-8). The central act (D) is the flogging of Jesus (Jn 19:1-3).

When the Jewish leaders bring Jesus to Pilate, they offer no specific charge, but rather insist that they would bring for Pilate's consideration only someone who was guilty of a capital offense, either dangerous criminal acts or sedition. John has already informed the readers that the leaders are unable to make sound judgments about Jesus (Jn 7:24), and he presents Jesus as warning that Moses himself will judge them (Jn 5:45). John's prologue prepared the reader that Jesus' own people would not accept him (Jn 1:11).

Pilate seems reluctant throughout to agree to the Jewish leaders' requests, stating three times that Jesus is innocent. Such a decision goes against the normal practices of Roman governors following the local aristocracy's assessments. But history shows that Pilate was in a war of wills with the local Jewish elite, and this characterization resonates with John's presentation. Pilate goads the Jewish leaders to ironic lengths inasmuch as they condemn Jesus for blasphemy because he declared himself to be the Son of God (Jn 19:7) and commit something close to blasphemy in declaring, "We have no king but Caesar" (Jn 19:15). Certainly both the first readers of John as well as the Jewish elite would have connected the label "Son of God" with Caesar, or at least with the imperial cult and the deified Augustus. John probably is writing during the reign of Domitian, son of Vespasian. This dynasty made its mark with the defeat of the Jews and the destruction of their temple in A.D. 70; moreover, Domitian emphasized his own worthiness to be part of the imperial cult. The juxtaposition of "Son of God" and Caesar, then, was a strong indictment of the Jewish leaders' confession that Caesar is their king.

The several dialogues with Pilate allow Jesus to establish or reinforce what was true during his teachings and ministry. To the question of whether he is the king of the Jews, Jesus counters by asking whether Pilate deduced that by himself or was told such by his accusers. John may be suggesting here that it is God who directs Pilate—a theme that he

will reinforce again to Pilate (Jn 19:11). The reader knows that Jesus declared that he was to be lifted up (Jn 12:32–33), which points to his crucifixion. Pilate is not as autonomous as his words make him seem. Additionally, Jesus tells Pilate that he testifies to the truth, to which Pilate asks, “What is truth?” unaware of the irony so evident to the reader: truth is standing before him (cf. Jn 1:14, 17; 14:6).

By virtue of its placement, the flogging of Jesus by the Roman soldiers stands at the center of John’s trial scene. In so arranging the story, John shows that the world, played here by the guards, did not accept the one from God (Jn 1:10). Moreover, by placing the flogging here, John emphasizes as the climax of the scene the Jewish leaders’ confession of Rome’s rule. Their testimony to Rome’s authority is earlier mocked by the Roman soldiers’ farcical worship of Jesus. The soldiers want Jesus alive so as to mock him, while the Jewish elite want him dead so as to maintain their relationship with Rome. John, through his arrangement of events, shows the cruelty of Rome in demeaning its clients, including the Jewish aristocracy.

5. Questions Concerning the Historicity of the Trial of Jesus.

Recent scholarship’s questions about the trial of Jesus have focused attention on the role of the Jewish leadership, reflecting consensus that Pilate ordered the crucifixion and Roman soldiers carried it out. Whereas some scholars have called the historicity of the Gospel accounts into question because of conflicting evidence of the Sanhedrin procedures as reflected in the Mishnah, it is now widely accepted that the relevant tractate does not reflect the practices of the first century A.D.; thus, few scholars today use the tractate *Sanhedrin* as a backdrop to interpret the Gospels. For example, R. Stein notes that Josephus does not always agree with the details of the Mishnah, in that he says that the Sanhedrin met outside the temple (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.144; 6.354), whereas the Mishnah indicates that it met inside (*m. Mid.* 5:4; *m. Sanh.* 11:2) (Stein, 677n5). A. N. Sherwin-White’s work on Roman processes of justice is routinely cited as the definitive account of first-century A.D. Roman practice. He argues for the general historicity of the trial, claiming that it follows Roman patterns in which the local Roman authority worked with the local aristocracy to keep order, and the Roman authority alone had the power to execute criminals; the Jewish authorities did not have the power to put people to death.

5.1. Doubts About the Historicity of the Trial of

Jesus. Recent scholarship has called into question several aspects of the trial, including (1) the role of the Pharisees, high priests and Jewish leadership in Jesus’ trial (Fredriksen 220–34); (2) the charges against Jesus; (3) the chronology of the events, including that some events occurred at night. First, looking at allegations of inconsistency in Mark’s Gospel, commentators note that throughout Mark’s Gospel the Pharisees accuse and dismiss Jesus, but at the trial it is the Jewish elders and chief priests who take part. No mention is made specifically of the Pharisees. Second, the chief priest’s question about Jesus’ identity as the Messiah comes without warning, and thus the charge of blasphemy is doubtful (Sanders, 297). Jesus has not made any statement to this effect, and if the temple action was minimal or had occurred earlier in Jesus’ ministry, then we cannot point to that action as relevant to the question. Third, the chronology seems far-fetched, in that the chief priests would leave their families after the Passover meal to commence the trial at night. More likely, they were ready for a long rest because the week of Passover was very tiring, and the day before the evening Passover meal involved the slaughter of thousands of lambs. Fourth, the priests’ alleged fear of the crowds is inconsistent with the crowd’s later call for Jesus’ death. The crowd’s vacillation concerning Jesus is understandable only as Mark’s literary creation that drives Jesus’ conviction and execution (Fredriksen, 222). Fifth, Pilate’s offer to release a convicted rebel is highly suspect; moreover, the alleged practice of releasing a prisoner at Passover is unattested outside the Gospels. If John’s Gospel is followed, other problems emerge. Most significant is that the Jewish trial would occur on the day of preparation for the Passover, which is the most exhausting day of the year for the Jewish leaders, coming on top of the most exhausting week of the year. The priests would have been required at the temple altar at dawn, but instead they are in front of Pilate.

In sum, those who dismiss the trial of Jesus before the Jewish leaders as nonhistorical suggest that it was a creation of the early church, a theological charge against Jews to bolster the emerging church’s christological claims. Rather than the result of actions by the Jewish leadership, Jesus’ crucifixion was the result of his *triumphal entry and of the subsequent impression and excitement of the crowds that Jesus might reveal himself as the Messiah. The chief priests and Pilate convened at some point after this event and determined that Jesus should be crucified so as to silence any messianic fervor (Fredriksen, 254).

5.2. Response to Doubts About the Historicity of the Trial of Jesus. Those defending the general historicity of the Jewish leaders' interrogation of Jesus hold that the questions about the Messiah arise naturally from Jesus' teachings and actions, not least from his temple "cleansing" and statements about the temple signaling Jesus' messianic convictions (Powell, 278).

Moreover, defenders accept that while the Gospels are rich in theology, they also reveal eyewitness details, and they suggest that it is from the latter that the former is drawn (note Jn 18:16 [see 4.1. above]). First, Jesus' actions during the triumphal entry and at the temple are best understood as reflecting common messianic assumptions. For example, the connection between messianic authority, the title "son of Man" and the temple is found in 4Q174 I, 10-13 in its interpretation of 2 Samuel 7:12-14 (Dunn, 633). Second, throughout his ministry Jesus was accused of being a false prophet, an accusation that might have contributed to the trial charge of blasphemy. Jesus' teaching about the "kingdom of God, a new kingdom, was rightly viewed as a challenge to the religious and political status quo (Sanders, 296). Third, in response to the assessment that the Jewish leaders would be too overwhelmed with their Passover responsibilities to handle Jesus' trial, one could counter that this supposition is based more on modern views of appropriate work and leisure hours than ancient expectations. Instead, it would be precisely these large festivals such as Passover when Jewish leaders would be on duty around the clock. The claim that the Jewish leaders would not hold a capital case at night is based on the Mishnah (*m. Sanh.* 4:1), but the evidence for the practice of this mishnaic law in the early first century A.D. is very weak. Indeed, if the capital laws were followed generally, the Gospels would have cited this important breach of practice in the trial of Jesus (Brown, 1:358-59). Fourth, the charges that the crowds in Mark are implausibly fickle can be countered by noting that Mark does not declare that the crowd that welcomes Jesus in his triumphal entry (Mk 11:8-10) is the same crowd that asks for Barabbas before Jesus' crucifixion (Mk 15:8-15) (see Stein, 701). Mark's silence on the Pharisees' presence at the trial need not indicate that Pharisees were not in attendance, but only that their primary identity would be as members of the Jewish ruling elite, and secondarily as Pharisees. Fifth, Pilate's action in releasing a prisoner is similar to the release of prisoners by Albinus, the governor who replaced Festus (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.215). Perhaps Herod Antipas had worked out an agreement with

Pilate to release prisoners at Passover; their friendship is historically plausible (Fitzmyer, 2:1478-80).

See also BLASPHEMY; BURIAL OF JESUS; DEATH OF JESUS; GETHSEMANE; LAST SUPPER; PASSION NARRATIVE; PONTIUS PILATE; SANHEDRIN.

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TRIPLE TRADITION. See SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

TRIUMPHAL ENTRY

Reported in all four Gospels (Mt 21:1-11; Mk 11:1-11; Lk 19:28-40; Jn 12:12-19), Jesus' entry into *Jerusalem has the clearest messianic connotations of all his actions up to that point. At the same time, its parallels with and striking departures from similar cultural practices and earlier scriptural accounts, particularly when read in the light of the preceding Gospel narratives, reveal profound implications not fully grasped by either Jesus' disciples or the attendant crowds, and most of all that in Jesus God himself has returned to his city and *temple. While most scholars have accepted the essential historicity of the core narrative, others have considered its messianic elements to be legendary additions. Although interpretative elaboration in the accounts is obvious (e.g., Mt 21:4-5), there is no good reason to doubt its essential historicity.

1. Analogues and Precedents
2. Jesus' Entry and Its Significance
3. Historicity
4. Distinctives of the Gospel Accounts

1. Analogues and Precedents.

Entries of great personages into cities were a well-established feature of the ancient world. Although varying depending on the guest and occasion—there were offered to a range of worthies in different settings—Greco-Roman entries, the *parousia*, had the following features (Kinman 1995; cf. Duff). They were (1) commonly for royal individuals who, (2) greeted prior to entry by sacerdotal and political figures accompanied by various groups, were then (3) escorted into the city, where, (4) witnessed by attending citizenry-at-large wearing ornamental clothing, including wreaths, (5) the subject was lauded in speeches expressing the city's privilege at his visitation before (6) being escorted on the same day to the local temple. It has been suggested that in this setting offering sacrifice amounted to an act of appropriation (Duff). Finally, (7) by the time of the NT period, the *parousia* expressed an increasingly imperial character. The famed Roman triumph was the most elite, ostentatious and rare expression of the type. Granted by the senate, it was always military, the victory had to be decisive, and the conquered, the booty and those freed were prominently displayed. The victor laureate, riding in his gilded chariot behind four white horses, was raised to the rank of "immortal," and the whole concluded with sacrifices in the temple. Recorded on various imperial coins, the event provided the basis for Paul's self-deprecating presentation in 2 Corinthians 2:14-17. More generally, the

semitechnical term *parousia* was regularly used of Jesus' second coming (e.g., Mt 24:3, 27; 1 Cor 15:23; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; Jas 5:7; 2 Pet 3:12; 1 Jn 2:28), and even of his first (2 Pet 1:16; cf. Mk 9:1).

A similar pattern obtains in contemporary Jewish accounts of the entries of Alexander the Great, Judas, Jonathan, Simon Maccabeus and other royal or military figures (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.325-339, 342-345; 12.312, 348-349; 13.304-306; 16.12-15; 17.194-239, 324-328; *J.W.* 1.73-74; 2.101-110; 1 Macc 4:19-25; 5:45-54; 10:86; 13:43-51; 2 Macc 4:21-22). According to D. Catchpole, these entries characteristically involved (1) a status already attained and a victory achieved (though not in every case [e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 11:325-339; 16:12-15; 2 Macc 4:21]), (2) a formal ceremonial entry, (3) celebratory greetings and/or acclamations accompanied by divine invocations, (4) procession into the city's temple (where one exists) followed by (5) cultic activity, whether positive (offering sacrifice) or negative (expelling objectionable persons and removing ritual uncleanness, this second alternative often occurring in stage [1]). There is also the sham welcome accorded Jonathan prior to his betrayal and execution (1 Macc 12:43-50) (Kinman, 1995).

Although the evidence is sparse, entries in Israel's Scriptures lack the formal protocols noted above (Kinman, 1995). The most commonly cited primary precedents for the Gospel accounts, 1 Kings 1:32-40; Zechariah 9:9, have their own distinct concerns. In 1 Kings there is no victory. The central focus is King David's active role (1 Kings 1:33, 38; cf. 2 Sam 13:29; 18:9), notably in giving detailed instructions to agents drawn from the royal inner circle (1 Kings 1:32-35). Solomon, on the other hand, is entirely passive (in contrast to the self-promotion of insurrectionist pretenders [2 Sam 15:1; 1 Kings 1:5]). After being formally "set" (*epibibazō* [1 Kings 1:33]; *epikathizō* [1 Kings 1:38]) on the king's mule, he is escorted to Gihon for public anointing by the high priest with oil from the tent shrine (1 Kings 1:33-34, 38-39; cf. 1 Kings 2:28-30) and then led in joyful procession to the throne (1 Kings 1:35, 40).

Zechariah 9:9-10 draws on a range of earlier motifs. Summoning Jerusalem to rejoice (cf. Is 60:5; 61:10; 65:18-19; 66:10), warrior Yahweh announces its coming king (cf. Is 9:6-7; 11:1-5; Mic 5:2-4), humble, lowly and riding on a young (LXX: "new") colt (cf. Gen 49:10-11; 1 Kings 1:33), through whose universal rule Israel's peace will extend to the nations (Ps 72:7-11). At the same time, it draws on David's return from exile (2 Sam 19-20), where he retraces his earlier departure from Jerusalem on a pair of saddled

donkeys given him for the journey (2 Sam 15:30; 16:1-2). The question of a prior victory is complex. While the king apparently has “been delivered” (Hiphil participle of *yš'* [Zech 9:9a]) by God (the speaker in Zech 9:6-8), his victories on behalf of his people come only after God cuts off chariot and warhorse from Ephraim (MT: “I,” referring to God [Zech 9:10a]; the LXX’s “he” has the king as agent). Rounding out entries of royal figures, the closest equivalent to a Roman triumph is the LXX version of the celebratory acclaim offered David on his return from defeating Goliath (LXX 1 Sam 17:54; 18:6-9). After defeating the Ammonite-Moabite coalition, Jehoshaphat similarly proceeds in joyful procession to the temple (2 Chron 20:27-30).

Given the scriptural acclamations of God’s kingship (e.g., LXX Ps 23:8 [ET Ps 24:8]; 43:5 [ET Ps 44:4]; Zeph 3:15), B. Kinman also considers Yahweh’s entry into Jerusalem, via David’s return of the ark of the presence (2 Sam 6), which could be classified as both a royal entry and a celebration of victory over the Philistines (cf. 2 Sam 5:17-25). Formally “set” (LXX: *epibibazō* [cf. 1 Kings 1:33]) on a “new” cart (2 Sam 6:3), the ark was accompanied to Jerusalem, in festal celebration, by David and all the house of Israel (2 Sam 6:5), an event apparently reflected in LXX Psalm 131 (ET Ps 132) (perhaps also LXX Ps 23; 46; 67 [ET Ps 24; 47; 68]). We should also include here the classic new-exodus text Isaiah 40:1-10, with its summons to prepare triumphant Yahweh’s processional way as the victorious warrior returns, shepherding the exiles, to a Zion charged with heralding his arrival. This image is taken up at the conclusion of the eschatological restoration of Zion cycle (Is 60–62), where the once-forsaken city is again called to prepare for Yahweh’s glorious *parousia*, with the “redeemed” exiles (cf. Is 35:8-9) returning in his train (Is 62:10-12). One might also consider Ezekiel’s visions of the divine glory departing from and returning to the temple over the Mount of Olives (Ezek 11:23; 43:1-5), and Zechariah’s prophecy of the sun-dering of same as warrior Yahweh descends (Zech 14:4) before defeating his enemies, rescuing a remnant of his people and ushering in eschatological peace (Zech 14:1-11) (Duff).

2. Jesus’ Entry and Its Significance.

Jesus’ entry is recorded in all four Gospels, with Matthew (Mt 21:1-9) and Luke (Lk 19:28-40) largely following Mark (Mk 11:1-10), while John (Jn 12:12-19) reflects an independent and much briefer tradition. In this section the focus is on the common themes and their significance. To begin, the Synoptics’ em-

phasis on the Mount of Olives evokes not just David’s return “from exile,” but also the eschatological hope of Zechariah 9:9’s returning Davidic king (echoing 2 Sam 19–20; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.169; *J.W.* 2.262) (see Son of David). The details of the animal’s location and the bystanders’ question (absent from John), although perhaps prophetic foresight (cf. 1 Sam 10:2-10; 1 Kings 17:8-16), might reflect a prearrangement (cf. Mt 26:18 // Mk 14:12-16). The animal being “tied” (one would expect as much in a city) could be a means of identification, but also it might allude to Genesis 49:10-12, already interpreted messianically (e.g., LXX; 4Q252 V, 1-5; the Targumim) and later connected with Zechariah 9:9 (*Gen. Rab.* 98:9) (Blenkinsopp). Being “new” and hence “unridden” (Mk 11:2 // Lk 11:30) conforms to the tradition that no one else may ride the king’s mule (*m. Sanh.* 2:5; cf. 1 Kings 1:33). It also echoes requirements concerning items set aside for God’s use (cf. Num 19:2; Deut 21:3; 1 Sam 6:7; 2 Sam 6:3), which would suit the response “the Lord has need” if understood as “this is for God’s work.” Whether Jesus’ action constitutes “royal” impressment (Derrett) depends on the nature of prior arrangements, if any. In this respect, “Lord” could refer to the animal’s owner, to Jesus, or, as above, to God. The first option is unlikely, and the second is problematic because Jesus does not characteristically speak of himself as “the Lord” (but cf. Mk 2:28 par.). Because Jesus is the one through whom God’s kingdom is present and who speaks for God, the third option seems best: in initiating this “entry,” Jesus is doing the will of God. However, given the Gospels’ high Christology (see below), a deliberate blurring of the second and the third options ought not be ruled out (cf. Ps 110:1 in Mk 12:35, 37 par.).

Given that this is the only time Jesus rides an animal, and that he does so when pilgrims apparently were expected to walk (*m. Hag.* 1:1), his action surely is deliberate. That the *feast is Passover, during which some apparently expected a repetition of the first exodus deliverance (cf. *Mek.* Ex 12:42 [ca. A.D. 90]; cf. *Tg. Yer.* I Ex 21:42; *Tg. Yer.* II Ex 15:18; 12:42; and later *Ex. Rab.* 18:12; 51:1), and that Jesus chooses a colt surely are provocative. In contrast to the chariot and horses of treasonous pretenders (2 Sam 15:1-6; cf. 1 Kings 1:5), Jesus’ choice of the characteristic transport for Israel’s royalty (2 Sam 13:29; 18:9) constitutes his most direct claim to being God’s promised humble Davidic Messiah (Zech 9:9), whose trust is in the Lord (Ps 20:7; Is 31:1; 43:17; cf. Deut 11:4; 20:1; *Pss. Sol.* 17:33).

Although the disciples might simply be provid-

ing saddlecloths (Mk 11:7 par.), the crowd's casting of cloaks and branches (the latter not being waved indicates that they are not festal *lûlabîm*, nor is this the Feast of Tabernacles [*m. Sukkah* 3-4]) suggests a spontaneous royal affirmation (cf. 2 Kings 9:13; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.111; Ps 118:27). Hence the crowd's "Hosanna" (absent in Luke), a shortened form of Psalm 118:25, in greeting (e.g., "to the Son of David" [Mt 21:9]) rather than supplication (Fitzmyer), and invocation of Psalm 118 (cf. 1 Macc 4:24). In this apparently royal psalm thanking God for his mighty victorious intervention (Ps 118:14-18) the king, surrounded by joyful worshipers (Ps 118:15-16), requests entrance from the temple gatekeepers (Ps 118:19), who, confessing his righteousness, readily grant him entry (Ps 118:20). The last song of the Egyptian Hallel (Pss 113-118), so called because of its thoroughgoing exodus theology, and focused as it is on the temple and Zion as the goal of the new exodus, Psalm 118 was appropriately sung at Passover (*m. Pesah* 10:6). Although direct evidence for a messianic understanding of this psalm is late (Fitzmyer), it is widespread. This, along with the consistent prophetic vision of God's new-exodus intervention as the catalyst for the restoration of David's throne (Is 11:1-16; 55:5; Jer 30:9; 33:15-26; Ezek 34:23-24; 37:24-25; Hos 3:5; Amos 9:11; Zech 12:7-8) and the NT's unselfconscious association of the psalm with Jesus, suggests that a messianic interpretation was already current (Mt 21:9 // Mk 11:10 // Lk 19:38 // Jn 12:13; on "our father David," see Acts 2:29; 4:25; Sir 44:1; 45:21; cf. Sir 47:1-11).

However, a comparison of Jesus' entry with its relevant precedents shows several critical differences. In marked contrast to David's first son, Jesus himself takes the initiative in giving detailed instructions to his disciples (cf. 1 Kings 1:32-35). Normally the act of a usurper, Jesus' action is instead a matter of Israel's rightful king confronting "insurrectionist" temple authorities who, in contravention of Psalm 118:20 and Zechariah 9:9, refuse to rejoice or to welcome him (Jer 7:11 in Mk 11:17 par.; cf. Mk 3:22; 7:1 par.). Hence, the rejected king remains outside his city (Mt 21:17; Mk 11:11; cf. John 12:36). The absence of a chariot or any other military associations, which clearly distinguishes Jesus from current expectations (cf., e.g., 4Q285; Pss. *Sol.* 17:22-24; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.271-281), and the ambiguity as to whether the procession actually enters the city, let alone the temple (Mk 11:11; Mt 21:10 is noncommittal), together suggest that Jesus' provocative "entry" is equally provocatively an "anti-parousia" (Kinman, 1995), thoroughly reworked around his unconven-

tional vision of the messianic kingdom (e.g., Mt 11:28-30; 12:15-21; Mk 8:31-33 par.; Jn 13:1-15). Thus, although the hearers/readers of the Gospels already know that God has declared Jesus to be David's messianic son (e.g., Ps 2:7 in Mk 1:11; 9:7 par.; Jn 1:40-49), it is not military success but rather Jesus' mighty acts of *mercy that motivate the crowds to acclaim him (Lk 19:37; Jn 12:17-18; cf. the *healing of the *blind in Mt 20:29-34 // Mk 10:46-52). Finally, Jesus' entry concludes with two equally unexpected cultic acts. As did Simon Maccabeus (1 Macc 13:49-51), Jesus "cleanses" the corrupt temple. But his cleansing implies its coming destruction (Mk 11:12-20 par.; Mk 13 par.) and its replacement with a new house of prayer for all nations, with himself as its new crowning stone (Mk 11:17; 12:10-11; 15:37-39 par.) (Watts 2007, 208-14). Even more unexpectedly, he himself is now the sacrifice being offered (Mk 14:24 par.) (Watts 2007, 229-32).

Furthermore, it is in fact not the Messiah, but Yahweh, who heals the sick (e.g., 4Q521 2 II, 5-12, citing Is 61:1) and who as warrior binds Satan and controls the sea (Is 49:24-26 in Mk 3:23-27 par.) (Watts 1997, 137-82; Grindheim, 40-59). When, as the *Son of Man, Jesus *forgives sins and assumes the role of Lord of the *Sabbath, he exercises God's sole prerogatives (Mk 2:10, 28 par.; cf., e.g., Ex 31:13; 34:9; Lev 19:3; Is 43:25; 56:4). Even after Peter's messianic confession Jesus' still responds as the divinely authoritative Son of Man (Mk 8:29-31 par.), being immediately authenticated as such in a new Sinai *transfiguration (Mk 9:2-8 par.). But this is only what Isaiah 40:3 and Malachi 3:1 (cf. Mk 1:2-3; Mt 3:3; 11:10 // Lk 3:4-6; 7:27) had already implied: Jesus embodied, in some mysterious way, the very presence of victorious Yahweh (hence, e.g., Jn 1:1, 18; 5:18; 8:56-59) come to effect his people's new exodus (Watts 1997; Wright 1996, 612-53). In this respect, the Synoptics' emphasis on Jesus' approach from the Mount of Olives suggests the inauguration of Zechariah 14 (see Duff) and the reversal of God's exilic departure (Ezek 43:1-5; cf. Ezek. 11:23). Moreover, just as God's kingly intervention was both distinct from and the necessary precursor to the Messiah's reign (as noted above; see also Grindheim, 6-39), so too Jesus as the embodied warrior Yahweh inaugurates God's kingdom (Mk 1:14-15; Lk 4:43) before coming as the Messiah to Jerusalem. Prior, then, to his messianic status, Jesus is the temple's Lord, "who comes" fresh from his uniquely authoritative victories over Satan, and for whose coming to his house in judgment John, as Malachi's Elijah, was to prepare, lest he strike the land with a curse (Mal 3:1-5; 4:1-6) (Tel-

ford). In refusing John, the temple authorities are unprepared (Mk 11:15-33 par.; Mk 11:15-16 recalls Zech 14:21) (Duff) and consequently in rejecting Jesus they refuse to welcome God their king, tragically ensuring the destruction of their rebellious house (Mt 23; Mk 13 par.).

3. Historicity.

Scholars have offered a wide range of options as to what actually happened when Jesus entered Jerusalem (see Tatum). For some, Jesus intended an explicit fulfillment of Zechariah 9:9, publically either revealing his lowly messiahship (traditional; also Dibelius) or announcing his this-worldly alternative to Roman rule (e.g., Reimarus; cf. Brandon). Others, agreeing that Jesus' action was "kingly," argue that it was less an explicit messianic demonstration than an acted parable (e.g., Sanders; Borg; cf. Dunn). Another view is that it was not Jesus, but rather the others with him who were responsible for the public acclamation (Sheehan; Bornkamm?). For R. Bultmann, although Jesus may in fact have entered Jerusalem with other pilgrims, his riding on an ass amidst cast cloaks and branches is a later messianic legend shaped by Zechariah 9:9. Finally, some regard the event as almost entirely a creative historicizing of prophecy (Crossan; cf. Catchpole).

Objections to historicity are of two kinds: (1) overt messianism is considered inconsistent with Jesus' reticence elsewhere; (2) the lack of Roman response is thought to be inconsistent with the Gospel accounts. However, real people and situations being complex, one should expect nuanced explanations. The critical question concerns instead the reasons for Jesus' reticence. If he believed himself to be the Messiah, at some point his own integrity and commitment to Israel's prophetic tradition would require a public coming to Jerusalem in that role. However, given the potentially incendiary nature of messianic expectations and his own radically different conception of messiahship, it is almost unavoidable that, in keeping with his bewildering (to his disciples) understanding of his death, he delays until the last possible moment. As to the lack of Roman response, it is difficult to believe, based on Jesus' life and teachings, especially when compared to the violence of various contemporary prophets and royal pretenders, that the Romans prior to this point considered Jesus a threat. From all accounts, the "procession," even if intense, was over almost as soon as it began (cf. the Ephesian riot in Acts 19:23-41); and even if it did attract some notice, showing no signs of violence and neither entering the city nor directly

confronting Roman representatives, it was considered insufficiently dangerous to risk a truly major disturbance (cf. Mk 12:12; 14:1 par.). In addition to its unique formal characteristics, Mark and John reflect independent traditions (criterion of multiple attestation); entries being inherently highly politicized, Jesus' action stands at odds with Christian apologetic concerns not to appear seditious (criterion of embarrassment); and it best explains the possibility of a Roman governor considering political charges against Jesus just a few days later (criterion of effect) (Kinman 2009).

4. The Entry in the Gospels.

In addition to the common themes addressed above, each evangelist has highlighted various aspects or introduced new elements in keeping with his particular emphasis.

4.1. Mark. As indicated by his opening and only editorial scriptural citation (Mk 1:1-3), Mark's Gospel is primarily concerned with the long-awaited new exodus return of Yahweh to Zion (Is 40:3) and his temple (Mal 3:1, itself citing Ex 23:20). Given his emphasis on Jesus' divine authority and repetition of God's mighty new-exodus deeds, the entry is fundamentally about the Lord coming to his temple. Thus, the healing of blind Bartimaeus and his following Jesus on the way into Jerusalem (Mk 10:46-52) echoes Isaiah 35:5-10's picture of the healed and ransomed exiles returning to Zion. However, in rejecting God's preparatory messenger, Elijah/John (Mal 4:5; Mk 1:6; 9:11-13; 11:27-33), the unrepentant authorities and their temple come under God's judgment (Mal 3:5; Mk 11:12-21; 13). At the same time, Jesus is also Israel's long-awaited Messiah (Mk 1:1). Initially attested to Jesus alone during the *baptism (Mk 1:11, citing Ps 2:7), his messianic status does not really emerge until Peter's "partial" and "secret" confession (Mk 8:9-10). But this is immediately radicalized in Jesus' messianic embrace of the cross, which, though rejected by Peter, is then directly confirmed by God himself at the transfiguration (Mk 9:7, citing Ps 2:7; cf. Mk 9:12). Only after Jesus' cruciform call has been thoroughly established in his and his "blind" disciples' journey along the "way" to Jerusalem (Mk 8:31-38; 9:30-32; 10:32-45) is the first public affirmation of Jesus' messiahship recorded, and that by a blind man requesting mercy (Mk 10:46-52). From this point on, Jesus' messianic status is repeatedly confirmed, not least in the thoroughgoing appeal to three key Davidic psalms (Ps 118:25-26, 22-23 in Mk 11:9-10; 12:10-11; Ps 110:1 in Mk 12:36; 14:62; Ps 22:19, 8, 2 in Mk 15:24, 29, 34). Bartimaeus's confes-

sion is soon followed by the acclamation of the crowds. But while undoubtedly true, it is also undoubtedly a “blind” confession. Little do they realize that Jesus is not only a crucified Messiah but also a crucified God, who comes in the name of the Lord because he, however mysteriously, shares God’s identity. Not only do both God’s and David’s kingdom come through the cross, but also it means the end of the current temple and the establishment of a new one at which all nations will be welcome (Mk 15:37-39; cf. Mk 11:17).

4.2. Matthew. From the outset, Jesus is the messianic Son of David (Mt 1:1, 6, 17, 20; 2:4-6), defined not by military conquest but rather by mercy for Jews (9:27; 20:30-31) and Gentiles (Mt 15:22; cf. Is 9:1-2 in Mt 4:15-16; 8:10-12). As at the beginning his birth as king created turmoil in Jerusalem (Mt 2:3), so too at the end (Mt 21:10) as Jesus is acclaimed first by the crowd (Mt 21:9; cf. Mk’s less direct “of our ancestor David”) and then by the *children in the temple (Mt 21:15, citing Ps 8:3; cf. Mt 11:25). Matthew characteristically elucidates the entry’s significance citing a combination of Isaiah 62:11 and Zechariah 9:9 (his correction of the LXX’s “beast of burden” to the MT’s “donkey” and his dual mention of donkey in Mt 21:2, 7 strengthen the Zechariah connection). In beginning with Isaiah 62:11, Jesus’ entry is seen first as the fulfillment of God’s *parousia* to Zion. As the one in whom Zion’s long-awaited new-exodus redemption has come, Jesus is the city’s salvation (Is 62:10-12) (see Tan; Watts 1997, 295-310). Not only is this to be proclaimed to the ends of the earth (Is 62:11; cf. Mt 28:18-20), but also God’s “redeemed” are now those who follow Jesus. In keeping with Matthew’s “Son of David” motif, the second, and longer, Zechariah 9 citation makes the meaning of Jesus’ actions explicit. This is the eschatological return of David’s humble messianic son who will command peace to the nations (cf. again Mt 28:18-20). Hardly unaware of Hebrew parallelism (there is only one male animal in Zech 9:9), Matthew’s renowned addition of the colt’s mother underlines the youth of the as-yet-unridden colt; hence, even in his “triumph” the merciful king does not separate them (cf. Mt 12:11, 15-21; 18:12). Picking up on Mark’s compassionate healing of the blind (cf. Mt 20:29-34), Matthew further recounts how the blind and lame, normally excluded from God’s house, are welcomed and healed there by Jesus (Mt 21:14; cf. LXX 2 Kgdms 5:8, *m. Hag.* 1:1; 1Q28a II, 3-10). Immediately contrasting this with the temple authorities’ anger (Mt 21:15; cf. Jesus’ compassion over against the Pharisees’ severity in Mt 12:1-23), Matthew massively extends Mark’s

condemnation of the present institution (Mt 23; cf. Mk 12:38-40), concluding with Jesus’ lament over the soon-to-be-desolate city, which will not see God’s deliverance until it makes the crowd’s confession its own (Mt 23:37-38).

4.3. Luke. Luke’s opening chapters present Jesus both as coming Lord (e.g., Lk 1:43, 76; 2:11; cf. Lk 3:4-6) (see Rowe, esp. 31-77) and as messianic Son of David (e.g., Lk 1:27, 32, 69; 2:11). “Anointed” by a Samuel-like *John the Baptist, Jesus is the new David, around whom the outcasts of Israel and the nations gather (Lk 1:51-55, 2:30-34), and who, like David, is destined, in spite of official opposition, to be Israel’s king (Wright 1992, 379-81). Thus, just prior to Jesus’ entry Luke adds the stories of the welcomed outcast Zacchaeus (Lk 19:1-10) and of the rejected king who nevertheless receives royal power (Lk 19:1-27). Only in Luke is Jesus the colt’s “lord” (Lk 19:31)—that is, both king and Lord (Rowe). Reflecting the *discipleship focus of Luke’s vastly lengthened “journey” section (Lk 9:51—19:48; cf. Mk 8:27—10:52), the crowd is explicitly a great multitude of disciples (“a people for the Lord” [cf. Lk 1:16-17]) whose joyful praise of God (cf. Zech 9:9) is in response to Jesus’ performance of Isaiah’s new-exodus “mighty deeds” (Lk 19:38; cf. Lk 1:51, 69; 5:17; 7:18-23 and Is 29:18-19; 35:5-6; 42:18; 61:1). Their blessing Jesus openly as “the king” and their exclamation of “peace and glory” echoing that of the angelic host (Lk 2:14; cf. Lk 19:10) together demonstrate that his entry is the climactic moment for which he was born and for which Israel was waiting (e.g., Lk 1:46-55, 68-79; 2:29-35). In stark contrast, the objection of “some of the Pharisees” (not all) as the representative voice of all those who reject Jesus’ kingship (Lk 19:39-40) leads directly into its outcome: Jesus’ sorrowful lament over Jerusalem’s failure to recognize the visitation of the one (i.e., God [cf. Jer 6:15]) who could bring it “peace” (cf. Zech 9:10), and hence its coming destruction (Lk 19:41-44; cf. Lk 13:34-35).

4.4. John. Jesus’ great victories are his defeat of death in the climactic sign of *Lazarus’s resurrection (Jn 11:1-44) and of the ruler of this world in Jesus’ sacrificial exaltation on the cross (Jn 12:28-32). Reports of Lazarus’s resurrection polarize the city, galvanizing the opposition (Jn 11:46-57) while, in what of all the Gospels most closely resembles the standard welcome, inspiring a reception party to go out to meet Jesus and openly to acclaim him “King of Israel” (Jn 12:9-13; cf. Nathaniel’s confession in Jn 1:49). Whereas Jesus’ finding and sitting on the young donkey is effectively a succinct ver-

sion of the Synoptics, it also stresses his initiative in affirming his kingship in his own time (Jn 12:23; cf. Jn 6:15). John's Zechariah 9:9 reference not only underlines Jesus' messianic identity (Jn 12:15b-16; cf. Mt 21:5), but also presents John's unique account of the inquiring Greeks as the firstfruits of his messianic dominion to the ends of the earth (Jn 12:20-21; cf. Zech 9:10b). The singular reference to "palms" (Jn 12:13) recalls the Maccabean recovery and consequent purification of the temple from the idolatrous and defiling Seleucids (1 Macc 4:36; 13:51; 2 Macc 10:7). In casting the hostile authorities in a similar light, it coheres with John's beginning his citation with Zechariah 3:16's "Do not be afraid" (Jn 12:15a). There, God announced his coming—appropriately applied to Jesus, since he and the Father are one (Jn 10:30), and in him, the "I am," God's glory tabernacles among us (Jn 1:14)—to deliver a Jerusalem defiled by proud and corrupt rulers (Zeph 3:16), which for John means at least Israel's authorities but also Pilate (cf. Jn 5:44; 19:11-13). At the same time, in view of the temple cleansing occurring much earlier in the narrative of Jesus' ministry (Jn 2:13-22), it indicates the true meaning of Jesus' raising of Lazarus, which immediately preceded Jesus' anointing and his entry into the city, and his defeat of the ruler of this world in his subsequent glorious death on Passover. The first, set in the context of the Feast of Dedication, which celebrated the Maccabean purification (Jn 10:22), exemplifies the restoration of God's true temple (see Coloe), and the second, while many Jews were coming to Jerusalem to purify themselves in preparation for Passover, constitutes Jesus' sacrificial purification of all, including the nations (Jn 11:51-52; 12:19), who come to him (Jn 12:32).

See also CHRIST; EXILE AND RESTORATION; JERUSALEM; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS; REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS; SON OF DAVID; TEMPLE; TEMPLE ACT.

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TRUST. See FAITH.

TWELVE, MISSION OF THE. See MISSION.

TWELVE, THE. See APOSTLE; DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP.

TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS. See SYNOPTIC TRADITION.

TYPOLOGY

The NT makes several comparisons between various OT and NT events, individuals and institutions. These comparisons are often expressed, sometimes explicitly, in terms of typology and constitute major components of *Christology and ecclesiology. But typology offers more than comparisons between specific events and details; it establishes important links between and within the Testaments themselves. Typology therefore has played a significant role in the very formation of the biblical *canon. By means of typology, as well as by means of prophetic fulfillment, the NT writers present Jesus and the church as the continuation and completion of the OT.

1. Terminology, Meaning and Context
2. Typology and First-Century Exegesis
3. Jesus in Typological Interpretation
4. Jesus' Disciples in Typological Interpretation

1. Terminology, Meaning and Context.

The biblical concept of typology is based upon the word *typos*, which literally means "impression," "mark" (Jn 20:25) or "image" (Acts 7:43) and metaphorically usually means "example" or "model" (1 Cor 10:6; Phil 3:17; 1 Thess 1:7; 2 Thess 3:9; 1 Tim 4:12; Tit 2:7 [cf. *hypotypōsis* in 1 Tim 1:16; 2 Tim 1:13]). The related word *antitypos* means "copy" or "counterpart" (Heb 9:24; 1 Pet 3:21). In his influential study of typology, R. Davidson distinguishes three basic meanings within the semantic range of the word *typos*: (1) the matrix (i.e., what leaves its impress, or *Vorbild*); (2) the impression (i.e., the result of the impress or blow, or *Nachbild*); and (3) the matrix (*Vorbild*) that is simultaneously an impression (*Nachbild*). The most elaborate emic view of typology is found in 1 Corinthians 10:1-13, in which Paul portrays the experience of the Israelites in the wilderness as a type of the current Christian experience. In 1 Corinthians 10:11 he emphatically declares that "these things happened to them to serve as an example, and they were written down to instruct us, on whom the ends of the ages have come." Paul's statement seems to indicate that the only function of the type is to point toward its antitype. Moreover, he understands Israel's past experience, which is subsequently "inscriptured," as a warning (cf. RSV) to the Christian community—that is, as an example that

should not be imitated in the present. This further means that the correspondence between the past and the present is not absolute but rather includes both the elements of continuity and the elements of discontinuity.

The use of typology in the NT, however, is not limited to the presence of the term *typos* and its cognates. As a hermeneutical category, typology establishes a parallel or correspondence between a person, event or institution in the OT (the type) and another person, event or institution in the NT (the antitype), regardless of whether an author uses the *typos* terminology or provides an explicit link between the type and its antitype. Many NT passages presume the readers' familiarity with biblical narratives, which should enable them to detect the parallels between the types and the antitypes. Such correspondences are not unique to the NT. Within the OT itself typological comparisons are made. The exodus story becomes a type of salvation in Second Isaiah (Is 40:3-5; 43:16-24; 49:8-13); the wilderness rebellion (Ex 17:1-7; Num 20:1-13) is presented in Psalm 95:7-11 as an example of the *hardness of heart that Israel is to avoid; the garden of Eden functions as a type for Isaiah's portrayal of the new paradise (Is 11:6-9); and king David becomes the model for the expectations of the king who is to come in the future (Is 11:1; 55:3-4; Jer 23:5; Ezek 34:23-24; Amos 9:11).

Scholars generally agree that typology entails three basic components: (1) a correspondence between the type and its antitype; (2) a qualitative progression from the type to its antitype (*Steigerung*); and (3) the concept of salvation history. Where they disagree is the nature of the events that are related through typology. On the one side are scholars who presume the historicity of the OT and NT events and hold that the correspondence between the type and its antitype reveals God's sovereign plan in history. Scholars who hold this view typically believe that the primary purpose of the events recorded in the OT is to prefigure the events recorded in the NT. Since the purpose of the type is to point toward the antitype, the latter is perceived as a fulfillment or, in some cases, as a replacement of the former. On the other side are scholars who regard typology as a literary device used by early Christian interpreters to explain the significance of Jesus and the emergence of the early church. They do not deny that the NT authors presumed the historicity of the events that they related through typology, but they do not believe that the same view must be held by modern interpreters. Scholars in this group typically put more weight on the completion of revelation in the

NT, which sheds light on the OT events retrospectively. While the first approach better corresponds to the perspectives of the NT authors, the second approach better reflects the perspectives and insights of modern and postmodern critical scholarship.

The discussion of the historicity of the types and their antitypes is further complicated by the fact that certain OT types, such as the *Son of David and the Suffering *Servant, are not historical personalities but rather are ideal or eschatological figures that have been modeled after specific individuals. In such cases the OT type has a dual character: it functions as an impression that is molded by the previous matrix, which is in turn capable of molding other things (a *nachbildliches Vorbild*, in Davidson's terminology).

2. Typology and First-Century Exegesis.

Because biblical exegesis in the early Jewish and Christian period was founded on the belief that Scripture contained the ever-relevant will of God, every effort was made to bring its teaching to bear upon the contemporary world and the concerns of the believing community. This effort lies behind all interpretive methods: allegorization, *midrash, pesher and typology. Allegorization discovers morals and theological symbols and truths from various details of Scripture; pesher seeks to unlock the prophetic mysteries hidden in Scripture by relating individual elements from biblical prophecies to the contemporary experience of the community; midrash seeks to make the Torah relevant to new circumstances and issues and to clarify obscurities and problems in Scripture. In contrast, typology represents the effort to relate scriptural events, persons and institutions to similar events, persons and institutions in the present (and the future) by underscoring their corresponding elements within a larger soteriological paradigm.

Despite their differences, there is significant overlap between these methods of interpretation. For example, to some extent all four involve a searching of Scripture (midrash); all four find symbolic meaning that transcends the letter of the text (allegory); all four recognize the presence of mystery and hidden truth within the text (pesher); and all four believe that to some extent the present and future are foreshadowed by biblical history (typology). To paraphrase B. Chilton, the real difference among these methods is less a matter of method than it is what Scripture is essentially taken to be (Chilton, 138).

Emphasis on the unity of Scripture and salvation history is the distinctive characteristic of typological

interpretation. What God has done in the past (as presented in Scripture), God continues to do in the present (or will do in the future). Recent events or future events that are interpreted as salvific are frequently compared to major OT events of salvation. Such comparison does at least two things: (1) it lends credibility to the belief that the newer events are indeed part of the divine plan; and (2) it enables the interpreter to grasp more fully the theological significance of the newer events. Typological interpretation makes it possible for later communities of faith to discern the continuing activity of God in history.

Typological interpretation is not limited to the NT; it is also found in the writings of Philo (*Leg.* 3.102; *Mos.* 2.74-76, 141; *Somm.* 1.206) and *rabbinic literature. Just as Israel prevailed over Amalek as long as Moses was able to hold his hands high, so Israel has prospered when it has obeyed the law of Moses (*Mek. Amalek* §1 [on Ex 17:11]). The messianic age is often compared with the exodus, a comparison frequently developed by typological interpretation. For example, when the Messiah comes, manna will once again be provided in the wilderness (*Mek. Vayassa* §4 [on Ex 16:13] and §6 [on Ex 16:33]).

3. Jesus in Typological Interpretation.

While some typologies derive from Jesus himself, many of them are the results of theological reflections of the early church about the significance of Jesus.

3.1. Moses Typology. Correspondences between Jesus and Moses are recognizable in many Gospel passages. At Jesus' transfiguration the voice from heaven enjoins the disciples, "Hear him" (Mk 9:7 par.), an injunction that echoes Deuteronomy 18:15-18 and the promise that some day God will raise up a prophet like Moses. The point of the passage is that Jesus is this anticipated prophet (cf. Mk 8:28 par.; Lk 7:16). Unlike prophetic fulfillment, however, typology looks for broader points of comparison. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that the *transfiguration episode at many points parallels the Sinai theophany: "six days" (Mk 9:2; Ex 24:16); presence of *Moses (Mk 9:4; Ex 24:1-18); *mountain setting (Mk 9:2; Ex 24:12); three companions (Mk 9:2; Ex 24:9 [cf. Deut 19:15]); changed face (Mt 17:2; Lk 9:29 [cf. Mk 9:3]; Ex 34:29-30); cloud (Mk 9:7; Ex 24:15-16 [cf. 2 Macc 2:8]); heavenly voice (Mk 9:7; Ex 24:16); fear (Mk 9:6; Ex 34:30). The point of these parallels is that once again a major act of salvation is being revealed.

Elsewhere in the NT Jesus is explicitly identified as the awaited prophet like Moses (Acts 3:22-23; 7:37; cf. Jn 6:14-15; 7:40). Moses typology lies behind the infancy narrative in Matthew (Mt 2:13-20; cf. Ex

1:15—2:10 [see Birth of Jesus]), the *Sermon on the Mount (esp. Mt 5:1-48), the Fourth Evangelist's portrait of Jesus (Jn 1:14-17; 2:1-10; 3:14-15; 4:7-26; 6:25-65; 7:37-39; 10:1-18) and various *miracles, notably the feedings of the five thousand and the four thousand (Mk 6:35-44; 8:1-9 par.).

3.2. Elijah-Elisha Typology. In some Gospel passages the portrayal of Jesus as a prophet is enhanced through parallels with and allusions to the *Elijah-Elisha tradition. Jesus is the prophet whose requirements for *discipleship are more demanding than those of Elijah (Lk 9:61-62; 1 Kings 19:19-21), but who is also more compassionate and long-suffering (Lk 4:25-27; 9:52-56; 2 Kings 1:9-12). The Lukan portrait of the *ascension also reflects Elijah typology (Lk 24:51; Acts 1:9; 3:21; 2 Kings 2:1, 11). In reference to prophetic tradition in general, Jesus' anticipation of *death in Jerusalem (Mt 23:37 par.) reflects typological thinking.

3.3. Davidic Typology. The title *"Son of David," which is applied to Jesus throughout the Gospels, suggests that Jesus is like David. Davidic typology includes Jesus' Davidic descent (Mt 1:20; Lk 1:27; 2:4; Rom 1:3) and his royal prerogatives, which are especially emphasized in Matthew's infancy narrative: the *genealogy (Mt 1:1, 6, 17); the citation of Isaiah 7:14 (Mt 1:23), an oracle originally addressed to King Ahaz; the visit of the magi (Mt 2:2: "Where is he who was born king of the Jews?"); the citation of Micah 5:2, part of a larger oracle (Mic 5:2-6) that promised a king like David (Mt 2:6); and King Herod's interest and fear (Mt 2:3-18). The Davidic typology is also seen in Jesus' ministry. The blind man cries out to Jesus as "Son of David" (Mk 10:47-48). Jesus justifies his action and the action of his disciples by appeal to the action of David and his men (Mk 2:25-26). If David can violate a cultic *law (1 Sam 21:1-6), then surely can Jesus, who is greater than David (indeed, he is "Lord of the Sabbath" [Mk 2:28]). Finally, Jesus was hailed as Son of David when he entered Jerusalem (Mt 21:9) (see Triumphant Entry).

One of the most significant comparisons between Jesus and David is found in Mark 12:35-37 and its parallels. In this passage Jesus juxtaposes the Davidic descent of the Messiah with Psalm 110:1, in which David (the presumed author of the psalm) calls the Messiah (the presumed recipient of God's utterance) his "lord." The point that Jesus makes about David's son was meant to draw a comparison between himself and Israel's famous king and not simply to pose an exegetical riddle. It is likely that Jesus implied that although he is like David, in that he is "David's son," he is superior to David, in that he

is "David's Lord" (cf. Mt 12:42 par., where Jesus declares that one [i.e., he himself] "greater than Solomon is here"). Jesus is not only David's son; he is his Lord. Behind this claim lies typological thinking. David is the type (of the Messiah), Jesus the antitype.

3.4. Son of Man Typology. It is commonly asserted that the *"Son of Man" sayings in the Gospels fall into two disparate categories: the Son of Man who identifies with and suffers for humanity, and the Son of Man who comes in *judgment (with the latter possibly authentic, and the former probably not). It is more likely, however, that these sayings form a typological unity founded on Daniel 7 (and not, as is often assumed, 1 En. 37—71 and 4 Ezra 13), and that they do indeed derive from Jesus. (There is little evidence that these sayings or the title "Son of Man" were of special interest to the early church, hence the likelihood that they derive from Jesus.) Jesus probably saw himself as the fulfillment of the prophesied Son of Man of Daniel 7, who stands with the saints and, after initial opposition and defeat, overcomes and receives the kingdom. Jesus' sayings about rejection, suffering and death (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:33; 14:21) (see Predictions of Jesus' Passion and Resurrection) reflect the first aspect (an aspect enriched by allusions to the Suffering Servant [see 3.4 below]), while the sayings that speak of vindication (Mk 9:9; 13:26; 14:62) reflect the second.

3.5. Servant Typology. Four times in Acts, where Isaianic and Davidic themes are combined, Jesus is called the "servant" (*pais* [Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30]) (see Servant of Yahweh). Although in the Gospels Jesus is never so designated, servant typology nevertheless appears to be present. Four times Second Isaiah's Servant Songs are quoted and applied to Jesus: Jesus' *healing ministry fulfills Isaiah 53:4 (Mt 8:14-17). Jesus' injunctions to silence fulfill Isaiah 42:1-4 (Mt 12:15-21; cf. Is 53:7-8 in Acts 8:32-33). His impending arrest fulfills Isaiah 53:12 (Lk 22:37). Finally, the unbelief of the people fulfills Isaiah 53:1 (Jn 12:37-38). It is noteworthy that in every instance these Isaianic passages are cited as "fulfilled." There are also important Gospel allusions to the so-called Servant Songs: the righteous sufferer predicts his rejection and death (Mk 9:12; Is 53:3); when accused, he remains silent (Mk 14:60-61; Is 53:7; cf. Acts 8:32-33); he is beaten (Mk 14:65; Is 50:6); he intercedes for sinners (Lk 23:42-43; Is 53:11-12); he dies in the company of criminals (Mk 15:27; Is 53:9); his death is on behalf of many (Mk 10:45; 14:24; Is 53:11-12); and he is *buried in a rich man's tomb (Mt 27:57-60; Is 53:9).

3.6. Righteous Sufferer Typology. The function of the psalms of lament in the Gospels, especially in

the passion narratives, reflects a righteous sufferer typology. Jesus is betrayed by his friends (Mk 14:18; Ps 41:9; 55:12-14). He is sorrowful (Mk 14:34; Ps 43:5). He is falsely accused (Mk 14:56 par.; Ps 27:12). Pilate washes his hands of Jesus' death (Mt 27:24; Ps 26:6). Jesus' clothes are divided among his enemies (Mk 15:24; Ps 22:18). He is mocked (Mk 15:29-31; Ps 22:7-8; 109:25). He thirsts (Jn 19:28; Ps 69:21). He is given vinegar to drink (Mk 15:36; Ps 69:21). He is abandoned by God (Mk 15:34; Ps 22:1). His friends do not stand by him (Lk 23:49; Ps 38:11), and in death he commits his soul to God (Lk 23:46; Ps 31:5). Allusions to the Servant Songs of Second Isaiah add further details to this typology (see 3.5 above) (see Death of Jesus).

3.7. Adam-Christ Typology. Luke's arrangement of Jesus' genealogy (Lk 3:23-38; cf. Mt 1:2-16) and its juxtaposition with the *temptation narrative (Lk 4:1-13) constitute an Adam-Christ typology. Unlike Paul's similar typology (Rom 5:12-21), with which the evangelist may or may not have been familiar, the point of comparison is not so much between the first and the second Adam, but between the first and the second son of God. According to Luke, Adam and Jesus were "sons of God" by virtue of their being directly created by God's Spirit (Gen 2:7; Lk 1:35) (see Holy Spirit). In order to heighten the comparison, Luke has his genealogy conclude (not begin) with "Adam, the son of God" (Lk 3:38). This conclusion contrasts deliberately with the opening challenge of the temptation narrative, "If you are the Son of God . . ." (Lk 4:3). Unlike the first son of God, who fell when tempted by Satan (see Demon, Devil, Satan), Jesus, the second Son of God, does not. Here again Jesus is presented in typological fashion as the antitype that parallels and in this case clearly transcends the type.

3.8. Jonah Typology. According to Matthew 12:39-41 (cf. Lk 11:16, 29-32), the only sign that was to be given to Jesus' generation was the "sign of Jonah": "For just as Jonah was in the belly of the great fish three days and three nights, so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights" (Mt 12:40 [cf. Jon 1:17]) (see Sign of Jonah). The sign to which Jesus alludes is his death, burial and resurrection "on the third day" (see 1 Cor 15:4; cf. Mk 9:31; 10:34). There are two parts to this typological interpretation: (1) Jesus' death, burial and resurrection correspond to the experience of Jonah; (2) Jesus, like Jonah (Jon 3:4-5), calls for repentance. Again, Jesus understands himself not simply as being like Jonah but rather as "something greater than Jonah" (Mt 12:41). Because the people of Nineveh responded to Jonah's preaching, whose only sign was

his remarkable deliverance from the great fish, the people of Jesus' generation are without excuse, for Jesus himself is greater than Jonah, and his attesting sign, resurrection from the dead, is also greater.

3.9. Rejected Stone Typology. Before the time of Jesus the stone idea had already taken on typological meaning. The "stone," laid by God, could be a stone of stumbling (Is 8:14) or a stone of faith (Is 28:16). The rejected stone of Psalm 118:22-23 was understood to be Israel, who, although rejected by the nations, would some day enjoy a favored place. Finally, Daniel 2:45, where the stone has a messianic nuance, describes the destruction of Israel's enemies. At the conclusion of his parable of the wicked tenants (Mk 12:1-9) Jesus quotes Psalm 118:22-23 ("The stone which the builders rejected has become the cornerstone") and applies it to himself (Mk 12:10-11). Assuming that the charge later brought against Jesus ("We heard him say, 'I will destroy this temple made with hands, and in three days I will build another not made with hands'" [Mk 14:58]) approximates something that Jesus actually said (cf. Jn 2:19), it is quite possible that Jesus thought of himself as the foundation of a new community of faith and worship. Luke's version of the "rejected stone" saying is unique ("Everyone who falls upon that stone will be broken; upon whomever it should fall, he will be crushed" [Lk 20:18]), probably reflecting parts of Daniel 2:45 and Isaiah 8:14, and adds an element of judgment. This typology is foundational to the early community's self-understanding (see 4 below).

3.10. High Priest Typology. Although by no means certain, the high *priest typology of Hebrews (see Heb 4-7) may derive in part from certain priestly prerogatives that Jesus had assumed. The most significant of these were his declarations of the *forgiveness of sins (Mk 2:5-10; Lk 7:48). Perhaps his cleansing pronouncements (Mk 1:41) (see Clean and Unclean), his action in the temple (Mk 11:15-17) (see Temple Act) and his intercessory *prayers (Lk 22:32: "Peter, I have prayed for you"; Lk 23:34: "Father, forgive them"), including the so-called high-priestly prayer (Jn 17:9, 20), also contributed to this later typology of Jesus as the ultimate high priest.

3.11. Sacrifice Typology. The sacrifice typology in Hebrews (see Heb 7-10) may have its roots in an early interpretation of the significance of Jesus' death, possibly an interpretation that derives from Jesus' anticipation and understanding of his death. If authentic, the statements found in Mark 10:45; 14:24 would support this notion. It has also been suggested that John 1:29 ("Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world") may reflect

Jewish tradition of the “the binding of Isaac” and the promise given to Abraham that God will provide a lamb (Gen 22:1-14) (see Lamb of God). Such a typology understands Jesus’ death as the ultimate sacrifice, which need never be repeated.

4. Jesus’ Disciples in Typological Interpretation.

4.1. The Twelve Tribes Typology. Jesus’ appointment of twelve apostles (Mk 3:14), clearly an allusion to the twelve tribes of Israel, in all probability symbolized reconstituted *Israel. The twelve *apostles will also function as Israel’s rulers in the kingdom (perhaps as new tribal patriarchs), “sitting on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel” (Mt 19:28 [cf. Lk 22:28-30; Ps 122:3-5; Dan 7:9]). Recognizing the importance of this symbolism, Luke does not neglect to tell us of the replacement of the betrayer (Acts 1:15-26). The Twelve also function as emissaries of their king in carrying out their *mission of evangelism (Mt 10:1-42; 28:18-20; Lk 24:45-49; Acts 1:6-8).

4.2. The New Covenant Typology. The idea of the new covenant in the Gospels reflects Passover traditions and the promise of the “new covenant” of Jeremiah 31:31-34. The new covenant is explicitly mentioned in the Lukan version of the Lord’s Supper: “This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood” (Lk 22:20 [cf. 1 Cor 11:25]). Jewish haggadic tradition believed that the blood shed at the first Passover was the blood that established the covenant later proclaimed at Sinai (Tg. Zech. 9:11; Mek. Pisha §5 [on Ex 12:6]). Just as the blood of the lambs at the first Passover delivered Israel from judgment and made the old covenant possible, so too will the shed blood of Jesus deliver the people of God and establish the new covenant.

4.3. The Temple Typology. Jesus’ prophetic demonstration in the *temple (Mk 11:15-17 par.), his implicit criticism of and threat against the ruling priests (Mk 12:1-11; cf. Tg. Isa. 5:1-7), his explicit pronouncement of the temple’s impending destruction (Mk 13:2: “not one stone will be left upon another”), the accusation brought against Jesus at his trial before the Sanhedrin (Mk 14:58: “I will destroy this temple made with hands, and in three days I will build another not made with hands”), and his personal comparison with the temple (Mt 12:6: “Something greater than the temple is here” [cf. Jn 2:19-21]) form part of a spiritual temple typology. In these various statements one is given the impression that Jesus has replaced Jerusalem’s temple with himself and the community of those who believe in him (a similar idea is found in 4Q174 I, 6, which speaks of “a

sanctuary of humans”). A later and more explicit expression of this typology is reflected in 1 Peter 2:4-8.

See also MIDRASH; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS.

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UNCLEAN. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

UNPARDONABLE SIN. See FORGIVENESS.

UR-GOSPEL. See SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

VINE, FRUIT OF THE. See WINE.

VIRGIN MARY. See MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS.

VIRGINAL CONCEPTION. See BIRTH OF JESUS.

VISIONS. See DREAMS AND VISIONS.

W, X, Y, Z

WATER

From earliest times *hydōr* (“water”) was used as an archetypal symbol associated with both biological and spiritual life. As an indispensable substance, especially in agrarian societies familiar with the effects of drought, *hydōr* was frequently used figuratively as a symbol for life or as an image for oracular speech. Regarding the later, for example, rabbinic texts spoke of wisdom, Torah, and teaching as water or a well (e.g., *m. ’Abot* 1:4, 2:8; *Exod. Rab.* 47:5). In the Gospels the term expresses cleansing and renewal, revelation, and life, especially as they are provided through Jesus Christ. The word *hydōr* occurs thirty-nine times in the Gospels, more than half of these occurring in the Gospel of John.

1. Synoptic Gospels
2. Gospel of John

1. Synoptic Gospels.

The eighteen occurrences of *hydōr* in the Synoptics depict water as a cleansing element: eleven times the term is merely referring to a body of water (e.g., Mt 8:32: the pigs went “into the lake and died in the water”) or to water as a liquid (e.g., Mk 9:41: “anyone who gives you a cup of water in my name”), and six times to Jewish or other symbolic purification (e.g. Mt 27:24: Pilate “took water and washed his hands before the crowd”).

The function of *hydōr* in the Synoptics is not as generic as it might first appear. For example, when *hydōr* is depicted as a body of water, it can be given a theologically unique manifestation. In Mark 4:35-41 the Sea of Galilee has been interpreted as powers hostile to God, even demonic powers, because the language Jesus uses parallels demonic encounters and the surrounding context (cf. the healing of the demoniac in Mk 5:1-20) (see Demon, Devil, Satan).

The term *hydōr* also serves to depict cleansing or purification in the Synoptics. The *baptism of John, for example, is described in Mark 1:4 as “a baptism of

repentance for the forgiveness of sins.” Its placement early in the Gospel not only summarizes the ministry of John but also connects repentance and *forgiveness to the person whom John is announcing, Jesus Christ, who himself will baptize, not with water but with the Spirit (Mk 1:8; cf. Mt 3:6; Lk 3:3). The necessary connection between *hydōr* and the ritual washings of *Judaism facilitates a contrast between ritual purification and the purification established by Jesus (see Mk 7:1-23), which serves as a rebuke of external cleanliness and as the replacement of an internal cleanliness (Mt 15:11; Mk 7:14; Lk 11:39-41) (see Clean and Unclean).

2. Gospel of John.

It is in the Gospel of John that *hydōr* attains special significance. The archetypal symbolism of *hydōr* and the OT’s application of it as a comprehensive symbol of physical and spiritual life become a point of departure for John the evangelist, who deploys the image metaphorically to depict the work of God as mediated through the Son, who provides both revelation and the *Spirit. The water motif in John first occurs in John 1:26 as part of the baptism of John, where Jesus is noted to be the true baptizer (the title “Baptist” is never given to John in this Gospel), and his “water baptism” is a baptism “with the Holy Spirit” (Jn 1:33). Central to the combination of water with Spirit is the Spirit’s role as the agent of revelation, with water baptism serving as the context in which the revelation of Jesus is made known (Jn 1:33-34). In John 2:1-11 the transformation of the water to *wine is not a demotion of water but rather the utilization of its archetypal symbolism to describe the true purification, which Jesus supplies.

In John 3:1-36 *hydōr* and “spirit” are directly connected (Jn 3:5), though in a manner not entirely clear. Interpretation options include ritualistic (Jewish or Christian), physiological (e.g., relating to physical birth) or symbolic (e.g., often sacramental), with each giving different definition to the terms

and therefore their relation. Central to this relation is the connection between *hydōr* and “spirit” in the OT, especially in Ezekiel 36:24-28, where a renewal and cleansing of Israel is depicted, including a cleaning with pure water from all uncleanness and the gift of a new heart and spirit: “I will put my Spirit in you” (Ezek 36:27). The juxtaposition of *hydōr* and “spirit” in John 3:5 is governed by an eschatological relationship. While *hydōr* stirs images of ritual and symbolic cleaning, “spirit” refers to eschatological fulfillment and the coming of the Spirit. The connection between *hydōr* and “spirit” is not without distinction, for the Spirit’s activity cannot be confined to water baptism (Jn 3:5-8).

In John 4:1-42 the *hydōr* that Jesus alone can provide is described as “living water” (Jn 4:10), available for the person who thirsts (Jn 4:13) and ultimately for all people (Jn 4:42). The dialogue between Jesus and the Samaritan woman is complex, offering a multilayered meaning of *hydōr*. What is clear is that the meaning of *hydōr* is determined by its connection to the giver; this is no ordinary water. In light of the traditional use of water imagery for divine wisdom and teaching, the source of this *hydōr* is the Messiah, who declares “all things” (Jn 4:25, 29). The *hydōr* that Jesus provides quenches thirst entirely; that is, it is the pouring of “eternal life” (Jn 4:14). Ultimately, Jesus is the “well” from which true *hydōr* is drawn (Jn 4:15), a fulfillment and expansion of the water that even Jacob’s well could not provide. An interesting development occurs in John 7:37-39, especially in relation to John 4. While the *hydōr* and Spirit are described in terms of fulfillment in John 4, in John 7:37-39 the same connection is described in terms of anticipation. The water motif, however, is less explicit and more implicit, for it is established as part of the context of the Feast of Tabernacles (see Feasts), with its daily water pouring ceremony, made emphatic with Jesus’ offer of an eschatological drink. Jesus declares for a second time that he is the one who provides “living water,” which he implants in those who come to him, those who know that their thirst can be quenched only by the *hydōr* that he gives (Jn 7:37-38). This depiction of *hydōr* is the climax of the narrative development of water symbolism in this Gospel, declaring that one prime meaning of the symbol is “the Spirit,” an eschatological gift to be given at the glorification of Jesus (Jn 7:39).

The depiction of *hydōr* in John’s Gospel is not always so direct; several occurrences of the term are significant even if only implied in a subtle fashion. For example, in John 5:1-15 it is possible to interpret an intentional contrast between the magical waters of

healing beside which the lame man hopes for healing and the healing that Jesus offers: “Do you want to become well?” (Jn 5:6). And in light of the explicit significance of *hydōr*, significance can be attributed to the cleaning of the disciples’ feet by Jesus (Jn 13:5) and the water (and blood) that flows from Jesus’ crucified body (Jn 19:34). With the symbolism of *hydōr* so deeply articulated by the narrative thus far, these subtle occurrences serve only to impress further the connection between water and Jesus. Ironically, the *hydōr* that Jesus will ultimately use to cleanse his disciples (Jn 13) will come directly from him, and the “living water” that Jesus provides can be given only by means of his *death. The proof of his death was simultaneously the proof of true life (Jn 19).

The Gospels creatively employ the archetypal symbolism of *hydōr*, biological and spiritual realities, and all of its OT meanings and allusions in order to articulate how all those symbolisms and meanings are needed to make sense of the work and person of Jesus Christ. By virtue of the eschatological role of the Holy Spirit, the symbol of *hydōr* is associated with true life and salvific blessings: rebirth, purification, *joy, satisfaction analogous to quenching of thirst, and eternal life.

See also BAPTISM; HOLY SPIRIT; LIFE, ETERNAL LIFE.

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WAY, THE. See DISCIPLES AND DISCIPLESHIP.

WILDERNESS. See MOUNTAIN AND WILDERNESS.

WINE

Wine was an important drink in the ancient world and features significantly in the teaching of Jesus. In the ancient world, including first-century Palestine, three kinds of wine made from grapes were in use: (1) fermented wine (*oinos* [e.g., Eph 5:18], which usually was mixed in the proportion of two or three parts of water to one part of wine [*b. Pesah.* 108b]); (2) new wine (*oinos neos* [e.g., Mt 9:17; Mk 2:22; Lk 5:37-38; cf. Hos 9:2; Hag 1:11; Zech 9:17], the normal drink of the Qumran community [1QS VI, 4-6; 1Q28a II, 17-18, 20; 1QHA X, 24]), which was wine from the most recent harvest, made of unfermented grape juice (see also the reference to *gleukos*, ["sweet wine"] in Acts 2:13; however, note that both wine and new wine were fermented grape juice with alcoholic content and thus able to cause intoxication); and (3) wine in which the process of fermentation had been stopped by boiling the unfermented grape juice ("must" or unfermented grape juice). Wine was also, but less frequently, made from pomegranates (Song 8:2) and raisins (*b. B.Bat.* 97b), as well as with apples, dates, honey, herbs and figs.

1. Old Testament Background
2. Wine in the Gospels
3. Conclusion

1. Old Testament Background.

In the OT, wine (Heb *yayin*) is portrayed as both an emblem of divine blessing (Gen 27:28, 37; Deut 7:13; Judg 9:13; Ps 104:15; Prov 3:10; Song 7:9; Is 55:1; 65:8; Joel 3:18; Zech 9:17) and in conjunction with violence, corruption and wickedness incurring God's wrath (Deut 32:32-33; Ps 60:3; 75:8; Prov 4:17; 23:29-35; Is 5:22; 16:8-10; 51:17; Jer 25:15; Hos 7:5; 9:2; Hag 2:16). Similarly, the imagery of the wine press is used both to signify abundance and bounty, often connected with God's blessing (Deut 15:14; Joel 2:24; Amos 9:13), and as an image of God's wrath and punishment whereby God or his agent would tread the winepress, often visually resulting in the staining of the treader's garments with blood (Is 63:1-6; Lam 1:15; Joel 3:13; Rev 14:14-20; 19:11-15). Wine and "strong drink" (*šēkār*, a fermented beverage made from barley and similar to beer) often appear together and are warned against or forbidden (Lev 10:9; Num 6:3; Deut 29:6; Judg 13:4, 7, 14; 1 Sam 1:15; Prov 20:1; 31:4, 6; Is 5:11, 22; 24:9; 28:7; 29:9; 56:12; Mic 2:11; cf. Lk 1:15). Priests were not to drink wine when serving in the temple (Lev 10:9; Ezek 44:21). The OT clearly portrays the negative results of drunkenness, with its accompanying addiction and poverty (Gen 9:20-23; Job 12:25; Ps 107:27; Prov 20:1;

21:17; 23:20-21, 29-35; 31:4-7; Is 5:11-12, 22; 19:14; 24:20; 28:7-8; 29:9; Jer 25:27; 48:26; 51:39, 57; Hos 4:11; Hab 2:5, 15; Sir 19:1-2; 31:29-30; 1 Esd 3:17b-24). Wine was not the normal table beverage during OT times. It seems rather to have been reserved for special occasions (e.g., Gen 27:25). Wine is regularly associated with feasting and celebration (Job 1:4; Esther 1:7-9; Is 25:6; Dan 5:1; cf. Is 22:13). Prophetic and apocalyptic banquet imagery anticipates the end-time messianic banquet that Jesus mentioned in his teaching (Is 25:6; 65:13; cf. Mt 8:11; 26:29; Mk 14:25; Lk 13:29-30).

2. Wine in the Gospels.

2.1. Wine Imagery and References in Jesus' Teachings. According to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus used wine to illustrate the nature of the *kingdom of God, which he came to inaugurate, referring to the practice of putting new wine into new wineskins (Mt 9:17; Mk 2:22; Lk 5:37-38). "And no one puts new wine [*oinos neos*] into old wineskins lest the wine burst the wineskins and the wine and the wineskins be destroyed. But new wine is for new wineskins" (Mk 2:22). During wine production new wine was placed into tanned goatskins and sealed (1 Sam 1:24; 10:3; 16:20; 25:18; 2 Sam 16:1; Job 32:18-19). Fermentation required two to four months, during which time the wine expanded the goatskin by releasing carbon dioxide. If old wineskins were reused with new unfermented wine, the further expansion caused by the release of additional carbon dioxide would burst the wineskins. The wineskin illustration, along with the example of the new cloth on the old garment (Mt 9:16; Mk 2:21; Lk 5:36), indicates a degree of discontinuity between *Judaism and Christianity. According to Matthew and Mark, Jesus understood himself as introducing a "new" message ("new wine") that would not completely match or be contained by Judaism as it was understood and practiced at the time. Luke presents the matter from a different perspective, the new piece of cloth, which is torn and does not match the old, while cohering with Matthew and Mark on their major point, that the new and the old are incompatible (Bock, 519).

Matthew 23:24 contains a cryptic statement by Jesus describing the activity and priorities of the Pharisees. He calls them "blind guides, straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel." This refers to the practice of straining out the lees and other foreign matter from wine that had been allowed to mature on the lees (cf. Is 25:6; *m. Šabb.* 20:1-2). The Pharisees meticulously attended to the minutia of tithing while neglecting "the more important matters of the law: justice, mercy, and faithfulness" (Mt 23:23). The

blatant hyperbole of Jesus' statement highlights the absurdity of the Pharisees' misplaced priorities and exposes their *hypocrisy.

Although Jesus is remembered to have regularly drunk wine (see 2.2 below), he clearly endorsed the OT's negative attitude toward drunkenness. In Luke 21:34 Jesus warns the people, "But watch yourselves lest your hearts be weighed down with dissipation [unrestrained behavior when drunk] and drunkenness and the cares of daily life, and that day come upon you suddenly as a trap." The connection of drunkenness with unpreparedness for the day of the Lord is reinforced in the parable contrasting the wise and the wicked servant (Mt 24:45-51 // Lk 12:42-48). A servant who should have been industrious in the fulfillment of the master's commands in preparation for his return and instead treats the other servants harshly and eats and drinks with drunkards (Mt 24:48) and gets drunk (Lk 12:45) will experience severe punishment (Mt 24:51; Lk 12:46). The drunkard is in danger of eschatological punishment ("In that place there will be crying and gnashing of teeth" [Mt 24:51]).

When instituting the Lord's Supper, Jesus used bread and wine as emblems of his body and blood (referring to wine as "the fruit of the vine," *genēma tēs ampelou* [Mt 26:29; Mk 14:25; cf. Is 32:12]). The phrase "bread and wine" is found repeatedly in the OT (Gen 14:18; Deut 29:6; Judg 19:19; Neh 5:15). The *Last Supper almost certainly was a Passover meal, which by Jesus' time included the use of wine. Wine, which typically was red, was also called "the blood of the grape" (Gen 49:11; Deut 32:14; cf. Sir 39:26; 50:15); thus, the symbolism employed by Jesus lay close at hand. The wine symbolized Jesus' blood "of the covenant which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins" (Mt 26:28 [the "new covenant in my blood" in Lk 22:20]). Closely attached to Jesus' interpretation of the symbolism of the wine with reference to his blood in each of the Synoptics is his statement that he would not drink of the fruit of the vine again until the kingdom of God comes (Mt 26:29; Mk 14:25; Lk 22:18), thus indicating a postresurrection messianic banquet.

The notion of the end-time messianic banquet is invoked both in John's account of Jesus' changing of water into wine at Cana and in the Synoptics' account of Jesus' words at the Last Supper regarding a future time at which he would eat and drink wine with his disciples in his kingdom. Banquet imagery was commonly associated with the coming time of messianic blessing (Is 25:6-8; 65:13; 1 En. 62:14; 2 En. 42:5; 2 Bar. 29:8). The identification of the future kingdom of God with a wedding feast also appears

frequently in Jesus' *parables (Mt 9:14-15 // Mk 2:18-20 // Lk 5:33-35; Mt 22:1-14 // Lk 14:15-24; Mt 25:1-13; cf. Lk 12:36) and in his other teaching (Mt 8:11; Lk 13:29-30). Jesus told his followers, "And I say to you that many from the east and west will come and will recline to eat with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven" (Mt 8:11). In addition to teaching concerning the future coming of the kingdom of God using banquet imagery, Jesus described his disciples as wedding guests, with himself as the bridegroom (Mt 9:15; Mk 2:19; Lk 5:34), thereby implying the "already" nature of the future messianic banquet in his presence and activity (cf. the turning of water into wine). "And Jesus said to them, 'Can the wedding guests fast while the bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast. The days will come when the bridegroom is taken away from them, and then they will fast in that day'" (Mk 2:19-20 ESV). According to these texts, Jesus also indicated awareness that there would be a delay before the final consummation, when the bridegroom would not be present and his disciples would fast.

2.2. Other References to Wine in the Gospels.

According to Luke's Gospel, *John the Baptist did not partake of wine (*oinos*) or other fermented drink (*sikera* [beer made from barley]) (Lk 1:15; 7:33). John's complete abstinence may have been due to his being a Nazirite, but in any case, it certainly was tied to the angel's instructions to his father Zechariah: "For he will be great before the Lord, and must not drink wine or strong drink" (Lk 1:15). Nazirite vows involved abstinence from wine and strong drink (Num 6:1-4; Judg 13:4-5, 7, 14; cf. Amos 2:11-12; other biblical examples of complete abstinence for specific reasons include Daniel in Dan 1:8-16, probably because it was connected to the pagan cult or in violation of Jewish dietary laws, and the Rechabites in Jer 35:1-19 as part of their rejection of urban culture). The complete abstinence from wine exemplified by John the Baptist, Daniel and the Rechabites represents exceptions to the biblical and cultural norms of the day. John the Baptist's lifestyle in regard to eating and wine consumption led some to believe that he was *demon possessed (Lk 7:33; Mt 11:18). In stark contrast to John the Baptist's portrayal in Matthew and Luke, Jesus, the *Son of Man, "came eating and drinking" and was promptly accused of being "a glutton and a drunkard" (Mt 11:19; Lk 7:34). This shows that Jesus was known to have drunk wine regularly while associating with his contemporaries (see Table Fellowship).

John's Gospel records Jesus' turning a large quan-

tity of water into wine at a family wedding in Cana of Galilee (Jn 2:1-11; cf. Jn 4:46), this being Jesus' first of a series of messianic signs selected by John for inclusion in his Gospel. In conjunction with Jesus' messianic ministry, his miracle performed at a Jewish wedding signifies that Jesus is the messianic bridegroom, with John the Baptist serving as the "friend of the bridegroom" (Jn 3:29). John's evaluation of the state of first-century Judaism (note the empty stone jars used by the Jews for ceremonial washing mentioned in Jn 2:6) is contrasted with the fullness and abundance of life and joy brought by Jesus the Messiah (cf. Jn 10:10). This is further underscored by both the quantity (Jn 2:6) and the quality (Jn 2:10) of the wine provided by Jesus. Each of the six jars would have held between sixteen and twenty-four gallons (for a total of about one hundred to 150 gallons), and the wine therein was of noticeably higher quality (Jn 2:10). Abundance of wine often was used as a motif to symbolize the age of salvation (Jer 31:12; Joel 3:18; Amos 9:13-14; 2 Bar. 29:5; *Sib. Or.* 2.317-318; 3.620-623; 744-749) and the coming of the Messiah (Gen 49:11-12).

Wine appears twice in the crucifixion narratives: wine mixed with myrrh (Mk 15:23 [or, in Mt 27:34, with gall, a bittering agent]) at the beginning of the crucifixion, and sour wine right before Jesus died (Mt 27:48; Mk 15:36; Lk 23:36; cf. Jn 19:29-30). The wine mixed with myrrh is commonly understood to have been an analgesic: a humane gesture offered to ease his pain but that Jesus rejected in order to maintain full consciousness until the end (cf. Prov 31:6; *b. Sanh.* 43a). The medicinal value of wine is affirmed in the NT (Lk 10:34; 1 Tim 5:23; cf. *b. B.Bat.* 58b). For example, Luke 10:34 describes a Samaritan pouring oil and wine on the wounds of a beaten man. It is more likely, however, that at the crucifixion the myrrh functioned to make the wine undrinkable (note the interpretation of the myrrh by Matthew as gall, an agent added to make the wine bitter [see Koskeniemi, Nisula and Toppari]). According to this reading, the offer of such wine indicates an attempt to intensify the torture of crucifixion.

In addition to the bitter wine mixed with myrrh offered to Jesus at the beginning of the crucifixion, he was given cheap sour wine (*oxos* [i.e., vinegar]) right before he uttered his final words (Mt 27:48; Mk 15:36; Lk 23:36; cf. Jn 19:29-30). John interprets this wine as a fulfillment of Scripture (Jn 19:28), most likely Psalm 69:21, which reads, "They gave me poison for food, and for my thirst they gave me sour wine [*hōmes*] to drink" (ESV [in this verse the LXX translates *hōmes* with *oxos*]).

3. Conclusion.

In the OT, wine is portrayed both as connoting divine blessing and in conjunction with wickedness incurring God's wrath. Warnings are regularly issued against indulging in "wine and strong drink"; priests were not to drink wine when serving in the *temple; and OT texts pervasively note the negative results of drunkenness, with its accompanying addiction and poverty. At the same time, wine is regularly associated with feasting and celebration, and banquet imagery anticipates the end-time messianic banquet.

According to the Gospels, Jesus was known to have drunk wine regularly while associating with his contemporaries (in contrast to John the Baptist). The Gospel of John recounts an occasion when Jesus turned water into wine at the wedding of Cana. The Synoptics depict Jesus as using bread and wine when instituting a new covenant with his disciples, envisioning a future time at which he would drink wine again with his followers in his kingdom. In this, wine serves as an emblem of divine blessing and messianic *joy.

See also LAST SUPPER; TABLE FELLOWSHIP.

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WISDOM

In biblical thought "wisdom" has a wide range of meaning. "Wisdom" can refer simply to the practical skills and qualities humans acquire in order to live successfully, and it also can refer to God's knowledge

and creative power that transcend human scrutiny, or even to the personified or hypostatized figure of divine Wisdom. Given this range of meaning, it is difficult to give a comprehensive definition of “wisdom.”

Neither the OT nor Second Temple Judaism presents a homogeneous wisdom tradition. Instead, we can distinguish four strands of wisdom tradition in Second Temple Judaism, which are rooted in the OT: (1) the tradition in which wisdom is identified with the *law (Sirach, Baruch, rabbinic literature); (2) the tradition that closely relates wisdom and Spirit (Wisdom of Solomon, Philo, *Joseph and Aseneth*); (3) the apocalyptic tradition where an interpreting *angel mediates revelatory wisdom about eschatological events to a visionary (1 *Enoch*, 4 *Ezra*, 2 *Baruch*); and (4) the sapiential writings of the Qumran community wherein wisdom is closely associated with the law, Spirit and *apocalypticism (Bennema 2001). Despite its broad range of meaning in Second Temple Judaism, “wisdom” generally appears to be a soteriological category, in that it is a circumlocution for God’s wise and saving activity in the world through the communication of revelatory saving wisdom to people. The Gospels draw on these traditions with varying emphases in their presentations of Jesus.

1. The Double Tradition (Q)
2. Matthew
3. John
4. Conclusion

1. The Double Tradition (Q).

Most of Jesus’ wisdom sayings and the wisdom motifs applied to him in the Synoptic Gospels occur in the material shared by Matthew and Luke (the so-called double tradition or *Q) (see Synoptic Problem). It is now generally agreed that the shift from the presentation of Jesus as a wisdom teacher to the presentation of Jesus as the final and most important messenger for the Wisdom of *God had already been made in the double tradition. According to this view, a further development in the Synoptic tradition to an explicit wisdom *Christology occurs in Matthew, where Jesus is identified in some sense with divine Wisdom itself (Suggs; Robinson; Dunn; Burnett; for wisdom and the historical Jesus, see Witherington 1994). Although Luke and Mark present wisdom sayings of Jesus, they show no interest in a wisdom Christology—that is, in presenting the significance of Jesus and his status as the Christ in terms of divine Sophia (Wisdom).

The double tradition contains a number of aphoristic wisdom sayings of Jesus that do not necessarily

distinguish him from any other Jewish wisdom teacher (e.g., Mt 12:33b = Lk 6:44). This is not surprising, since it is not crucial in Second Temple Judaism that such aphorisms be attached to any particular context, person or message. For Gospel studies, therefore, the contexts of such aphorisms in the double tradition become the crucial concern because they alone indicate how early Christians related Jesus to wisdom emphases. There are at least five crucial wisdom passages in the double tradition using the words *sophia* (“wisdom”) or *sophos* (“wise” or “wise one”).

1.1. The Wisdom of Solomon (Mt 12:42 = Lk 11:31). This saying refers directly to “the wisdom of Solomon” with the ambiguous assertion “See, here is something greater than Solomon.” The emphasis in both Matthew and Luke is on the judgment of “this generation” in connection with the preaching of Jonah (Mt 12:41 = Lk 11:32) (see Sign of Jonah) and the wisdom of Solomon. The “something greater” than the preaching of Jonah and the wisdom of Solomon, then, seems to be Jesus’ message. In this context Jesus is a messenger who proclaims God’s wisdom with eschatological urgency to “this generation.”

1.2. Wisdom Vindicated (Mt 11:16–19 = Lk 7:31–35). This passage is also concerned with “this generation,” but it emphasizes that *John the Baptist and Jesus (= the *Son of Man) have come to it as messengers of wisdom (*sophia*). The ending of the pericope in Luke, “And wisdom [*sophia*] is vindicated by all her children,” usually is considered to be earlier than Matthew’s ending. Sophia is personified as having *children who come proclaiming her message.

Wisdom was personified already in the OT. She calls out and pleads with humans to heed her message (Prov 8:1–9:2). Wisdom also sends out messengers to issue her call (Prov 9:3–6). As this tradition developed in Second Temple Judaism, it could finally be claimed that “in every generation she [Wisdom] passes into holy souls and makes them friends of God and prophets” (Wis 7:27 NRSV).

If the word “all” in Luke 7:35 (cf. Mt 11:19) was present in the double tradition that Luke adopted, then the implication would be that all who respond to Wisdom’s call are her children. “All,” however, seems to be a Lukan addition (cf. Lk 7:29), in which case the focus of the double tradition is on John and Jesus as the culmination of all of Wisdom’s messengers (cf. Mt 11:12–15; Lk 16:16).

1.3. Wisdom’s Envoys (Mt 23:34–36 = Lk 11:49–51). Luke 11:49 is regarded as the earlier form of this saying (“Therefore also the Wisdom of God said, ‘I will send them prophets and apostles, some of

whom they will kill and persecute . . .” [NRSV]) (see 2.2 below). The saying seems to be a quotation attributed to personified Wisdom. The emphasis on Wisdom sending messengers (“prophets and apostles”) is present again, but the motif of their rejection is strongly emphasized. The implication of this double-tradition passage is clear: God’s judgment for the rejection of the entire line of Sophia’s envoys culminates with Jesus’ message to “this generation.”

1.4. Wisdom’s Spokesperson (Mt 23:37–39 = Lk 13:34–35). In this case, Matthew has Jesus’ lament over Jerusalem linked with the emphasis on the fate of all the messengers sent to Israel (Mt 23:34–36 = Lk 11:49–51), while Luke has the lament linked explicitly to Jesus’ *death as another of the rejected prophets (Lk 13:33). It is difficult to know, then, whether Matthew or Luke has preserved the order of the double tradition. Has Matthew combined the sayings (Mt 23:34–36, 37–39), or has Luke separated them (= Luke 11:49–51; 13:34–35)? An understanding of the context would help us determine the identity of the speaker, whether it be Wisdom, Jesus on behalf of Wisdom, or Jesus as Wisdom itself.

In this passage from the double tradition the emphasis seems to be on the rejection of Wisdom’s messengers (Mt 23:37a = Lk 13:34a) and on Jesus as the final messenger of Wisdom (“You will surely not see me until . . . the one who comes in the name of the Lord” [Mt 23:39 = Lk 13:35]). Since no explicit identification is made between Jesus and the figure of Sophia, it seems reasonable to conclude that the same emphasis already seen in other passages in the double tradition is found also in this one: Jesus is the final spokesperson who has attempted to reveal Wisdom’s message to humanity.

1.5. Wisdom’s Revealer (Mt 11:25–27 = Lk 10:21–22). This passage from the double tradition seems to emphasize wisdom motifs different from the passages examined so far. First, Jesus as God’s Son seems to be the only recipient and mediator of God’s wisdom (e.g., “All things have been handed over to me by my Father . . .” [NRSV]). Second, it is implied either that God has hidden his Wisdom from Israel because of their unbelief or that Wisdom is unattainable by Israel without the Son’s mediation (e.g., “You have hidden these things from the wise and the intelligent . . .” [NRSV]).

Although this is a difficult passage to interpret, it is clear that stress is placed on the filial relationship between God and Jesus, and the passage implies that the wisdom that only God knows fully is revealed as a gift (cf. Job 28:12–28; Bar 3:15–4:1; Sir 1:10; Wis 8:21). At the very least, this passage seems to focus

on (1) the recipients of God’s wisdom (i.e., Jesus and those to whom he reveals it) rather than on those who have rejected wisdom, and (2) Jesus’ function as the revealer of God’s wisdom. These emphases are not incompatible with the other texts from the double tradition, though admittedly they are enhanced only here (see 2.3 below).

1.6. Summary. The wisdom passages of the double tradition emphasize Jesus’ message rather than the relation of Jesus to divine Wisdom. Jesus is presented as the culmination of a long line of messengers to Israel whose message of God’s wisdom has been rejected. The christological aspects of the double tradition emphasize both Jesus as the final-but-rejected spokesperson for Wisdom and his filial relationship to God (see Son of God) in fulfilling this function. Jesus is not yet identified with Wisdom itself; this christological step is taken by Matthew.

2. Matthew.

Matthew’s presentation of Jesus in relation to wisdom motifs is seen primarily in the redaction of wisdom material from the double tradition. The most important passages are Matthew 11:2–19; 23:34–39; 11:25–30.

2.1. Jesus as Wisdom (Mt 11:2–19 [// Lk 7:18–35]). The setting of this passage is John the Baptist’s question concerning Jesus and Jesus’ testimony regarding John. Matthew introduces this section with a phrase that seems to be his: “the works of the Christ” (Mt 11:2; cf. Lk 7:18). Most interpreters of the double tradition regard Luke’s version of the wisdom saying at the conclusion of this section (wisdom is justified by “all her children” [Lk 7:35]) as earlier than Matthew’s (wisdom is justified by “her works” [Mt 11:19b]) (see 1.2 above). It appears that Matthew has framed the passage to equate the phrase “the works [erga] of the Christ” (Mt 11:2) with the phrase “wisdom is vindicated by her works [erga]” (Mt 11:19b). This change virtually identifies Jesus, “the Christ” (cf. Mt 1:1, 16, 17), with God’s divine Wisdom. If this is the case, then in Matthew Jesus is no longer just Wisdom’s messenger; he is Wisdom incarnate (Suggs; Deutsch).

2.2. Wisdom Speaks (Mt 23:34–39 [// Lk 11:49–51; 13:34–35]). Matthew’s redaction of the double tradition in order to equate Jesus with Wisdom is consistent with the differences between Matthew and Luke in this passage. We have already examined Jesus’ lament for Jerusalem in Matthew 23:37–39 (1.4 above), a passage following on Matthew’s larger context of Jesus’ woes on the *scribes and *Pharisees and, finally in Matthew 23:34–36, the sending of *prophets,

sages and scribes who are killed and persecuted by *Israel's leaders.

If the parallel passage of Luke 11:49-51 (= Mt 23:34-36) represents the earlier form of the double tradition, as most interpreters believe, then Matthew has made several significant modifications. First, the phrase "the Wisdom of God said" (past tense) becomes in Matthew an emphatic first-person saying of Jesus in the present tense ("See! I am sending you prophets . . ."). A saying of Wisdom has become a saying of Jesus.

Second, although it is unclear whether Matthew is responsible for joining the tradition found in Matthew 23:37-39 (= Lk 13:34-35) with that of Matthew 23:34-36 (= Lk 11:49-51), a strong contextual argument can be made that he did. Matthew 23:37-39 in the double tradition is Jesus' lament about Jerusalem's rejection of his message. In order to express his pathos, Jesus uses the image of Wisdom-Shekinah ("God's presence") as a mother bird gathering its brood. In Matthew, however, Jesus has just been identified with Wisdom (Mt 23:34 = Lk 11:49), so that the lament over Jerusalem now reads as their rejection of Jesus as God's *incarnate Wisdom.

The rejection theme fits both the overall context of the woes (*see* Blessing and Woe) against the scribes and Pharisees (Mt 23) and Jesus' subsequent departure from the *temple (Mt 24:1). Matthew has also omitted the story of the widow's mite (cf. Mk 12:41-44 = Lk 21:1-4). This omission links Jerusalem's rejection of Jesus as Wisdom with Jesus' emphatic departure from the temple. In this way, the theme of rejection is enhanced in Matthew. Jerusalem's "house" (i.e., the temple) is "forsaken and desolate" (Mt 23:38 = Lk 13:35) because Jerusalem has rejected the very incarnation of Wisdom itself.

In so doing, Matthew seems to build on the motifs present in the Jewish wisdom tradition. In Sirach, Wisdom sought a dwelling place among all peoples, but God assigned her to dwell in the temple at Jerusalem (Sir 24:1-12). Elsewhere we find the emphasis that Wisdom was rejected and left desolate because of God's judgment of Jerusalem (Bar 4:12), or that she could find no place to dwell at all and returned to heaven (1 *En.* 42:1-2; cf. 4 *Ezra* 5:9-10). Although we cannot establish Matthew's direct literary dependence on these traditions, given Matthew's evident *redaction of the double tradition, it seems reasonable to suggest that Jesus is presented as Wisdom incarnate who is rejected by Israel and especially its leaders. Thus, he pronounces judgment on them (Mt 23:35-36, 38) and then withdraws his presence (Mt 23:39-24:1).

2.3. Wisdom Beckons (Mt 11:25-30). The double tradition has emphasized already that Jesus' function as the Son is to reveal God's wisdom (Mt 11:25-27 = Lk 10:21-22) (*see* 1.5 above). Matthew now links Matthew 11:25-27 with Matthew 11:28-30, so that Jesus not only reveals God's wisdom but also issues an invitation to take his yoke and learn from him. The language certainly alludes to the yoke of the law, but because Wisdom and Torah had already been identified in some traditions (Sir 24:23; Bar 3:37-4:1), Wisdom could also invite any who would do so to take her yoke and experience her rest (e.g., Sir 51:26-27).

In Matthew Jesus no longer only reveals Wisdom; his teaching is the total expression of God's revelation because he is Wisdom-Torah. The community of Jesus studies his words as God's revelation (cf. Mt 5:18; 24:35), and he, as the very presence of God's revelation (Mt 1:21-23), guides them (Mt 18:20; cf. *m. 'Abot* 3:3, 7; 6:10). Righteousness now consists of knowing and doing Jesus' teachings rather than the yoke of Torah (Mt 11:29-30) (*see* Justice, Righteousness; Law).

2.4. Summary. In the Synoptic tradition Matthew goes beyond both Second Temple *Judaism (in which wisdom is never incarnate as a human) and the double tradition (in which Jesus and John are both Wisdom's final messengers) by moving to a wisdom Christology in which Jesus is Wisdom incarnate. The Gospel of John takes a similar step but by different means and with different emphases.

3. John.

The opening verses of John's Gospel present Jesus as the incarnate divine cosmic *logos* ("Word") (Jn 1:1-18), and most scholars have recognized the wisdom background of the Johannine prologue. *Logos and Wisdom are virtually interchangeable concepts in both Philo (Dodd) and Wisdom of Solomon (Wis 9:1-2; 18:15). In the Jewish wisdom tradition God created Wisdom before all else, and she participates with God in creation (Prov 8:22-31; Sir 1:4, 9; 24:3-5, 9; Wis 9:1-2, 9). John goes beyond this tradition by emphasizing that the Logos was preexistent with God and was *God (Jn 1:1). As Wisdom and life are associated in the wisdom tradition (e.g., Prov 4:1-13; Wis 8:13, 17), so John emphasizes that life is in the Logos (Jn 1:4). The theme that Wisdom is the perfect reflection of God's *light (e.g., Wis 7:26) is in John too (Jn 1:4-5). John also alludes to Wisdom's descent from heaven (to find a dwelling place on earth), rejection and departure (*see* 1 *En.* 42:1-2; cf. Sir 24:8-12, 19-23). The prologue evokes the first stages when preexistent divine Wisdom-Logos descends to earth,

becomes incarnate in the person of Jesus and experiences rejection (Jn 1:1-2, 9-11, 14). The final stage, Wisdom's departure, only unfolds in the rest of the Gospel as Jesus' return to the Father taking the path of the cross (Jn 3:13; 6:33, 62; 20:17; for a summary of the whole journey, see Jn 16:28).

John's presentation of Jesus as Wisdom incarnate is not limited to the Logos hymn of the prologue. Since the prologue sets the agenda for the rest of the Gospel, the reader can expect to see Jesus act as divine Wisdom throughout the Johannine narrative. Indeed, many scholars have recognized that John's wisdom Christology permeates the entire Gospel (Scott; Witherington 1995; Ringe; Willett; Bennema 2002).

3.1. The Identity and Mission of Wisdom Incarnate. Jesus has an intimate relationship with the Father (Jn 1:18), and his salvific mission is to reveal the identity and work of the Father and himself and also the nature of their relationship. He does this through his revelatory teaching, which contains life-giving truth/wisdom (Jn 3:31-36; 6:46-51; 8:19, 28, 31-32; 10:38; 12:44-50). The Jewish wisdom literature presents a similar picture, where Wisdom readily reveals herself to those who seek/desire her (Prov 1:23; 8:22-23; Wis 6:13; Sir 4:18; 24:1-4). Wisdom reveals God's intentions/purposes (Wis 9:13, 17), and she can do this because of her intimacy with God (Wis 8:4; 9:4, 9). For Philo, *sophia* is one of the intermediary figures that reveals God, and in the Qumran community wisdom, through its association with Torah, also had a revelatory function. As in John, teaching is Wisdom's main activity (Prov 1:23; 13:14; Wis 7:21; 9:17-18; Sir 4:11; 24:33).

3.2. The Invitation of Wisdom Incarnate and People's Responses. Jesus invites people to come to him—to "drink" from him and "feed" on him (e.g., Jn 4:10-14; 6:22-59; 7:37-39). People who encounter Jesus and his revelatory teaching must respond: accept or reject Jesus and his saving revelation. Acceptance of Jesus' revelation, usually expressed by the verb *pisteuō* ("to believe") (see Faith), brings one into an intimate, life-giving relationship with the Father and Son, while rejection results in death and *judgment. The Jewish wisdom literature also depicts Wisdom encountering and inviting people. Wisdom calls out to people and preaches in the streets in order that they may listen and accept her (Prov 1:20-33; 8:1-36); she invites people to her banquet to "consume" her life-giving revelatory teaching (Prov 9:1-6; Sir 24:19-21); she searches for and meets people who seek her (Wis 6:12-25). Wisdom possesses life, which she dispenses to people (Prov 3:16, 18; 4:13; 8:35; 10:11; 13:14; 16:22; Wis 8:13, 17; 15:3; Sir 1:20; 4:12;

21:13; 24:23-34; 39:6). Sapiential Judaism also knows the concept of soteriological dualism: one's destiny—life or death—depends on whether one accepts or rejects Wisdom's call (Prov 1:32-33; 8:35-36; 9:6). Although Jesus acts as Wisdom in his dealings with people, he also surpasses what Wisdom has to offer: alluding to Wisdom's offer in Sir 24:21, Jesus promises a once-for-all satisfaction of hunger and thirst to those who accept him and his teaching (Jn 6:35; cf. 4:14).

3.3. Disciples of Wisdom Incarnate. *Salvation, or divine life (*zōē*), is a broader concept in John than simply coming to Jesus and accepting him; it needs to be sustained by remaining with him in discipleship. John 6 clarifies this through the story of the sifting of disciples. Although a large number of disciples turn their backs on Jesus when they realize that his teaching is difficult and demanding, a smaller group affirms that it will stick with him (Jn 6:60-69). *Discipleship is in fact depicted as a journey. In his claim to be the way to life or even the way that is life itself (Jn 14:6), Jesus presents himself as the believers' travel companion, leading them on their life journey to the Father. The Jewish wisdom traditions also know the concept of discipleship and its various aspects. The concept of being a disciple of Wisdom is frequently alluded to (Prov 3:13-18; 4:5-9; 8:32-34; 9:1-6; Sir 4:11-18; 6:18-31; 14:20—15:10; 24:19-22; Wis 7:8-14; 8:2, 9, 16-18). Moreover, Sirach 46:6-10; 51:15 evoke the concept of following God and Wisdom. Wisdom saves and gives life to her disciples, to those who remain faithful to her (Prov 8:32-35; Wis 10:4, 9-10; Sir 4:11-18), but those who cease to follow Wisdom will perish (Prov 8:36; Wis 10:3; Sir 4:19). Wisdom is also presented as a divine travel companion on one's life journey to God, providing guidance, assistance, advice and life (Prov 1:20-33; 4:5-13; 8:1-36; Wis 6:12—9:18; Sir 4:11-18; 6:18-31; 39:1-11).

3.4. Wisdom and Spirit. Both in the Gospel of John and some Jewish wisdom literature Spirit and Wisdom are closely related (see Holy Spirit). Against the backdrop of Isaiah 11:2, John 1:32-34 probably alludes to Jesus' endowment with the Spirit of wisdom, knowledge and might. The implication is that the Spirit provides Jesus with revelatory wisdom and knowledge, which would naturally form the basis for his revelatory teaching (cf. Jn 3:34). Jesus' Spirit-imbued teaching provides life because it contains liberating wisdom (Jn 4:10, 14; 6:63, 68; 8:31-32) (Turner; Bennema 2002). Similarly, in some Jewish wisdom traditions the Spirit mediates wisdom (Sir 39:6; Wis 7:7; 9:17) and is occasionally closely associated with the figure of Wisdom (Wis 1:4-6; 7:22-23; cf. Philo).

3.5. Summary. John draws deeply from the general Jewish wisdom traditions in his presentation of Jesus, but he seems to show particular affinity with those sapiential writings that closely associate wisdom and Spirit. The strong wisdom emphases in the prologue are intended to apply to the entire Gospel's presentation of Jesus, as John makes very important christological points. In fact, John's presentation of Jesus as materially and quintessentially the unique Wisdom-Word of God is the strongest christological development of all the NT wisdom traditions.

4. Conclusion.

Although the double tradition (Q) presents Jesus as a wisdom teacher, Matthew and John present an explicit wisdom Christology. The difference between Matthew and John is that "in their . . . portrayal of Jesus as Wisdom incarnate, Matthew, with an emphasis on the Law, might have been more influenced by Torah-centred wisdom tradition, whereas John with his emphasis on the Spirit (in relation to Jesus) may reflect more of a possible influence of the Spirit-centred wisdom tradition" (Bennema 2001, 81).

See also CHRISTOLOGY; GOD; INCARNATION; LAW; LOGOS; OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GOSPELS.

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WITNESS

Witness is an important biblical theme pertaining to people's relationships with one another and with God. The concept is laden with overtones of the law court and is often used forensically by the biblical authors in relation to the truth or falsity of a person's words, covenants between parties, and even God himself. In the OT "witness" terminology is used with reference to establishing the facts in a legal case but extends also to any situation in ordinary life requiring confirmation of evidence. Using terms such as *martys* ("witness" [noun]), *martyria* ("testimony") and *martyreō* ("to witness, testify"), the Gospels feature the witness theme within the matrix of truth and judgment surrounding Jesus' earthly ministry and claims. Each Gospel also testifies to Jesus' gathering and commissioning of followers who would in turn serve as witnesses to Jesus in the early church. The witness theme is most prominent in John and Luke (Luke-Acts), but it is a significant motif in all four Gospels.

1. The Old Testament Background
2. Witness in Mark
3. Witness in Matthew
4. Witness in Luke
5. Witness in John
6. Conclusion

1. The Old Testament Background.

The OT grounds the witness theme in God's relationship with Israel and people's relationships within Israel and with other nations. "Witness" terminology (noun *ʿēd*, *ʿēdā*; verb *ʾūd*) is present in the Law, the Prophets and the Writings as the concept relates to matters of truth and judgment in all affairs

of human life, particularly in the law court. The truth of a matter must be established by two or three witnesses (Deut 19:15), especially in the case of capital offenses (Deut 17:6-7; Num 35:30). A witness can be either true or false. A true witness is one whose testimony is reliable and whose truthfulness can be confirmed (Prov 14:25; Is 8:2; Jer 42:5). A false witness is one whose testimony is unreliable in violation of God's commandment issued at Mount Sinai (Ex 20:16). False witnesses are detested by God for their affliction of the faithful (Prov 6:19; 27:12; 35:11) and incur the penalty that would otherwise fall on those whom they falsely accuse (Deut 19:16-21). To "witness" can also carry the sense of testifying against others (1 Kings 21:10), whether by prophets (Jer 42:18-22; Amos 3:13) or even Yahweh himself (Ps 50:7-21; Mal 2:14; cf. 1 Sam 12:5). Thus, God calls creation as a witness to his covenant with Israel (Deut 4:26; 30:19). Inanimate objects such as the law scroll (Deut 31:26) or the stone at Shechem (Josh 24:27) can serve as covenant witnesses against Israel as well. Particularly significant for the concept in the Gospels is God's commissioning of his servant Israel as his witness to the nations over against that of idols (Is 43:9, 10; 44:8-9). Israel's witness is thus an extension of the Davidic kingship by the word of the Lord (Is 55:3-5, 11).

2. Witness in Mark.

Jesus instructs the leper to give testimony or "proof" (*martyrion*) of his *cleansing to the priest (Mk 1:44; cf. Mt 8:4; Lk 5:14; Lev 13:49). Jesus also affirms the ninth commandment, "Do not bear false witness [*pseudomartyreō*]" (Mk 10:19; cf. Mt 19:18; Lk 18:20) and includes "deceit" (Mk 7:22) or "false witness" (Mt 15:19) in his vice list of that which defiles a person. In keeping with the juridical use of these terms, however, are the instructions that Jesus gives to his disciples as he sends them into a hostile world as his witnesses. If their proclamation is rejected by the people, they are to shake the dust off their feet as a "testimony" (*martyrion*) to them (Mk 6:11; cf. the stronger expression in Lk 9:5: a testimony "against" them). Here the shaking off of dust is a "witness" because it warns the recipients that their rejection will be used as evidence against them on the day of *judgment, and because it calls them to repent (Cranfield, 201). Jesus also tells his disciples that they will bear witness for his sake before governors and kings in an environment of persecution when they are "delivered over" to councils and "beaten" (Mk 13:9; Mt 10:18) as the witness of the *gospel advances throughout the

earth (Mk 13:10; Mt 24:14). Yet they are not to be anxious, but rather to let the *Holy Spirit speak through them (Mk 13:11; Lk 21:13-15).

Jesus himself models how his witnesses are to behave during their hour of testimony. In fact, Mark clusters most of his witness terminology around the *trial of Jesus in Mark 14, and here the words bear the full forensic nuance of "a witness at a trial who gives evidence" (Trites, 189). Alluding to the multiple witness requirement in the law (Deut 17:6-7; 19:15), Mark claims that the testimonies against Jesus did not agree (Mk 14:56, 59), thus constituting false witness (Mk 14:56-57; cf. Ex 20:19) similar to that of the *demonic forces earlier in the Gospel (Mk 1:24-25; 3:11-12). In this way, Mark traces the christological connections between truth, falsehood, judgment and witness in Jesus' earthly ministry.

3. Witness in Matthew.

As the parallel references in the previous section indicate, Matthew's use of witness terminology is similar to Mark's. Yet Matthew is in many ways unique. He is the only evangelist to explicitly cite Deuteronomy 19:15, invoking its multiple-witness requirement to protect a believer charged with sin to the effect that the testimony of one person is insufficient to confirm the transgression. Jesus instructs his followers, "Take one or two others along with you, that every charge may be established by the evidence of two or three witnesses" (Mt 18:16). Also, Matthew portrays the *Pharisees as testifying against themselves in their persecution of Jesus in keeping with Israel's earlier persecution of the prophets (Mt 23:31, 35; cf. Lk 11:48).

Matthew relates the concept of witness to judgment, especially the "day of judgment," when everyone must give an account (Mt 12:36-37). On the last day Christ will therefore serve as both witness (Mt 10:32-33) and judge (Mt 25:31-34, 40-41). On that day the "sheep" will be separated from the "goats" in keeping with the judge's verdict (Mt 25:34-36, 41-43). Possibly harking back to Isaianic theology (Is 43:10), Matthew's witness motif includes Christ's disciples, who will bear witness to the nations on his behalf (Mt 10:18; cf. Mt 28:18-20). According to Matthew, therefore, Jesus Christ is the *Son of Man, to whom his disciples will bear witness before all nations, and the judge, before whom all nations must give an account.

4. Witness in Luke.

Some of the "witness" terminology in Luke's Gospel has already been noted above in the discussions of Mark's and Matthew's Gospels. In addition, those

who hear Jesus read in the synagogue “testify” (*martyreō*) concerning his gracious words (Lk 4:22). Luke uses the verb *pseudomartyreō* (“to bear false witness”) once (Lk 18:20), but false witnesses are not included in Jesus’ trial (Lk 22:66-71). Luke is the only evangelist to use the verb *diamartyromai*, meaning “to bear solemn testimony” (BDAG 2000), once in his Gospel in the sense of a warning (Lk 16:28), and several times in Acts (Acts 10:42; 20:21, 24; 23:11; 28:23). In fact, it is not in his Gospel, but rather in Acts, where *martys* and its cognates are used thirty-nine times, that we see more clearly Luke’s development of “witness” as a juridical term. In Acts a “witness” is one who bears testimony to Jesus of Nazareth, so that those who hear will render the proper verdict about his ministry, crucifixion and resurrection (Acts 1:8, 22; 2:32; 3:14-15; 10:37-43; 22:15; 26:16). Jesus went to trial and was crucified, but *God vindicated him through the resurrection. Now, through the witness of the apostles, Jews and Gentiles alike are given the chance to repent and pronounce a new verdict (Trites). Jesus’ prophetic declaration in the Synoptics about the first witnesses (Mk 13:9-11; Mt 10:16-19; Lk 21:12-15) is realized in Acts, where the gospel is proclaimed in a hostile environment (Acts 7:54-60; 12:1-3; 13:49-51; 14:19; 18:12-17; 19:23-34), witnesses are delivered over to councils and beaten (Acts 4:1-12; 5:27-42), and they appear before governors and kings (Acts 22:1-22; 25:1-7; 28:23-31). Nevertheless, this same forensic nuance of witness terminology is also present in Luke, where we note several specific features the evangelist uses to develop the motif.

4.1. Dependence on Eyewitnesses. From the very outset of his Gospel Luke stresses the importance of eyewitness testimony (Lk 1:1-4; cf. Acts 1:3). Luke writes an “orderly account” for Theophilus in keeping with the testimony of the original “eyewitnesses” (*autoptai*). This is the only NT instance of *autoptai*, a significant term in ancient historiography. While not a forensic term per se, *autoptai* refers to those who were firsthand observers of the “events fulfilled in our midst” (Lk 1:1) (see Alexander). In short, eyewitnesses introduce primary evidence that “asks to be trusted” (Bauckham), and significant for Luke’s Gospel is that his testimony aligns with that which was witnessed “from the beginning” (Lk 1:3). Luke’s sources may include Peter (Lk 5:3-8; 24:34), the *women who followed Jesus from *Galilee (Lk 8:2-3; 23:49) and other principal eyewitnesses to the story of Jesus such as Elizabeth the mother of John the Baptist, *Mary the mother of Jesus (Lk 1:5-80), *John the Baptist (Lk 3:1-20) and the *apostles who bore

ongoing witness to Jesus subsequent to his departure (Lk 22:48; cf. Acts 1:21-22).

4.2. Witness in the Context of Persecution. Luke develops the witness motif as a metaphor for discipleship in the context of persecution and conflict. In Luke’s account of Jesus’ appearance in the Nazareth synagogue the narrative takes a negative turn as Jesus’ audience seeks to kill him for an apparent allusion to *Gentile inclusion in the orbit of salvation (Lk 4:25-27; cf. 1 Kings 17:8-24; 2 Kings 5:1-19). Just as *Elijah and Elisha were rejected, so too will be Jesus and his disciples. For Luke, persecution is part and parcel of discipleship, and true disciples are those who confess the *Son of Man before all people (Lk 12:1-12). Persecution, an integral part of the life of a follower of Jesus, will serve as an opportunity for “witness” (*martyrion*) in the last days (Lk 21:13).

4.3. The “Two” Witnesses Motif in Luke. In keeping with the OT requirement of two (or three) witnesses (Deut 19:15), Luke features a theme involving the number “two.” He writes two volumes that connect the mission of Jesus with the mission of the church. Two witnesses abound: Simeon and Anna (Lk 2:25-38), Naaman and the widow of Zarephath (Lk 4:26-27), the pairs of witnesses commissioned by Jesus (Lk 10:1), the Queen of Sheba and the men of Nineveh (Lk 11:31-32). At the end of the Gospel the resurrected Jesus appears to two disciples—Cleopas and an unnamed disciple—on the road to Emmaus (Lk 24:13-35).

4.4. The Universal Scope of Witness. Possibly invoking Isaianic “new exodus” theology, Luke notes that salvation will be proclaimed in Jesus’ name to all the nations beginning in Jerusalem (Lk 24:47; cf. Is 43:9-10). By the power of the Holy Spirit promised by the Father, the disciples’ witness concerning *repentance and *forgiveness of sins in Jesus will extend to all nations, as the sequel to Luke’s Gospel goes on to narrate (Lk 24:46-49; cf. Acts 1:8).

5. Witness in John.

Among the four evangelists, John makes the most of the witness motif, using the verbal form “to bear witness” (*martyreō*) thirty-three times, constituting 43 percent of its usage in the NT. The noun “testimony” (*martyria*) occurs fourteen times, accounting for 38 percent of NT usage. Similar to Luke, John’s witness theme builds upon Isaianic theology, portraying Jesus’ earthly ministry in universal, cosmic terms.

5.1. The Cosmic Trial Motif. As A. Lincoln has argued, the “witness” and “judgment” word groups in John’s Gospel are part of a “cosmic trial” or “law-

suit motif" (Lincoln 2000), "in which Jesus as God's uniquely authorized agent acts as both witness and judge" (Lincoln 2004, 128) (see, e.g., Jn 9:39). According to Lincoln, the lawsuits between God and Israel and between God and the nations in Isaiah 40–55 form the background against which the Johannine lawsuit motif should be understood. In the context of the lawsuit, truth stands for the whole process of judging, culminating in the verdict. At the heart of John's Gospel is the question of whether or not the crucified Jesus is the Messiah and whether or not he rightly claimed to be one with God. "Truth" is in essence an affirmative answer to these questions. What is more, Jesus himself embodies truth (Jn 1:14, 17; 14:6). The witness motif in John, therefore, plays on the crucial issue of true versus false witnesses.

5.2. The Witness of John the Baptist. John's Gospel features as many as seven witnesses to Jesus to testify to the truthfulness of his claims (cf. Jn 14:6). As the first witness, *John the Baptist fulfills OT prophecy and the OT requirement for multiple witnesses in conjunction with Jesus' own testimony and the witness borne by others (Jn 1:6–8, 15; cf. Deut 19:15). The Baptist thus serves as the forerunner of the Messiah, a "voice" preparing "the way of the Lord" (Jn 1:23; cf. Is 40:3). In fulfillment of Isaianic prophecy, John's ministry paves the way for God's coming in the person of the Messiah to his people Israel in order to inaugurate a new exodus through the wilderness. His testimony is that Jesus is the "Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" (Jn 1:29), the sacrifice to be offered in the context of a cosmic trial (see Lamb of God).

The Baptist's witness, among others, is also invoked in a key passage in John 5. This chapter stands at the beginning of a section focused on Jesus' signs to the Jews and the mounting controversy elicited by his ministry, particularly with the Pharisees (Jn 5–10). The controversy in John 5 centers on the healing of a lame man on the *Sabbath (Jn 5:1–13). In order to defend Jesus against the charge of *blasphemy (Jn 5:17–18), the evangelist adduces the witness of the Father (Jn 5:32, 37), John the Baptist (Jn 5:33–35), Jesus' works (Jn 5:36; cf. Jn 10:25) and the Scriptures (Jn 5:39). What is more, the words of Moses testify against the Pharisees just as the law had done against Israel (Jn 5:46; cf. Deut 31:26).

5.3. The Witness of the Holy Spirit and of Jesus' Disciples, Including the Evangelist. The *Holy Spirit plays a prominent role in John's Gospel as a witness and advocate of Jesus Christ (e.g., Jn 15:26). The Spirit bears testimony concerning sin, righteousness and judgment (Jn 16:7–11), for he is the Spirit of truth

(Jn 16:13). He also serves as the inward witness for Jesus' disciples (Jn 14:16–17, 26; 16:13–14), enabling them to carry out their role as ongoing witnesses to Jesus as they had been "from the beginning" (Jn 15:27). Just as Jesus was "in the beginning" with God as "the Word" (Jn 1:1–2) and hence was perfectly qualified to serve as a witness to God, whom no one had ever seen (Jn 1:18), so the disciples had been with Jesus "from the beginning," qualifying them to bear witness to Jesus' messianic identity. Thus, the farewell discourse (Jn 13:31–16:33) links Jesus' ministry to the Jews (see esp. Jn 5–12) with the disciples' ongoing mission to the world (cf. Jn 15:18–25). To this end, the witness of the "disciple whom Jesus loved"—most likely the evangelist and apostle John, the son of Zebedee (Jn 13:23) (*contra* Bauckham)—stands as a final witness to the truth of Jesus' signs and resurrection (Jn 21:24) (see Beloved Disciple).

6. Conclusion.

The theme of witness pervades the OT and the Gospels in connection with the twin motifs of truth and judgment. The OT establishes the basis for true versus false witnesses (Deut 19:15; Ex 20:16). The Gospels apply this theme to the life and work of Jesus Christ, themselves bearing witness to the truthfulness of Jesus' claims, culminating in his *resurrection. Mark uses "witness" terminology surrounding Jesus' *death on the cross to illustrate the false testimony leveled against the Messiah. According to Matthew, Jesus is the authoritative Son of Man, who is charged with executing judgment over all nations and who commissioned his disciples to bear witness to all nations. Working within the context of his unique "two" motif, Luke compiles his Gospel on the basis of the testimony of the original eyewitnesses to Jesus in order to bear witness concerning Jesus' universal offer of salvation and the nature of discipleship. John, building upon Isaianic theology, portrays Jesus' entire earthly ministry as a cosmic trial between God's Messiah and the world. Beginning with John the Baptist, the evangelist adduces at least seven witnesses, including himself, to attest to the truthfulness of Jesus' claims. John also stresses the ministry of the Holy Spirit and of Jesus' disciples as ongoing witnesses to Jesus before the world.

See also APOSTLE; GOSPEL: GOOD NEWS; HOLY SPIRIT; JOHN THE BAPTIST.

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WOE. See BLESSING AND WOE.

WOMANIST CRITICISM. See FEMINIST AND WOMANIST CRITICISMS.

WOMEN

Jesus frequently ministers to women in the Gospels and welcomes them as his followers and partners in the family of God. Though some scholars have touted Jesus’ outreach to women as radically progressive for his day, care must be taken not to overplay this point. Apart from his male disciples’ astonishment on one occasion (Jn 4:27), no other Gospel figure, friend or foe, raises any queries about Jesus’ associations with women per se. Simon the Pharisee’s concern about Jesus’ reception of a “sinner woman” focuses more on her sinful character than gender as part of a larger Pharisaic polemic against Jesus’ fraternization with “tax collectors and sinners” (Lk 7:34-39). Moreover, Jesus and the Gospels’

openness to women should not be exaggerated in contradistinction to first-century patriarchal Mediterranean society. Jesus was not, and historically could not have been, a “feminist” by modern standards. On the one hand, Jesus affirmed traditional service roles for women (more radical was his elevation of servanthood as the “greatest” vocation for himself and other men as well as women [see Mk 9:33-37; 10:35-45]). And on the other hand, the opportunities that Jesus afforded women for active participation in his mission may be compared with women’s rich involvement in ancient Jewish and Greco-Roman religious life.

Overall, the Gospels, in varying degrees, offer a multidimensional portrayal of women who meet and follow Jesus. Although many remain anonymous, most are not simply stock female characters. From the perspective of contemporary feminists and women’s rights’ activists (who themselves hold widely varying views), the Gospels offer a complex mix of “double messages” on the “liberating versus conventional” spectrum regarding women’s roles and identities. Such tensions demand close attention to each Gospel’s profile of women in their literary and social contexts.

1. Women’s Places
2. Synoptic Traditions
3. Mark
4. Matthew
5. Luke
6. John

1. Women’s Places.

Resisting sweeping stereotypes and narrow pigeonholing, careful analysis appreciates multiple spheres—ethnic, domestic, economic, political, religious—that shaped first-century women’s identities. The Gospel narratives reflect women’s variable intersections with each of these areas.

1.1. Nation and Race. Not surprisingly, most of the women around Jesus in the Gospels are fellow Jews. But he also has significant encounters with a Greco-Syrophenician mother (Mk 7:24-30; cf. Mt 15:21-28) and a Samaritan woman (Jn 4:1-42). Moreover, Matthew includes four non-Israelite women in Jesus’ genealogy (Mt 1:3-6) and briefly interjects the opinion of Pilate’s (Roman) wife concerning Jesus (Mt 27:19), while Luke refers to various “foreign” women from the OT as illustrations for Jesus’ teaching (Lk 4:25-26; 11:31; 17:32). In these cases, cross-cultural as well as gender matters complicate Jesus’ view of women.

1.2. Home and Family. The home was the pri-

mary social location for most women, occupying them with typical chores of cooking, cleaning, clothing and childrearing as wives and mothers. Although formally subject to the male head of the *family (*paterfamilias*), women could exercise considerable freedom in domestic affairs, including managing servants in larger households; and in the absence of a male authority, due to widowhood or other factors, women effectively ruled their own houses (as it appears with Martha in Lk 10:38; cf. Acts 9:12:12; 16:14-15). Moreover, we must not imagine a rigid dichotomy between private and public, as if women were quarantined in designated domestic spaces. They were in fact regularly out and about among the “crowds,” shopping in the marketplaces and participating in community life. Some demarcation of female and male quarters occurred within larger peristyle residences, but without precluding mixing of the sexes. In smaller, cramped one- and two-room peasant houses and tenement apartments (*insulae*), which predominated in Jesus’ Palestinian world (cf. Lk 11:5-7), private space scarcely existed at all.

In the Gospels Jesus encounters women in both domestic (Simon’s mother-in-law, Jairus’s daughter, Martha and Mary) and public (hemorrhaging woman, widow at Nain, Samaritan woman) spaces, and his parables involving women depict them performing both household duties of baking and sweeping and more public activities of attending nuptial ceremonies and pleading legal cases. In several cases women appear as independent characters with undefined or unconventional domestic roles, and some of Jesus’ teaching acknowledges and, to some extent, encourages conflict in the family unit. In short, the Gospels present a realistic, thickly textured picture of women’s everyday lives.

1.3. Commercial and Political Arenas. First-century women could also operate in male-dominated areas of business and government, as exemplified in Acts by the commercial purple-cloth dealer Lydia in Philippi (Acts 16:14-16) and the tentmaker Priscilla in Corinth (Acts 18:1-3). In both cases these merchants doubtless worked some out of their homes in manufacturing and marketing their goods; and Priscilla labored in tandem with her husband, Aquila, perhaps in a ground-level workshop below their residence. Again, we find a blurring of sharp divisions between public and private and between economic and domestic spheres. On the political side, however, women’s influence seems more restricted to the privileged wives and daughters of nobles and powerful officials (see Acts 13:50; 17:4, 12; 24:24 [Drusilla]; 25:23; 26:30 [Bernice]).

In Palestinian Galilee “many women” of some means, according to Luke, followed and supported Jesus and his movement financially, including Mary Magdalene, who may have been a merchant, and Joanna, the wife of Herod Antipas’s steward (Lk 8:1-3). As for politically prominent women in the Gospels, apart from the disciple Joanna and Pilate’s cautious wife, we only meet Herod’s treacherous wife Herodias (and her daughter), who spearheads the execution of *John the Baptist (Mt 14:3-12; Mk 6:17-29; Lk 3:19-20). In short, the Gospels present a broad cross-section of women, some well-heeled in high places who affect Jesus’ mission for both good and ill, and others poor and needy whom Jesus aids.

1.4. Cultic and Prophetic Arenas. Scholars have long noted women’s key roles as priestesses and other high-level participants in pagan temples, mystery cults and other forms of Greco-Roman religion. In recent decades archeological evidence has also demonstrated that Jewish women, though restricted from the priesthood, held leadership positions in local synagogues; likewise, fresh attention has been paid to Jewish female prophets and sages, like the celibate women among the philosophical monastic sect of “Therapeutics” in Egypt described by Philo (*Contempl.* 21-33). Although the Gospels generally do not include women among the principal Jewish religious rulers, Luke features the long-term, ascetic temple prophet (and widow) Anna and reports the prophetic utterances of Elizabeth and Mary; and John highlights the apostolic witness of a *Samaritan woman and Mary Magdalene. Each of these women has a voice—a prime medium of spiritual authority and influence. But for the most part, Gospel women remain unobtrusively silent; and sometimes Jesus even rebuffs them for their speech, as with the Canaanite/Syrophoenician woman in Matthew/Mark, Martha in Luke, and his mother in John.

2. Synoptic Traditions.

2.1. Jesus’ Teaching About Women and Family.

2.1.1. Jesus’ Prime Family (Mt 12:46-50; Mk 3:31-35; Lk 8:19-21). A crowd surrounding Jesus informs him that his mother and brothers (and sisters in Mk 3:32) are “standing outside,” desiring to speak with him. In response, Jesus identifies his true family—“my brother and sister and mother”—in spiritual rather than biological terms as anyone who obeys the will/word of God (“my heavenly Father” in Mt 12:50). Significantly, this spiritual household includes no “fathers,” save the one sovereign Father God; and under the Father’s authority, women and men serve together as equal kin.

2.1.2. *Divided Families* (Mt 10:34-39; 19:27-30; Mk 10:28-31; Lk 12:49-56; 14:26; 18:28-30). The Synoptic Gospels candidly affirm that following Jesus may spark division within one's natural family and, ultimately, separation from parents, spouses, children and in-laws. The absolute demands of discipleship trump all other kinship ties. Again, women are well represented (mothers, daughters, mothers/daughters-in-law, sisters) in these texts, and the inclusive household of God remains the principal family unit: whatever may be lost in natural relationships is gained a "hundredfold" in God's wide extended family (Mt 19:29; Mk 10:29-30).

2.1.3. *Marriage and Divorce* (Mt 5:31-32; 19:1-12; Mk 10:1-12; Lk 16:18). In a legal debate with certain Pharisees over the proper scriptural grounds for *divorce and remarriage, Jesus affirms the "one flesh," permanent marital union between a man and woman established at creation (cf. Gen 1:27; 2:24) and offers a strict interpretation of the Mosaic law (cf. Deut 24:1-4) concerning what a husband may deem as objectionable conduct by his wife meriting dismissal. In Mark and Luke, Jesus in fact allows no acceptable reasons for divorcing one's wife and taking another (Mk 10:11; Lk 16:18). Mark also accentuates that a man who remarries commits adultery "against her"—that is, against his divorced wife—and adds a reciprocal statement applied to women's initiation of divorce-and-remarriage proceedings (more common outside than within Jewish society) (Mk 10:12). Matthew alone accepts a legitimate cause for divorce, but only in one exceptional case: the wife's "sexual immorality" (*porneia*). Amid these variations, Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels evince a common thrust of promoting husband-wife partnership and protecting women from capricious, male-centered divorce practices.

2.2. *Women as Good (Mostly) and Bad Models.*

2.2.1. *Baker* (Mt 13:33; Lk 13:20-21). In a brief parable Jesus compares the sure establishment of God's righteous rule (kingdom) on earth, despite its often slow and hidden progress, with the small amount of yeast that a baker kneads into some fifty pounds of flour to yield over a hundred loaves of bread—enough to feed a whole village for a day. Engaged in traditional food service for her community, this woman models God's creative and sustaining work for God's people.

2.2.2. *Herodias* (Mt 14:3-12; Mk 6:17-29; Lk 3:19-20). This lone villainous woman in the Gospels hatches a plot, with the help of her daughter, to have John the Baptist beheaded for denouncing her current marriage to Herod Antipas, Rome's client-ruler

in Galilee, while she remained legally wed to Antipas's brother Philip. Given her specialized social status and treacherous scheme, Herodias hardly demonstrates women's general proclivity toward anger or vengeance. Moreover, despite her instigation, her husband still remains responsible for ordering John's execution. Together, the Herodian couple illustrates malignant, self-protective abuse of power in contrast to the self-sacrificing love of both Jesus and his forerunner John (see Herodian Dynasty).

2.2.3. *Women Grinding Grain* (Mt 24:37-41; Lk 17:26-35). Jesus illustrates his apocalyptic message that the Son of Man will come in discriminating judgment while most people are blithely going about their daily business with the examples of two women grinding at the village mill, one of whom will be taken and the other left (Mt 24:41; Lk 17:35). This quotidian scenario reflects typical peasant women's work of food preparation, paired with men's farming in Matthew ("two will be in the field" [Mt 24:40]) in a practical, complementary division of labor.

2.2.4. *Widow's Offering* (Mk 12:41-44; Lk 21:1-4). Watching the parade of contributors to the temple treasury, Jesus singles out to his disciples a particular poor widow as an object lesson. In contrast to the rich folk who give significant sums but at little cost to themselves, this impoverished woman, Jesus stresses, though giving only two meager coins, outshines the rest by sacrificing her entire livelihood (*bios*). She thus models the radical, total surrender of all possessions to God that Jesus demands of his followers (cf. Mk 8:34-37; 10:21-22; Lk 9:23-25; 14:33; 18:22). In the present context she also provokes implied criticism of hypocritical religious officials who "devour widows' houses" and thus insure their poverty (Mk 12:38-40; Lk 20:45-47) and of a morally bankrupt temple system about to be destroyed (Mk 13:1-4; Lk 21:5-7). Curiously, however, while calling positive attention to this poor widow, Jesus never speaks or reaches out to her in the narrative, and in turn she is given no voice. She thus remains more distant object than personal subject.

2.2.5. *Anonymous Anointing Woman at Bethany* (Mt 26:6-13; Mk 14:3-9). In the last days of Jesus' life an unnamed woman pours out expensive perfume on his head as he reclines at table in the home of Simon the leper. Such an effusive act is fit for anointing a king or priest or hosting a very important dignitary. In this case, however, it draws charges of wastefulness from "angry" guests. But Jesus vigorously defends the woman's "good deed" as a present gesture of preanointing his body for *burial. She thus stands out as the only Gospel figure, male

or female, who fully grasps the reality of Jesus' predictions of his death and who actually gets to prepare his body (since would-be anointing women will find an empty tomb). No wonder Jesus memorializes this woman's act "wherever the gospel is proclaimed in the whole world."

2.3. Women Healed by Jesus. In summary statements of Jesus' (and his disciples') restorative ministry through *healings and exorcisms, we can assume female as well as male beneficiaries (cf. Mt 4:23-25; 8:16-17; 9:35; 10:7; 14:35-36; 15:29-31; 19:1-2; Mk 1:32-34; 6:13, 53-56; Lk 4:40-41; 6:17-19; 7:21-22; 9:1-6; 10:9, 17-20). But certain women made whole by Jesus are singled out for special mention.

2.3.1. Simon Peter's Mother-in-Law (Mt 8:14-17; Mk 1:29-35; Lk 4:38-42). In Peter's house early in his ministry, Jesus heals Peter's feverish mother-in-law, by soothing touch in Matthew and Mark and by rebuke in Luke. Afterwards, she promptly resumes domestic duties of "serving" (*diakoneō*) the household. Evidently, problems of family separation and division mentioned elsewhere do not apply here. At the end of the day, the restorative experience of the fever-stricken woman sets a pattern: throughout the night Jesus cures many other infirm people who come to the house.

2.3.2. Jairus's Daughter and a Bleeding Woman (Mt 9:18-26; Mk 5:21-43; Lk 8:40-56). A synagogue leader, Jairus, begs Jesus to come and aid his daughter, who in Matthew's narrative has just died, but in the fuller accounts of Mark and Luke remains alive on the brink of death. However, as he proceeds with a crowd to Jairus's house, an anonymous single woman with a chronic, twelve-year bleeding disorder approaches Jesus from behind, touches his cloak and instantly becomes well. Again, Mark (especially) and Luke supply extra detail and suspense. We learn that the woman, perhaps well-to-do at one time, had spent everything she had on inept physicians. But now, with a mere touch of Jesus' clothing, she discharges a flow of healing power from Jesus that stanches her flow of blood. This is the only Gospel miracle that takes Jesus by surprise, triggered entirely by another's initiating act. When Jesus demands, "Who touched me [and took power from me]?" the woman falls down before Jesus "in fear and trembling" (Mk 5:33), terrified about how Jesus might react. But at this critical moment Jesus affirms her as "daughter" in God's household, commends her remarkable faith, and dispatches her in peace.

The Gospels provide no precise diagnosis of the woman's hemorrhaging condition, but it plausibly involved some kind of constant, irregular vaginal

"flow." If so, she would have been more or less permanently "unclean" by Levitical standards (*see* Clean and Unclean). But in no sense would that also make her a "sinner" (impurity and iniquity are quite different); and purity issues, which largely affect temple access in Jerusalem, are never raised in this Galilean story. On a social level, more than "purifying" her, this woman's healing may signify her restored ability to marry and have children.

Meanwhile, during the hiatus of dealing with the bleeding woman, word reaches Jesus that Jairus's "little" (Mark) or "only" (Luke) daughter has died. But no matter: Jesus goes to the house, takes her by the hand, and raises her to new life. The "sandwich" structure of this girl's story surrounding that of the hemorrhaging woman accentuates connections between the two incidents, focusing on the "daughter" relationship, the twelve-year span, the element of touch and perhaps the prospect of reproduction (Jairus's daughter being at the age of puberty and the woman's cure of her uterine dysfunction).

2.3.3. A Canaanite/Syrophenician Woman's Daughter (Mt 15:21-28; Mk 7:24-30). If the bleeding woman incident represents the only Gospel occasion where someone procures Jesus' healing power without his permission, this episode features the lone case where someone prompts Jesus to change his mind. During one of Jesus' few sojourns outside his native region, across the northern border into Phoenicia, a local mother respectfully petitions him to help her demon-possessed daughter. However, Jesus initially rebuffs her, first, in Matthew, by ignoring her and then, in both Matthew and Mark, by informing her that "it is not right to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs," with children representing Jews (Jesus' people), and dogs representing Gentiles (this woman). Still, with dogged persistence and posture, this mother, crouched at Jesus' feet, quips (yaps) back that even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from the household table. Far from being offended by her backtalk, Jesus is moved by her clever response to heal her afflicted daughter; and more than that, this frank exchange seems to motivate the Markan Jesus' wider feeding and healing mission in non-Israelite territory (Mk 7:31-8:10).

Other distinctive aspects of Mark's story include the woman's realistic ethnic-geographic identification as Greco-Syrophenician (Mk 7:26) and her sick daughter's location as lying at home on a "bed" (*klinē* [Mk 7:30]), a more substantial item than a simple "mat" (*krabbatos*). That such elements point to the woman's elevated, opulent status, as some

scholars suggest, remains speculative. The Markan profile focuses on her “foreign” and maternal (no husband/father mentioned) identity. Compared with Mark, Matthew’s narrative uses the anachronistic designation of “Canaanite woman” (Mt 15:22), harking back to ancient Israel’s Baal-worshipping foes in the promised land. Remarkably, however, this “Canaanite” honors Jesus as “Lord” (three times) and “Son of David,” kneels before him, and beseeches him in “shouting,” challenging yet prayerful mode, as in a lament psalm.

2.4. *Women at Jesus’ Cross and Tomb.*

2.4.1. *Witnesses to Jesus’ Death* (Mt 27:55-56; Mk 15:40-41; Lk 23:27-31, 48-49). While the male disciples desert Jesus at his *death, numerous women followers and benefactors from Galilee witness his crucifixion, yet still “from a distance” (Luke also includes many “daughters of Jerusalem” bewailing Jesus’ procession to the cross [Lk 23:27-28]). Chief among them in Matthew and Mark are Mary Magdalene and a certain Mary the mother of James and Joseph/Joses, who might also be the mother of Jesus (cf. Mk 6:3). Matthew further singles out the mother of Zebedee’s sons (cf. Mt 20:20), Mark mentions Salome (otherwise unknown in the Gospels), and Luke includes a group of unnamed women (though cf. Lk 24:10) among “all his [Jesus’] acquaintances [*gnōstoi*].” The two women identified as mothers are not accompanied by their husbands or fathers on this occasion.

2.4.2. *Attendants at Jesus’ Burial and Empty Tomb* (Mt 27:61—28:10; Mk 15:47—16:8; Lk 23:55—24:12). On the evening of Jesus’ death, Mary Magdalene, the “other Mary” (Mt 27:61; 28:1) the mother of James, and additional Galilean women, according to Luke, including Joanna (Lk 23:55; 24:10), observe the preparation and entombment of Jesus’ body by Joseph of Arimathea. They then return after the Sabbath on the first day of the week to anoint Jesus’ corpse with spices (again, unaccompanied by any men). However, much to their shock, they discover the stone dislodged from the tomb’s entrance with no body inside. Suddenly, a divine messenger or two (variously described in each Gospel) appear, informing them that Jesus’ absence owes to his *resurrection “just as he told you” (Mk 16:7; cf. Mt 28:8; 24:9). This reminder of Jesus’ predictions of passion and resurrection indicates that these women had been tutored by Jesus along with the male disciples, yet they remained blind, as did the men, to the full significance of Jesus’ teaching. Still, the women at least continue to follow Jesus. They stand out as the first witnesses to Jesus’ empty tomb, and the messenger commis-

sions them to report this news to the other disciples.

At this point the Synoptics notably diverge: (1) in Mark, Mary Magdalene and company flee the scene in terror and “say nothing to anyone” (Mk 16:8); (2) in Matthew, they run to fulfill their assignment with “great joy” as well as fear, and along the way they meet the living Jesus, who reassures them and repeats the commission to tell “my brothers” (Mt 28:8-10); these women thus emerge as the first apostolic witnesses of the risen Lord; (3) only Luke narrates the women’s actual encounter with the male “apostles,” and the result proves disappointing: “the eleven and all the rest” dismiss the women’s report as hysterical “nonsense,” though Peter at least runs to the tomb and confirms their story (Lk 24:8-12). These varied responses reflect the distinctive narrative theology of the Synoptic evangelists and a range of discipleship patterns exemplified by the women, from fear and silence (Mark), to joy and witness (Matthew), to being ridiculed and dismissed (Luke).

3. *Mark.*

All of the Markan texts dealing with women have Synoptic parallels with Matthew and/or Luke and need not be reiterated in this section. But two prominent patterns of women’s behavior, somewhat in tension with each other, are worth noting. First, a trio of quite distinctive women clusters in Mark 5—7 who, each in her own way, proactively obtains what she wants from a powerful yet unsuspecting or resistant male figure: the bleeding woman presses through the crowd and extracts healing power from Jesus without his (prior) permission (Mk 5:25-34); Herodias opportunistically forces Herod’s reluctant hand (Mk 6:26) to grant her desire for John the Baptist’s execution (Mk 6:14-29); and the Syrophenician woman mounts a trenchant argument, in the face of Jesus’ initial rebuff, persuading him to heal her afflicted daughter (Mk 7:24-30). Obviously, however, the common initiative and persistence of these women are applied to starkly different ends: the two involving Jesus lead to restored health; the one involving Herod results in grisly death.

Second, two anonymous women emerge toward the end of Mark as remarkable models of extravagant giving: the poor widow who contributes her last two coins—“all she had to live on”—to God’s service (through the temple treasury) (Mk 12:41-44); and the woman at Bethany who lovingly and lavishly anoints Jesus’ head with expensive perfume in anticipation of his imminent death and burial (Mk 14:3-9). Again, differences also stand out, not least the accusation hurled at the latter woman that her

three hundred denarii worth of luxury ointment could have been put to better use helping the destitute (like the poor widow!). But Jesus staunchly defends her seemingly prodigal gesture as a perceptive seizing of the hour at hand: only she realizes Jesus' impending departure and acts upon it while she can. The poor can (and should) be helped in normal circumstances, but in this most crucial of historical moments Jesus must be helped and honored, now! There is no time to waste and no gift too wasteful.

4. Matthew.

Consistent with Matthew's emphasis on active righteousness or doing the will of God (Mt 1:19; 3:14-15; 5:6, 10, 16-20, 33; 6:10; 7:21; 12:50; 25:31-46), the women uniquely featured in this Gospel tend to be proactive agents, working both courageously and cunningly within the male-dominated establishment to achieve their goals. And most of the time their goals are consistent with God's righteous purposes. The pushy, "faith-full" hemorrhaging woman and the "Canaanite" mother (Mt 9:20-22; 15:21-28 [see 2.3.2 and 2.3.3 above]) also fit this pattern of dynamic, determined Matthean women.

4.1. The Righteous Foremothers of Jesus' Genealogy (Mt 1:1-17). Matthew's family album of Jesus includes a select quartet of extraordinary foremothers from OT history: Tamar (Gen 38), Rahab (Josh 2; 6:22-25), Ruth (Ruth 1—4) and "the wife of Uriah" (Bathsheba) (2 Sam 11; 1 Kings 1) (*see* Genealogy). All of them represent marginal women with non-Israelite connections (Tamar and Rahab as Canaanites; Ruth the Moabite; the wife of Uriah the Hittite) and irregular sexual histories (Tamar and Rahab as prostitutes; Ruth as seductress; Bathsheba as adulteress). But, as a careful reading of their stories demonstrates, they are by no means judged as sinful, wicked women. Quite the contrary, amid their dire circumstances, these outsiders act to secure their own survival and to advance the covenantal line of God's people. However unconventional their means, all of them merit the commendation that Judah ultimately accords Tamar: "She is more in the right than I" (Gen 38:26). Ironically, as Matthew's birth narrative unfolds, it is Jesus' stepfather, Joseph, who most resembles his right-acting foremothers (Mt 1:18-25; 2:13-15, 19-23); by contrast, mother Mary is a notably passive figure in Matthew.

4.2. The Ambitious Mother of Zebedee's Sons (Mt 20:20-23; 27:56). Although they leave their father and his fishing business behind to follow Jesus (Mt 4:21-22), the two sons of Zebedee, James and John, do not also abandon their mother. Or at least

she does not desert them, but rather follows Jesus with and without them, all the way to the cross (Mt 27:56 [see 2.4. above]). As Jesus approaches his final fate in Jerusalem, this unnamed mother entreats him to grant top ranks to her sons in his coming kingdom. Such a request reflects a mother's typical boosting of her sons' patriarchal status. But, as Jesus points out to James and John (not answering their mother directly), such hierarchies do not serve the will of God, in whose realm God reigns alone as king and father.

4.3. Wise and Foolish Bridesmaids (Mt 25:1-13).

In a parable stressing the importance of alert preparedness for the Son of Man's arrival (Mt 25:13; cf. 24:36-41), Jesus contrasts the readiness of wise and foolish virgins (*parthenoi*) to meet and attend a tardy bridegroom arriving in the middle of the night (*see* Bride, Bridegroom). While five wise maids bring sufficient oil to fuel their lamps, five foolish ones run out at the most inopportune time: when they leave their post to purchase more oil, the bridegroom comes and shuts the door on the wedding. Here Jesus draws on familiar wisdom traditions in which female figures typify right and wrong conduct (even pushing at times to a personification of Woman Wisdom and Woman Folly [cf. Prov 1—9; 31; Mt 11:19]). On the positive side, the parable bolsters Matthew's depiction of women as those who act resourcefully and righteously. More distressing, however, is the wise virgins' refusal to help out their ill-prepared sisters, even if sharing oil might risk their own deficiency (Mt 25:8-9).

4.4. The Cautious Wife of Pontius Pilate (Mt 27:19). As Joseph was warned in a dream to take righteous action and protect the infant Jesus from Herod's murderous scheme (Mt 2:13-14), so Pilate's wife, spurred by a disturbing dream, exhorts her husband to "have nothing to do" with executing the "righteous" (*dikaïos*) Jesus. However, unlike other resolute women in Matthew, the righteous aim of Pilate's wife is not realized. Governor Pilate may try to wash his hands of the matter and substitute another criminal for Jesus, but still he authorizes Jesus' crucifixion (Mt 27:21-31) (*see* Pontius Pilate).

5. Luke.

Luke features more female characters than any other Gospel, but numbers do not tell the whole story. Here we especially encounter something of a "double message" regarding women's roles as both dynamic prophets and silent hearers of the word; both patrons and clients of the Jesus movement; both leaders and servants in the household; both wives/

mothers and single women; both paired with male characters and presented independently. Luke may be struggling to strike the proper balance between Jesus' liberating gospel for all persons and prevailing social structures in Greco-Roman society.

5.1. Prophets (Lk 1:39-55; 2:36-38). In stark contrast to Matthew's *birth narrative, Luke presents *Mary and her relative Elizabeth as key protagonists in God's plan of *salvation. Though cast in traditional roles as mothers of sons (Jesus and John the Baptist) who will carry out God's prophetic mission, these women emerge as Spirit-inspired prophets in their own right: Elizabeth commends Mary's acceptance, as God's "slave-woman" (*doulē* [cf. Lk 1:38]), of her high calling to bear Jesus, the destined Lord and Messiah of Israel; and in turn Mary utters a soaring song of praise, confirming her own status as a humble servant (*doulē* [Lk 1:48]) before God, but also proclaiming God's impending work of lifting the lowly, filling the hungry, and toppling the oppressive hierarchs in fulfillment of God's liberating promises to "his child/servant [*paidos*] Israel" (Lk 1:54). Moreover, these mothers' conceptions of messianic-prophetic sons in their wombs owe less to the potency of their husbands than to the power of God: the long-barren Elizabeth conceives John by her husband, Zechariah, only when God supernaturally intervenes; and the virginal Mary conceives Jesus directly by the creative agency of the Holy Spirit with no help from her fiancé, Joseph.

When Mary and Joseph dedicate the infant Jesus to God in the *temple, the aged widow Anna—a well-known "female prophet" (*prophētis*) and contemplative based in the temple—"began thanking God and speaking about him [the Christ child] to all who were waiting for the redemption of Jerusalem" (Lk 2:38). In contrast, however, to the devout, elderly Simeon, whom Anna otherwise parallels in Luke's narrative, her prophetic voice is only indirectly and summarily heard (cf. Lk 2:25-34). Further, after Luke 2 we note a conspicuous absence of Mary and Elizabeth in the rest of the Gospel and a dearth of women's voices, prophetic or otherwise.

5.2. Widows (Lk 2:36-38; 4:25-26; 7:11-17; 18:1-8; 20:45—21:4). Luke shows special interest in widows, including Anna and the widow who offered her last coins (see 2.2.4 above; cf. Acts 6:1-7; 9:39-41). Beyond this latter case, Luke's Jesus employs two other stories of exemplary widows in his teaching. For one, in his inaugural sermon in Nazareth, he recalls the destitute widow at Zarephath, for whom the prophet Elijah miraculously provided food and revived her dead son (Lk 4:25-26; cf. 1 Kings 17:8-24).

Such feeding and healing work becomes programmatic of Jesus' ministry in Luke, including restoring a widow's deceased "only son" to her at his funeral in Nain of Galilee (Lk 7:10-17). The widow from Zarephath in Sidon also sets the stage for two other "foreign" women from the OT Jesus holds up as models of conduct, good and bad: positively, the Queen of the South (Lk 11:13; cf. 1 Kings 10:1-13; 2 Chron 9:1-12; see also Mt 12:42), who sought out Solomon's wisdom; and negatively, Lot's wife, who longingly and disastrously looked back on Sodom's destruction (Lk 17:31-32; cf. Gen 19:26).

Jesus showcases another widow figure in a brief parable (Lk 18:2-5), illustrating the practice of persistent prayer and persevering faith in an unjust world (Lk 18:1, 6-8). Mistreated by some "unjust antagonist" (*antidikos*), this widow pleads with an equally unjust judge to make things right. Although he could not care less about her problem, because of the woman's unrelenting pressure, including the prospect of "giving him a black eye" (*hypōpiazō*), the callous judge finally rules in her favor. While the parable's context counterpoints this judge with God, who "quickly" responds to prayerful pleas for justice, it also spotlights the widow, who faithfully and forcefully pursues justice in this world, thereby paving the way for the Son of Man's advent (Lk 18:8). Although the widows of Zarephath and Nain and the one who gives her final pittance to the temple treasury fit the pattern of poor and vulnerable women in need of care, Anna and especially the woman in the parable exemplify proactive, persistent widows who are scarcely helpless victims of oppression and may even have substantial means at their disposal.

5.3. Hosts and Servants (Lk 4:38-39; 7:36-50; 10:38-42; 15:8-10). Not surprisingly, in conjunction with a major focus on hospitality and *table fellowship, Luke casts various women in conventional roles of food preparation (Lk 13:20-21), table service (Lk 4:39; 10:40), tending to guests (Lk 7:37-38) and housecleaning (Lk 15:8-10). However, far from denigrating such labor as menial and relegating it to women alone, Jesus elevates domestic service to God's family as the "greatest" vocation for all, which he himself models (Lk 22:24-30) and compares to the saving work of God (Lk 15:8-10; cf. all of Lk 15). Moreover, Lukan women are by no means restricted to subordinate serving tasks, as they also appear as hosts (again, like Jesus) and household heads.

Jesus extols the loving, forgiven "sinner woman" (whose sins are never specified) as his true host in the home of Simon the Pharisee; for unlike Simon,

who invited Jesus to dinner but neglected to provide customary hospitality, this woman, though uninvited, bathes Jesus' feet with her tears, kisses and perfumes and wipes them with her hair—all lavish, loving acts beyond the normal refreshing and greeting gestures required of an honorable host (Lk 7:44-47). Although she is a silent object of attention throughout the story ("Do you see this woman?" [Lk 7:44]), her actions speak loudly and clearly.

Jesus is also entertained by household head Martha and her sister Mary, both of whom appear as his devoted disciples. In this case, however, Martha overdoes the hospitality or, better put, becomes overwrought about it, imploring Jesus to order Mary, who sits silently at his feet, listening to his word, to help her. Gently rebuking Martha's anxiety (not her action), Jesus commends Mary's "good" (*agathē*) choice (Lk 10:38-42). Contrary to some popular interpretation, Jesus does not elevate Mary's quiet contemplation over Martha's active service (*diakonia*). Overall, the brief story presents laboring for and listening to Jesus as complementary responses of discipleship. But it scarcely encourages women's speech, as a rare expression of a woman's (Martha's) direct voice outside the birth narrative is effectively squashed in favor of (Mary's) silence.

5.4. Healed Clients and Patrons (Lk 8:1-3; 13:10-17). In addition to the Synoptic examples of Simon's mother-in-law, Jairus's daughter and the bleeding woman, Luke acknowledges that Jesus cured other women of various diseases and demonic afflictions, including Mary Magdalene, Joanna the wife of Chuza (Herod's steward) and Susanna, whose maladies are unspecified beyond citing Mary's suffering from "seven demons" (Lk 8:2-3), as well as an unnamed woman whose chronic bent back Jesus straightens (Lk 13:10-17). This last healing takes place in a local synagogue on the Sabbath, the timing of which sparks indignation from the (male) synagogue leader against Jesus. The restored woman, who embodies the "straightening" mission of God's kingdom (cf. Lk 3:5; Acts 15:16), gets somewhat lost in the shuffle as the object of debate. She "praises God" for her cure, but with no direct words. Jesus lays therapeutic hands upon her and speaks liberating words to her ("Woman, you have been freed from your illness" [Lk 13:12]), but thereafter he only speaks about her to the synagogue official. However, he does refer to her as a "daughter of Abraham" worthy of being "set free" on the *Sabbath as much as, if not more so, than a tethered, thirsty draught animal (Lk 13:15-16).

As for Mary Magdalene and company, Luke nota-

bly introduces them as disciples, alongside the "twelve" male "chosen" followers (cf. Lk 6:12-16), and as patrons of Jesus' movement as well as clients of his healing ministry. They "serve" (*diakoneō*) Jesus, like other women, but with their financial resources more than their domestic labor (Lk 8:1-3). As such, they must be women of some wealth: Mary may have been a successful, independent merchant from Magdala, a fish-processing center on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, and Joanna likely had access to considerable means as the wife of a prominent Herodian official. As we noted (see 2.4 above), Mary and Magdalene and Joanna reemerge at the cross and empty tomb of Jesus, with the flashback allusion that they have followed Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem (Lk 23:49; 24:6-8); but this belated mention of their presence is mitigated by their complete narrative absence between Luke 8 and Luke 23-24. Moreover, the male disciples' rejection of the women's Easter report diminishes the value of their witness in some measure, even though it remains true.

6. John.

Women portrayed in John's Gospel stand out for their direct speech. All the female characters engage in challenging conversation with Jesus. The emerging tensions concern the degree to which Jesus accepts, respects, and/or corrects these women's expressed viewpoints.

6.1. The Mother of Jesus (Jn 2:1-12; 19:26-27). Never named in John's Gospel, the mother of Jesus appears both at the beginning of his ministry and at the end of his life (see Mary, Mother of Jesus). At a wedding in Cana of Galilee she prompts the performance of Jesus' "first sign" (Jn 2:11). She informs him that the host family has run out of wine, which Jesus takes as her insistence that he rectify the problem. And his response is none too polite or compliant; literally, he retorts, "What [is it] to me and to you, woman! My hour is not yet here" (Jn 2:4). In other words, "You cannot tell me what to do; my schedule is divinely appointed." But not to be deterred, Jesus' mother immediately instructs the servants, "Do whatever he tells you to do" (Jn 2:5), thus maintaining Jesus' authority but still pressing her point. And indeed, Jesus proceeds to solve the shortage, just as his mother desired, transforming the "purification" water into superlative wine. Afterwards, Jesus heads to Capernaum with his mother, brothers and disciples, where they sojourn a few days (Jn 2:12); at this point, no distinction is made between natural and spiritual families of Jesus.

Jesus' mother completely drops out of the narra-

tive until the crucifixion. Suspended from the cross, Jesus speaks to his mother (who does not speak back this time), commending her to the mutual love and care of her designated “son,” the ideal, beloved disciple (Jn 19:26-27). In this moving gesture Jesus appears to constitute the true family of God, composed of all “mothers” and “sons” who will follow him to the end and carry on his work.

6.2. The Samaritan Woman (Jn 4:4-42). The exchange between Jesus and the Samaritan woman by Jacob’s well near Sychar represents the longest sustained dialogue that he has with any character, male or female, in the Gospels. And, contrary to prejudicial opinion, this woman holds her own in the conversation; though initially confused about Jesus’ offer of “living water,” she progresses, through probing questions and comments, toward greater knowledge of his messianic vocation and leads her townspeople to faith in Christ. Her references to father Jacob (Jn 4:11-12), prophetic identity (Jn 4:19) and worship practices (Jn 4:20) demonstrate her biblical-theological literacy. True, the Samaritan woman focuses more on “earthly” elements (buckets, wells, mountains) than Jesus does, but in the process, as she learns from him, she also challenges him to embrace fully his incarnational vocation, which is both material and spiritual (“the Word became flesh” [Jn 1:14]).

As for the woman’s moral character, common assumptions of her licentious past outrun the textual evidence. To be sure, the narrative highlights her difficult marital history: implicitly, in Jesus’ engaging her at a well, evoking typical settings of marriage proposal (cf. Gen 24; 29:1-14; Ex 2:15-21); and explicitly, in Jesus’ revealing her having five ex-husbands and now living with a sixth man (Jn 4:16-18). The nature of these relationships, however, is never detailed. She may have been widowed or divorced multiple times, and her present arrangement may be a chaste one with a protective kinsman. In any case, the text nowhere labels her as a “prostitute” or “sinner” of any kind. Jesus discloses her marital status in order to reveal his deep knowledge of her experience, not to expose her sin or to offer her forgiveness. The woman’s checkered background reflects a hard life, but not necessarily a marginal one. She has “many” Samaritan friends and neighbors who “believe her word” of witness without demurral (Jn 4:39).

6.3. Martha and Mary (Jn 11:1-44; 12:1-8). The same sisters presented briefly in Luke 10:38-42 appear in a more extended story in John, surrounding the death and resuscitation of their brother, Lazarus, in Bethany. Martha again takes the lead in voicing her complaints to Jesus, this time about his tardiness

in coming to Lazarus’s aid (“Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died” [Jn 11:21]) and his indecorum in requesting the removal of Lazarus’s tombstone (“Lord, he already stinks after four days” [Jn 11:39]). But Martha also expresses extraordinary faith in Jesus as Lord, Messiah and Son of God, who mediates God’s blessings of resurrection life. Although more intent on her brother’s resurrection “on the last day” than on Jesus’ plan to raise him now, she does affirm Jesus’ present and eternal identity (“I AM”) as “the resurrection and the life” (Jn 11:22-27).

Apart from echoing her sister’s sentiment about the lateness of Jesus’ arrival (Jn 11:32), Mary remains silent throughout the account. In conventional women’s grieving mode, she weeps at Jesus’ feet en route to Lazarus’s gravesite; significantly, however, she elicits Jesus’ deep, shared emotional response, including his crying with her (Jn 11:31-35). And then, after Lazarus’s resuscitation, she anoints Jesus’ feet with expensive perfume and wipes them with her hair at a home dinner party, reminiscent of the anointing scenes in the Synoptic Gospels. Here, however, Judas Iscariot emerges as the main objector to her prodigal action, which Jesus nonetheless confirms as a perceptive and passionate gesture of preburial preparation (Jn 12:3-8). Siblings Lazarus and Martha, though mentioned first, remain in Mary’s shadow. Martha’s role is now relegated to serving (*diakoneō*) dinner (Jn 12:2).

6.4. Mary Magdalene (Jn 20:1-18). In John’s Gospel, Mary Magdalene comes alone to Jesus’ garden tomb and is the first to find it empty. She reports this distressing news to three audiences: first, she runs to Simon Peter and the Beloved Disciple, adding, “We [other women implied?] do not know where they [unspecified] have laid him” (Jn 20:2); second, back at the open tomb she weeps (like Mary of Bethany) before two angels, declaring, “I do not know where they have laid him” (Jn 20:13); and third, continuing to weep, she turns, sees a man whom she takes to be the gardener, who in fact is the risen Jesus, and pleads, “Sir, if you have carried him off, tell me where you have put him, and I will take him” (Jn 20:15). These remarks reveal not only Mary’s anxiety and ignorance but also her determination to find her Lord’s body. In each case the hearers respond skeptically or dismissively to her report: first, the two male disciples run to check out Mary’s story and corroborate her testimony, but without ever acknowledging her directly (Jn 20:3-10); second, the two angelic visitors almost mock her as hysterical by querying, “Woman, why are you weeping?” (Jn 20:12-13); and third, the

incognito Jesus repeats the angels' query and adds, somewhat cheekily, "Whom are you seeking?" (Jn 20:14-15). As knowing readers, we appreciate the humor in Jesus' tease, but the disconsolate Mary is in no mood to laugh.

Promptly, however, Jesus moves on to reveal his true identity by simply uttering, "Mariam" (Jn 20:16). Voice recognition of this "good shepherd" who knows his followers by name (cf. Jn 10:1-5) spurs Mary to call Jesus "Rabbouni" ("Teacher") and to hold him in loving embrace. In turn, Jesus resists her clinging, but not because he rejects her; quite the contrary, both he and she have urgent assignments to fulfill: Jesus must ascend to God the Father, and he commissions Mary to report her encounter with him to his "brother disciples" (Jn 20:16-18). Mary thus stands out as the first witness to the risen Christ in John's Gospel and as "apostle to the apostles." However, although the narrative confirms Mary's announcement to the male disciples, it stops short of recounting their response to her.

See also CHILD, CHILDREN; DIVORCE; FAMILY; FEMINIST AND WOMANIST CRITICISMS; MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS; SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC CRITICISMS.

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WONDERS. See MIRACLES AND MIRACLE STORIES.

WORD. See LOGOS.

WORLD

The language of the Gospels provides us with no exact precedent for what we mean by "world," though *kosmos* comes close to doing this. The distinctiveness of the modern perception of the world constitutes a difficulty in the task of reconstructing ancient understandings of the world. Difficulty also arises because the Gospel writers did not give detailed accounts of their understandings of the world, though John comes closer to doing this than the Synoptics. When writing about the "world" in the Gospels, we must fill in gaps on the basis of what we suppose the authors would have known. It is frequently suggested that the writers of the NT thought of the earth as a disc upon which the heavens rest like a dome and under which the waters of the deep also formed the sea. But from the time of Aristotle the Greeks understood the world to be a sphere (*Cael.* II:2.285a.32), and perceptive attempts were made to calculate the circumference of the earth. It is not safe to assume that knowledge of this sort was foreign to the Gospel writers. It could also be a mistake to interpret biblical imagery as scientific description rather than as poetic portrayal.

1. Terminology and Usage
2. Age (*Aiōn*)
3. Earth (*Gē*)
4. Inhabited World (*Oikoumenē*)
5. World (*Kosmos*)

1. Terminology and Usage.

The Gospel writers build on both Jewish and Greek language traditions when writing of the world. The Greeks provided the word *kosmos*, which has become a technical term in Western tradition. By the first century A.D. this word was used to convey a complex range of meaning. The dominant sense of an ordered system had applications to areas other than cosmology. They do not concern us here. The *kosmos* is sometimes understood as planet earth but also, in a wider sense, as the universe. In this latter sense it has the same meaning as the OT expression “heaven and earth” (Heb. *haššāmāyim wēhā’āreš*) referring to the creation. Writers closely dependent on the OT used this language instinctively even though *kosmos* had become part of the vocabulary of Greek-speaking Jews. But the translators of the Greek version of the OT (LXX) had no cause to use the term *kosmos* because the natural translation for the Hebrew of “heaven and earth” is *ouranos kai gē*, and the OT has no single word that covers the same semantic area as *kosmos*. Consequently, it is only in the later books composed in Greek, such as Wisdom of Solomon (16x), 2 Maccabees (8x) and 4 Maccabees (4x), that *kosmos* is used. The Synoptic Gospels show a preference for the use of *gē* rather than *kosmos*. Matthew uses *gē* forty-three times, Mark nineteen times and Luke twenty-five times compared with the use of *kosmos* eight or nine times (textual variant: Mt 13:35), three times and three times respectively. The reverse tendency is seen in John, where *kosmos* is used seventy-eight times and *gē* thirteen times.

Two other expressions relate to what we mean by “world” and overlap the Greek use of *kosmos*. The first of these is *oikoumenē*, which is short for *oikoumenē gē* and was used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew *ēbēl*. In the poetic works of the OT *ēbēl* is frequently used in parallel with *’ereš* (“earth”). By the time the Gospels were written, *oikoumenē* had come to mean “the inhabited world,” which sometimes was considered to be coterminous with the Roman Empire (see Rome). The second word is *aiōn*, which was used to translate the Hebrew *’ōlām*. Both the Hebrew and the Greek words have a reference to time, but when used in the expression “this age,” they have substantially the same meaning as “this world.”

2. Age (*Aiōn*).

Here the Hebrew equivalent is *’ōlām*. In the Synoptics the world is conceived as a temporal reality with beginning and end. Beyond that, it is also a new world (a notion found also in Stoicism) that finds expression in the terms “this age” and “the age to come,” expressions found on the lips of Jesus.

2.1. Mark. Jesus speaks of what awaits his disciples in this and the coming age (Mk 10:30 // Lk 18:30; cf. Mt 19:29). In the phrase “this age” the word used is *kairos*, while in “the coming age” it is *aiōn* (see Kingdom of God/Heaven). Strangely (see 2.2. below), Matthew omits this reference to the two ages. Reference to “the cares of the age” (Mk 4:19 // Mt 13:22 [Luke 8:14 has “cares . . . of life”]) is to be understood in terms of “this age.”

2.2. Matthew. Matthew has increased the references to the two ages by introducing these terms into a Markan context from which they were absent (Mt 12:32 // Mk 3:29 // Lk 3:10), by transforming the wording of “all things to be fulfilled” (*synteleisthai panta* [Mk 13:4, cf. Lk 21:7]) to “the fulfillment [end] of the age” (*synteleias tou aiōnos* [Mt 24:3]), and by introducing frequent references to “the end of the age” (Mt 13:39, 40, 49; 28:20).

2.3. Luke. Jesus speaks of “the sons of this age” (*hoi huiōi tou aiōnos toutou*), contrasting them with “the sons of light,” who also exist in the present time. The contrast suggests that “the sons of this age” are “the sons of darkness,” and “the sons of light” are “the sons of the age to come” (Lk 16:8). In Luke 20:34-35 “the sons of this age” are contrasted with “those who are accounted worthy to attain to that age and the resurrection from the dead.” The two ages appear to be in sequence, present and future. Apparently, “the sons of light” (Lk 16:8) are those thought worthy to attain to “that age.”

The language of the two ages, a feature of Jewish apocalyptic, probably was characteristic of the teaching of Jesus, being found in Mark and the traditions peculiar to Matthew and Luke. Matthew, influenced by Jewish apocalyptic, has increased the use of this language. It is altogether absent from Q and from John, though John’s use of “this world” (*kosmos*) is formally similar but, on closer inspection, differs in meaning.

3. Earth (*Gē*).

Here the Hebrew equivalent is *’ereš*. Each of the four Gospels uses the word “earth” to mean “soil,” a particular “land” and the planet “earth,” though the last sense is rarely found in John. It is evident in the phrase “heaven and earth,” in which the OT spoke of

creation, an idiom familiar to Jesus and found in each of the Synoptics but not in John. Sayings that have reference only to the earth can be ambiguous because *gē* can mean “soil” and “land” as well as the planet “earth.”

3.1. Mark. Jesus asserts that “heaven and earth will pass away” (Mk 13:31 // Mt 24:35 // Lk 21:33), a notion consistent with the language of the two ages. Jesus claims, “The Son of Man has authority to forgive sins on earth” (Mk 2:10 // Mt 9:6 // Lk 5:24) (*see* Forgiveness of Sins). The authenticity of this saying, along with the other *Son of Man sayings, has been hotly debated. It asserts the universal authority of the Son of Man on earth. Two other uses of “earth” by Mark (Mk 4:31; 9:3) are omitted by Matthew and Luke, though they make use of the parable of the mustard seed and the narrative of the transfiguration from Mark. The mustard seed is described as the smallest of seeds on earth, and Jesus’ clothing is described as whiter than any fuller on earth could achieve. Both could be considered as Markan editorial comments. In Mark the finite character of the creation and the universal nature of Jesus’ authority are affirmed.

3.2. Q Material. Jesus asserts that “heaven and earth will pass away” (Mt 5:18 // Lk 16:17). He says, “I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth” (Mt 11:25 // Lk 10:21), affirming God’s lordship over all creation. Referring to his own mission, Jesus says, “Do not suppose that I came to bring peace on earth” (Mt 10:34 // Lk 12:51); and contrasting the response to his word, he tells his hearers that “the Queen of the South came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon” (Mt 12:42 // Lk 11:31). Matthew appears to have added reference to “the heart of the earth” in a Q context (Mt 12:40 // Lk 11:30) and may have omitted it from another (Mt 16:3 // Lk 12:56), though it is more likely that Luke has added it along with the reference to “hypocrites,” which Matthew is not likely to have omitted. As in Mark, the finite character of the creation is clear. God’s lordship over creation is affirmed, and Jesus’ mission is further clarified in terms of conflict with the world.

3.3. Matthew. Jesus promised the meek that they would inherit the earth (Mt 5:5), meaning either the promised land or the world (*see* Sermon on the Mount/Plain). He tells the disciples, “You are the salt of the earth” (Mt 5:13), a Matthean saying combined with Markan material (Mk 9:50). He forbids swearing by heaven or earth (Mt 5:34–35) and teaches the disciples to pray, “Let your will be done, as in heaven so on earth” (Mt 6:10), which may be a Matthean interpretation of the petition (found also in Lk 11:2)

“Let your kingdom come.” He admonishes, “Do not store up treasures on earth” (Mt 6:19). The relative value of earthly possessions is a dominant theme in Luke. Distinctive to Matthew are the sayings to Peter (Lk 16:19) and the *disciples (Lk 18:18) about binding and loosing on earth with apparent consequent effects in heaven. The closest parallel in meaning, though not in language, is found in John 20:23, which is expressed in terms of forgiving sins. The thought of the influence of earth on heaven is continued where Jesus says that the agreed request of two disciples on earth will be granted by “my Father in heaven” (Mt 18:19). In the idiom of apocalyptic Jesus speaks of “the kings of the earth” (Mt 17:25) and “the tribes of the earth” (Mt 24:5), which appears to be Matthean redaction introduced into a Markan context (Mk 13:2 // Lk 21:27). Finally, Jesus asserts, “All authority in heaven and earth has been given to me” (Mt 28:18), and he commissions his disciples to continue his mission, promising to be with them until the end of the age (Mt 28:20). While the relative value of the created order is maintained, *salvation is increasingly interpreted in terms of this world. The lordship ascribed by Jesus to his Father in Q is claimed by him in Matthew, and indeed his authority is extended to his disciples as they carry on his *mission to the world.

3.4. Luke. At the *birth of Jesus the angels announce “peace on earth” (Lk 2:14), a view of Jesus’ mission apparently in conflict with the Q saying of Jesus, “Do not suppose that I came to bring peace on earth” (Mt 10:34 // Lk 12:51). Consistent with the Q saying, Luke’s “I came to cast fire on earth” (Lk 12:49) could be part of Q not used by Matthew. Jesus asks, “When the Son of Man comes, will he find faith on earth?” (Lk 18:8), and in the Markan context of the apocalyptic discourse Jesus in Luke refers to distress (*anankē*) on earth (Lk 21:23; cf. Mk 13:19) and anxiety (*synochē*) of the nations on earth (Lk 21:25; cf. Mk 13:25) and warns that “that day will come upon all who dwell on the face of all the earth” (Lk 21:35 [cf. Mk 13:33–34; Lk 21:36]). Luke may reduce the political scandal of Jesus’ life, but the crisis of his mission remains clear, and the *apocalyptic expectation of the end of the age is undiminished.

3.5. John. References to planet earth are few because John has favored the use of *kosmos*. In John 3:31 there are three references to being “of the earth” (*ek tēs gēs*), the equivalent of being “from below” (*katō*) as opposed to “from above” (*anō*) (*see* Jn 8:23). In John 12:32 “lifted up from the ground” (cf. Jn 3:14) is intended to have overtones of leaving the world (cf. Jn 3:13). Jesus, the Son of Man, is exalted

from earth to heaven by way of the cross upon which he is lifted up from the earth. Finally, Jesus asserts, “I glorified you [the Father] upon earth” (Jn 17:4). Although the antithesis between heaven and earth is strong in John, the mission of the heavenly emissary is carried out on earth for the sake of those on earth.

4. Inhabited World (*Oikoumenē*).

Here the Hebrew equivalent is *tēbēl*. *Oikoumenē* is used only fifteen times in the NT, of which Luke the evangelist is responsible for eight (Luke 3x; Acts 5x). It is used once in Matthew 24:14 in the context of the Markan apocalyptic discourse to assert that before the end comes the *gospel of the kingdom must first be preached in the whole inhabited world. Here Matthew’s use of *oikoumenē* is an interpretation of Mark’s “all the nations” (*ta ethnē* [Mk 13:10]). In the Q account of the *temptation narrative, where Jesus is shown all the kingdoms of the world, Luke’s use of *oikoumenē* (Lk 4:5) probably is redactional, being more appropriate to the political sense than Matthew’s *kosmos* (Mt 4:8). Luke 2:1 refers to the decree to tax “the whole world”—in other words, “the entire Roman Empire.” Luke also probably has introduced *oikoumenē* into the Markan apocalyptic discourse when Jesus warns of people fainting with fear and foreboding of what is coming upon the inhabited world (Lk 21:26). Thus, this and the other use of *oikoumenē* by Jesus (Mt 24:14) probably are due to the redaction by Matthew and Luke.

5. World (*Kosmos*).

Thus far there has been little discussion of John’s view of the world. This now changes because together, John’s Gospel and 1 John provide more than half of the uses of *kosmos* in the NT. Only Paul in 1 Corinthians comes even close to this frequency of use. Paul uses *kosmos* forty-seven times, twenty-one of these in 1 Corinthians.

Jesus asks about the value of gaining the whole world but losing life itself (Mt 16:26 // Mk 8:36 // Lk 9:25). This relative value of possessions was an important emphasis in the teaching of Jesus. Jesus says that wherever the gospel is preached in the whole world, the details of his anointing will be spoken of (Mt 26:13 // Mk 14:9). This notion of the gospel being preached universally probably was introduced by Mark or the tradition that came to him, as is suggested by the use of the word “gospel” (*euangelion*). In the longer ending of Mark (Mk 16:15) Jesus commissioned the disciples, “Go into all world [*kosmos*] and proclaim the gospel to the whole creation [*ktisis*].” This text has no strong claim to contain authen-

tic Markan tradition, let alone be among genuine sayings of Jesus.

5.1. Foundation of the World (*katabolē kosmou*); Beginning of the World (*archē kosmou*). Jesus spoke of “the blood of all the prophets shed from the foundation of the world” (Lk 11:50 [cf. Mt 23:35]). Into the Markan framework of the explanation of *parables (Mk 4:33-34) Matthew has inserted as his commentary Psalm 78:2: “I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter what has been hidden since the foundation of the world” (Mt 13:35). John’s *Christology is expressed when Jesus asserts the Father’s love for him “before the foundation of the world” (Jn 17:24 [cf. Jn 17:5]). In the parable of the great judgment the king tells those on his right hand, “Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world” (Mt 25:34). The “beginning of the world” (*archē kosmou*) has the same meaning (Mt 24:21). The Markan parallel has “from the beginning of the creation” (*ap’ archēs ktiseōs* [Mk 13:19]). The latter phrase also is used by Jesus in his discussion of marriage and *divorce, arguing that “from the beginning of creation God made them male and female” (Mk 10:6). In this way the idea of the creation by God was clearly expressed in the teaching of Jesus and finds expression in each of the Gospels.

5.2. The World of Humankind. “The nations of the world” (*ta ethnē tou kosmou* [Lk 12:30]) (see Gentiles) and “the kingdoms of the world” (*hai basileiai tou kosmou* [Mt 4:8]), like the references to the kings of the earth and the tribes of the earth (Mt 17:25; 24:30), refer to the world of humankind and might have used the term *oikoumenē*. Jesus tells the disciples, “You are the salt of the earth [*gē*]” (Mt 5:13), and follows that by saying, “You are the light of the world [*kosmos*]” (Mt 5:14). In Hebrew this parallelism might have been expressed using *ēreṣ* and *tēbēl*. John may have developed the discipleship saying in a christological direction when Jesus claims, “I am the light of the world [*kosmos*]” (Jn 8:12; 9:5). In the parable of the tares it is explained that the field is the world (Mt 13:38). Woe is pronounced on the world of humankind (Mt 18:7). This reminds us that this world, though the creation of God, is dominated by the *demonic. That the world is under the power of evil and needs to be liberated by God is part of the apocalyptic worldview that dominates the Synoptics, especially Mark. Jesus’ role in inaugurating the kingdom of God is expressed in exorcisms. They are evidence that the present world ruler has been overthrown and that the kingdom of God is already dawning (Mk 3:20-30; Mt 12:2 // Lk 11:20).

5.3. John. John’s prologue (Jn 1:1-18) provides a

detailed reinterpretation of the Genesis creation story. A Jewish understanding of creation is daringly reinterpreted in the light of faith in Jesus as the savior of the world. Here the *kosmos* is first the universe, the totality of the creation. The word is used four times in the prologue, but the most emphatic statement occurs in John 1:3: "All things [*panta*] were made [*egeneto*] by him, and without him was not anything made that was made." Speaking of the creation in terms of "the all" may owe something to the influence of Platonism, though precedent can also be found in Jewish tradition. What is distinctive about the prologue is that the mediating role of the *logos* in creation is identified with the figure of Jesus.

The form and content of the prologue raise questions about its milieu. R. Bultmann argued that this is to be found in the syncretistic Jewish baptist movement influenced by gnosis. Certainly the view of the world in John's Gospel, among other matters, sets it apart from the Synoptics (see Synoptics and John). Like the writings of Philo, John shares a concentrated use of *kosmos* that signals a form of Hellenistic influence scarcely to be found in the Synoptics. Concentrated use of *kosmos* is matched by the distinctly dualistic framework in which it is set with references to "this world" (planet earth) and "the judgment of the prince of this world" (Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11). This world is not contrasted with some future world; rather, the world below is contrasted with the world above, the world of darkness with the world of light (see Light and Darkness). This world, though created by the *logos*, is ruled by the prince of this world. In John only Jesus is accused of demon possession; there are no exorcisms. Nevertheless, Jesus' struggle with the prince of this world is a central feature further accentuated by the antithesis of light and darkness dominating this Gospel.

Jesus, the emissary from above, has come into this world (Jn 1:9, 10; 3:16, 17, 19; 6:14; 10:36; 11:27; 12:46; 16:28; 17:18, 21, 23; 18:37). His mission was an expression of God's love for the world (Jn 3:16). This world is dominated by darkness and the prince of this world. The world in view is humankind. The coming of the emissary was to save, not to condemn, the world (Jn 3:17; 4:42; 6:33, 51; 12:47), but condemnation is inevitable where the saving mission is rejected (Jn 9:39). The coming of the emissary is expressed in terms of the coming of the light into the world as the light of the world (Jn 3:19; 8:12; 9:5; 12:46). The light does not belong to the world (Jn 8:23; 17:16; 18:36) but has come to reveal the Father and his love for the world (Jn 14:31; 17:21, 23-24). His coming was to bring life to the world (Jn 6:33) by

giving his life for the world (Jn 1:29; 6:51). Having entered the world and completed his mission, the emissary departs from it (Jn 13:1; 14:19; 16:28), having commissioned his disciples to continue his mission to the world (Jn 17:21, 23). Those who are called out from the world (by the emissary) and no longer belong to it (Jn 15:19; 17:6, 11, 14, 16) are consequently hated by it, as the emissary himself was hated (Jn 15:18, 19; 17:14). The mission was made possible by the coming of the Paraclete/Spirit of truth (see Holy Spirit) to expose the world to the truth revealed by the light (Jn 3:19-21; 16:8). Yet the world does not recognize the Spirit, just as it did not recognize the emissary. It knows only the mission of Jesus and those who continue his mission. Only those who believe perceive the light of the world, which has the power to transform those who belong to the world so that their lives are shaped by the light from above.

In John the focus moves from the world perceived as creation to the world of humankind dominated by the darkness of false loves, false values, false knowledge and to the mission to save the world. Much of this interpretation of the world is given in the words of the narrator (Jn 1:9-10; 3:16-17, 19) or other characters, such as *John the Baptist (Jn 1:29), the *Samaritans (Jn 4:42) and the crowd (Jn 6:14) (see People, Crowd), in addition to Jesus himself. Jesus, narrator and believing *witnesses present a consistent view of the world, its predicament and its salvation.

See also APOCALYPTICISM AND APOCALYPTIC TEACHING; DEMON, DEVIL, SATAN; ESCHATOLOGY; KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

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WORSHIP

The Gospels find their beginning and end in adoration of *God; indeed, several begin and end with acts of worship. However, they neither stress worship as a separate subject nor describe worship in the first century A.D.

1. Introduction
2. Worship: Corporate and Personal
3. Worship and the Word
4. Worship and *Koinōnia*
5. Particular Tendencies in Each Gospel
6. The Gospels as Evidence for Liturgy in Earliest Christianity

1. Introduction.

1.1. Language for Worship in the Gospels. A survey shows all of the words commonly translated as "worship" (either verb or noun): *sebomai* ("I fear, revere") in Matthew 15:9 // Mark 7:7; *latreia* ("service") in John 16:2; *latreuō* ("I serve") in Luke 1:74; 2:37; Matthew 4:10 // Luke 4:8; *leitourgia* (liturgical "duty") in Luke 1:34; *proskyneō* ("I bow, come forward to kiss") in Matthew 2:2, 8; 4:9-10; 20:20; Luke 4:7-8; 24:52; John 4:20-24; 12:20.

All four Gospels show a marked preference for the colorful verb *proskyneō*. Because they suggestively disclose the identity of Jesus as the unique *Son, the ambiguity of *proskyneō* (which can depict "homage" to a human) is convenient. For example, Matthew pictures the magi seeking to revere the signaled messiah, but in the eyes of faithful readers their quest may indicate the glory of Jesus, who alone is to be worshiped with God (cf. Mt 4:9-10; 10:25-27). Although there is controversy concerning the best reading and appropriate translation of Luke 24:52 (compare RSV with NRSV), many maintain that the Gospel ends with a tableau in which disciples worship the ascending Jesus before returning to the temple, blessing God (see Ascension). In the Gospels, then, the worship of the God of Israel is assumed, while the worship of Jesus is (at the very least) suggested.

1.2. Second Temple and Greco-Roman Contexts. The study of worship in the Gospels would be simpler had we easy access to practices immediately preceding and contemporaneous to these writings.

However, Second Temple Judaism was complex and diversified, and we speak about first-century A.D. "Judaisms" in the plural, with all that this implies concerning both belief and practice. Worship was attached to certain centers: to the temple in Jerusalem, to other traditional holy places (particularly in Samaria), to the gatherings of separatist communities that were critical of the temple as it had developed (e.g., the Qumran community or communities), to the evolving institution of the synagogue, and to the family home, where prayers were offered over bread.

*Temple worship is so emphasized in the OT that we might forget that Judaism was practiced in different ways, even to the point of establishing rival temples (e.g., in Leontopolis and Heliopolis). The ongoing controversy with the northern peoples is documented for us in John 4 in the exchange between Jesus and the *Samaritan woman concerning the center of worship. Although we can deduce that festivals or *feasts described in the OT were celebrated in the temple, we have little direct knowledge of first-century A.D. prayers or the state of a lectionary; for such matters we are reliant on later Jewish texts, which may not accurately reflect the earlier period. There were also *synagogues, or houses of prayer, scattered throughout the Diaspora and even in Jerusalem itself. Yet, excavations of such places show no normative structure, and as for what went on, beyond the reading of the scrolls, we cannot be sure, since our earliest knowledge of synagogue worship dates mostly from the fourth century A.D. It may well be that the focus of the *Pharisees (antecedent to rabbinic Judaism) upon the Torah led to an increased importance of the synagogues, where Torah dominated, even prior to the fall of the temple and the deliberations at Yavneh (Jamnia).

We are more fortunate in our knowledge of non-Jewish worship practices in the Roman Empire and its provinces, which were legion. However, since early Christians, with the rest of Second Temple Judaism, eschewed all such worship as idolatrous, the value of this knowledge in tracing the development of early Christian worship is marginal. From pagan cults, however, we can deduce the political and the social importance of religion (reflected also in the satirical language deployed in the book of Revelation, with its critique of "Babylon"); to remember this entanglement is salutary for twenty-first-century readers accustomed to the separation of church and state. Further, even where an individual or a community was henotheistically devoted to one particular god or goddess, the idea of a radical monotheism

was foreign. Thus, Christians were dubbed “atheists” because they rejected the pantheon (*see* Gods, Greek and Roman). The fairly early (second century?) decision of some Christian communities no longer to use musical instruments in worship may reflect their self-differentiation from pagan cults. What else would have caused them to abandon the OT practice, so vividly illustrated in Psalm 150? It is possible that some of the early hymns to Christ were influenced by Gentile forms, but as in the case of second Temple Judaism, there is a paucity of information available (*see* Songs and Hymns). Early Christian hymns were manifestly related to their OT antecedents (e.g., the Magnificat [Lk 1:46-55]; cf. the psalms) but, heeding Jesus’ rebuke in Matthew 6:7, they did not follow pagan conventions such as the proliferations of names, titles and attributes seen in, for example, the Homeric *Hymn to Artemis* or Isidorus’s four hymns to Isis.

All in all, it may be that the Gospels are as useful in providing students with insight into contemporaneous Jewish and pagan worship (allowing for the biases of a community that was crystallizing its identity) as are these communities helpful in providing models by which we can understand developing Christian worship. We may assert, however, that early Christian worship was variously influenced by temple and synagogue (for a number of priests were “obedient to the faith,” and Saul/Paul was a rabbi). Given the incarnational character of this nascent movement, it is not impossible that non-Jewish elements were incorporated into worship, as part of the “riches of the nations” (Rev 21:26). An unambiguous tracing of such processes, however, remains beyond our reach; we must look to the Gospels themselves in search of our quarry.

2. Worship: Corporate and Personal.

Typically, worship is characterized in the Gospels as a corporate act. Personal worship or *prayer is also featured, but it is not played off against corporate worship. Indeed, the epitome of *hypocritical prayer is seen in the insulated figure of the Pharisee who “prays with himself” (Lk 18:11) even while in the temple. Worship as something done by the gathered faithful is exemplified in Jesus’ own habit of attending synagogue (Mk 10:1), a pattern emulated by the disciples in Acts. Matthew’s Gospel begins with Gentile magi (plural) who seek to worship the messiah of Israel. As Luke’s Gospel opens, we see Zechariah interceding for believers in the temple, and then we hear Mary exult in God “helping Israel” according to the promises made to her fathers (Lk 1:54-55).

In John’s Gospel Jesus speaks to the woman at the well concerning the “worshippers” (plural) whom God seeks (Jn 4:23), and he prays his high priestly prayer on behalf of the disciples and those who will believe because of them (Jn 17:23).

2.1. Worship as Response to God’s Actions Among the People. Because of the long-standing translation in hymnody and popular piety of Jesus’ words “the kingdom of God is *entos hymin*” (Lk 17:21) as “the kingdom is within you,” we tend to forget that *hymin* (“you”) is plural and so to believe that Jesus individualized faith. In this view, the reign of Christ within the individual heart is sharply distinguished from the mistaken idea of first-century A.D. Jewish people, who envisaged the *kingdom of God as a concrete, social reality. However, Jesus’ challenge here is different. He is alerting his generation to the new thing that God is doing “among you” (*entos hymin*), neither drawing a distinction between the physical and the spiritual nor championing individual, internalized worship. He is provoking the Pharisees to see what is immediately among them: God is here materially in Jesus, but unrecognized. He is longing like a hen to gather the chicks, his people, under his wings, but they “would not” (Mt 23:37). This is consonant with the Fourth Gospel’s lament, “He came to what was his own, and his own [people] did not receive him” (Jn 1:11). Worship is not directed toward a God who simply cares for the human soul; rather, the Gospels observe that God, in Jesus, seeks a whole people to worship in Spirit and in truth: “The Father seeks such as *these* to worship him” (Jn 4:2).

So it is that Jesus weeps over Jerusalem and appeals, from the cross, “Father, forgive *them*” (Lk 23:34). Indeed, when the disciples ask him, “Teach *us* to pray” (Lk 11:1), Jesus does not correct the “us” but rather goes on to model a collective prayer: “Our Father . . . give *us* this day . . . forgive *us* our sins . . . lead *us* not into temptation” (Lk 11:2-4). It is interesting that the pronoun used to address the Lord is the second-person singular (“*thy* kingdom . . . *thy* will” in the Old English), even while the voice of the petitions is in the first-person plural (“us, we”). The God of the Gospels proves himself personal when his people pray together. A document roughly contemporaneous with the Gospels, the *Didache* (*Did.* 10), reproduces this prayer and prescribes that it be prayed thrice daily—a parallel to the Jewish practice of reciting the blessings known as the Tefillah. Early Christians, it seems, prayed together and at set hours.

2.2. Worship in the Body. But are there not some verses that suggest that Jesus intended to establish

an interior, spiritualized worship that rejected the temple? What of the “cleansing” of the temple (see Temple Act) and Jesus’ injunction to enter “the closet” when praying? Let us recall that Jesus deemed the temple a place of prayer for all nations (Mk 11:17 par.) and did much of his teaching there. Luke presents the boy Jesus as industrious “in [his] Father’s house” (Lk 2:49), and the earliest community as continuing this attachment (e.g., Lk 24:53; Acts 3:1-3). Jesus clearly enacted a prophecy of judgment against the temple, but his critique was not a movement from the physical to the spiritual. Rather, the Gospels envision a displacement of the humanly built temple with Jesus, the embodied “temple built without hands” (Mk 14:58; Jn 2:21; cf. Acts 7:49-56), and by extension, with the people of Jesus, God’s “house” (cf. 1 Pet 2:5). The transformation, then, is not from the physical to the abstractly spiritual, but rather from the temple and Torah as centers of worship to the person of Jesus, and the worship of the Holy God by those gathered in him.

Similarly, privatized prayer is not enjoined in Jesus’ command “But when you [sg.] pray, go into your inner room and shut the door and pray to your Father, who is in the hidden place; and your Father who sees in the hidden place will reward you” (Mt 6:6). Here is no aphorism meant to disqualify or qualify the importance of corporate prayer. Rather, the attack is on the political use of prayer to “win friends and influence people.” The words about the inner chamber are positive instructions replacing the selfish motivation for prayer that the Gospel rejects: “When you pray, you must not be like the hypocrites; for they love to stand and pray in the synagogues and at the street corners, that they may be seen by people. Truly, I say to you, they have received their reward” (Mt 6:5).

Jesus does pray alone at key moments in the Gospels: at the calling of his disciples (Lk 6:12), in the garden (Mt 26:36-37), and with only three (or five?) disciples at his *transfiguration (Lk 9:28). Even here, Jesus’ “solitary” prayer is contextualized within the community: it leads to the calling of the Twelve and the giving of his life for many. His prayers on the Mount of Transfiguration are joined by the old-covenant representatives *Moses and *Elijah and transform his three apostles as he apprentices them for the sake of the church. We discern in Jesus’ model sacrificial worship that brings to memory the needs of God’s people, and that is answered by ministration of mysterious agents of God (Mt 4:11; cf. later textual variants concerning an angel at Lk 22:43). He is alone only in a restricted sense, for worship in-

volves the whole people of God and indeed the entire created order.

3. Worship and the Word.

3.1. *Worship and the Proclaimed Scriptures.* The Gospels also portray, both by implicit and explicit means, a strong connection between worship and the reading or proclamation of God’s word. In Luke 1:46-55 Mary exults in words recalling OT praises (1 Sam 2:1-10; Ps 34:1-3; 89:10-13; 103:17; Hab 3:18; Sir 10:14). In both Matthew 4:10 and Luke 4:8 Jesus highlights worship while quoting Scripture to rebuke the enemy: humans live by the word of God, and they are meant to worship God alone. Jesus’ public adult ministry begins in Luke’s Gospel with the reading of Isaiah in the synagogue, first in Nazareth, and then in Capernaum (Lk 4:16-22, 31-32 // Mt 13:53; Mk 6:1-6), even as the boy Jesus has already been pictured “going up” to the Jerusalem feast and sitting among the scribes while handling Torah (Lk 2:41-48). His treatment of Scripture in the place of worship leads to the “amazement” or “astonishment” of all who hear him speak (Mt 13:54; Mk 6:2; Lk 2:48; 4:22, 32). Luke provides an ironic picture for readers who know the whole Gospel: the one who *is* the temple sits in the temple of Jerusalem; the one who gathers sits in the gathering, and, by his interpretation of the word, he amazes those who do not recognize him. Worship, word and the revelation of this one merge both in the temple and in the synagogue. In these pictures the evangelist commends to the perceptive reader the model of Mary, “who kept all these things in her heart” (Lk 2:5).

3.2. *New-Covenant Priestly Handling of the Word.* It is easy to assume, when we discern quotations, allusions or echoes to Scripture in the Gospels, that these function as teaching moments only. Certainly, the evangelists are modeling for us the manner in which the earliest Christian communities read and interpreted the Scriptures, so as to point to Christ (cf. Lk 24:27, 44-45). However, there is also an explicit link of the written word with worship. It may well be that the evangelists shared what seems to have been a rabbinic conviction: a reverent handling of the Scriptures is the equivalent of temple service (cf. *m. Menah.* 13:10; *b. Menah.* 110a). Christian tradition too came to see believers as “a kingdom of priests” because of the high priest, Jesus. Certainly, we are told that Jesus’ own “opening of the Scriptures” caused “hearts to burn” and led to joyful praise (Lk 24:32). Throughout the Gospels we find embedded various portions of the OT, explicitly studding the pages of Matthew and also present in

various degrees of clarity in the other Gospels. In some cases, these references may well reflect use of Scripture in early Christian worship, which retained some continuity with the synagogue; the verses also make their mark upon subsequent readers, encouraging us to worship as well.

3.3. Worship and the Last Supper. Especially instructive are the OT allusions surrounding the episodes of the *Last Supper (Mt 26:26-30; Mk 14:22-26; Lk 22:15-23; cf. 1 Cor 11:23-25), with Jesus' arrest and passion. Although the Last Supper narratives are brief, they are suggestive of early eucharistic models that retained features of the Passover meal. (Care must be taken here to avoid both of two extremes: on the one hand, a "panliturgical" confidence that discerns liturgy everywhere in the NT, despite literary silence concerning the shape of first-century A.D. Jewish liturgy and early Christian worship, and, on the other hand, the assumption that Christians broke entirely from their Jewish past into a "free" worship such as that championed in ultra-Protestant communities today.) Reference to prayers of "blessing" (*eulogeō*) or "thanksgiving" (*eucharisteō*) given over the bread and cup are consonant with the Passover: Luke's version seemingly features two cups with an interpretation of the second cup, and this is reminiscent of the symbolic discourse of the Passover meal, which had four cups (cf. *m. Pesah.* 10:1-7). Original readers taught to read the OT in the light of Christ would hear the expressions "Passover," "suffering," "fruit of the vine," "new covenant in my blood" (or "my blood of the covenant") and "poured out" and be reminded of numerous psalms and scriptural passages, including the original covenant of Exodus 24:3-11, the Passover narratives, Psalm 80 (with its cry that the Lord return), Isaiah 53, Zechariah 9:11 and other psalms "of the suffering righteous one" (eg., Pss 10; 27; 37; 38; 41; and esp. Ps 22).

The language not only integrates the Last Supper with key OT readings, but also lends a solemnity to the passage, by which Jesus is exalted at the point of his humiliation. In two versions (Mt 26:30; Mk 14:26) the episode is capped by the singing of hymns, a reflection of the Passover singing of Psalms 115-118: "I will offer to you the sacrifice of thanksgiving and call upon the name of the LORD" (Ps 116:17). Similarly, the sustained presence of Psalm 22 and other dramatic passages (e.g., Is 53; Zech 9-14) in the narratives of the passion call forth adoration on the part of a faithful readership. Clearly, the aim of all four evangelists (as articulated explicitly by one of them in Jn 20:31) is to move readers beyond the blindness of those who search the Scriptures, not recognizing that they tes-

tify to the Messiah (cf. Jn 5:39). The purpose of the word is not simply to instruct, but to be a vehicle of praise, blessing and thanksgiving.

4. Worship and *Koinōnia*.

4.1. Worship Gathered Around Jesus. Finally, the Gospels link together the theme of worship with that of *koinōnia*, or communion with God and with the entire faithful community. Worship is pictured as entrance into that communion, as we vividly perceive in the Lukan version of Jesus' transfiguration (Lk 9:28-36), where Peter, James and John behold the glorified Jesus and themselves enter the Shekinah cloud (the dwelling place of God's presence). In Mark's Gospel the feedings of the four thousand and five thousand issue in the gathering of all the fragments into baskets (first twelve, then seven), a detail underscored by Jesus' pointed questions in Mark 8:18-21: he is gathering a community as he teaches and feeds. Close attention to the feeding episodes of the Gospels, coupled with the description of the early church's worship in Acts 2:41-42, leads us to ask whether at least Luke and John intend readers to link worship with the table, as well as with the word. At any rate, in all four Gospels the gathering of the community occurs around Jesus, and it is by means of his actions, blessing and prayers that this new community is granted the ability to rightly worship the true God.

4.2. Worship with the Son. In the Synoptics Gospels the dramatic climax of Jesus' teaching occurs in the parable of the wicked tenants (Mt 21:33-46; Mk 12:1-12; Lk 20:9-19), which has embedded within it Psalm 118:22-23: "The stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone. . . . It is amazing in our eyes!" Earlier in Jesus' ministry the so-called Johannine bolt from the blue (Mt 11:25-27 // Lk 10:21-22) depicted Jesus in prayer, "rejoicing in the Holy Spirit" and "giving praise." In this worship, by which the Son communes with the Spirit and the Father, Jesus describes the passing down of this life from the Father to himself and then to the faithful "little ones" to whom the Father is revealed. The disciples are "blessed" (Lk 10:23-24) because in their sight and hearing are fulfilled the promises given to prophets and kings. Similarly in the climactic John 12, where worship in Jerusalem is joined to the quest of Greeks to see Jesus, Jesus declares that the *Son of Man is to be glorified, and the Father announces that he will glorify Jesus (Jn 12:20-28). The twin themes of worship and communion are most fully expressed in John 14-17, where Jesus prays that all who follow him (Jn 17:20) be admitted into the life of God and

behold his *glory—that is, that they might worship: “I in them and thou in me, that they may become perfectly one” (Jn 17:23). As Mary Magdalene learns on Easter morning, it is because of incorporation into the Son that worshipers may now call upon God as “Father”: “Tell my disciples . . . that I am ascending to my Father and to your [pl.] Father” (Jn 20:17).

5. Particular Tendencies in Each Gospel.

The presence of common themes in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John demonstrate that the Gospels, for all their particularities, evince more similarities than differences in their approach to worship. However, some specific tendencies can be traced as we compare the four. Structurally, we may contrast Matthew with Luke, in that Matthew begins and ends his narrative explicitly with worship of Jesus (Mt 2:2, 8, 11; 28:9, 17), while Luke begins and ends in the temple, thus stressing a continuity with the old covenant and the worship of God. Mark more typically portrays Jesus as gathering a community for worship than as the object of adoration in himself (though the amazement of the crowd subtly gestures at this); John, in contrast, establishes and concludes his Gospel with christological worship (Jn 1:1; 20:28), sustaining this by means of OT imagery and feasts interpreted in the light of Jesus. While Luke portrays Jesus as the model pray-er and worshiper, who frequents the temple, John has the most material on worship per se and (as is typical of his style) leads readers to meditate at length on the true meaning of worship (Jn 4) for those who are associated with the Messiah and who receive the *Holy Spirit. These particular tendencies provide a thick and varied description of worship as a personal and corporate response to God’s mighty acts, as informed by the OT Scriptures (particularly the psalms) and expressed by means of those sacred writings, and as explicitly gathered around the figure of Jesus, who makes such worship and communion possible.

6. The Gospels as Evidence for Liturgy in Earliest Christianity.

The Gospels continue to provide suggestive material for the investigation of Jewish worship in the first century A.D. and early Christian worship. Some writers (Guilding; Goulder), noting the prominence of feast days in the Fourth Gospel, have daringly theorized about the possibility of a fixed calendar and Jewish lectionary lying behind the Gospels and their structure. Such readings remain hypothetical because we have no direct knowledge concerning the shape of synagogue worship at this time, and be-

cause the Gospels are not handbooks of early Christian worship. Debates are ongoing (see Bradshaw) concerning the line of continuity between temple/synagogue worship, worship in the first century A.D. and worship as described in later centuries, and also concerning the extent of variation or consistency in early Christian worship. In all this, some firm observations may be made concerning the significance of *baptism (into the triune name of God by the point of Mt 28:19), the centrality of a table rite associated with Jesus’ death and related to Passover sacrifice, the interpretation of OT Scriptures according to the apostolic tradition to disclose Christ (cf. Lk 24:44-45; Acts 2:42) and the continued importance of corporate worship that included singing, praising, teaching, breaking of bread and the recital of psalms. In the present climate, it is particularly helpful to recover in the Gospels the concept of worship as entrance into a historic, ongoing community and into the life of Christ (with the Father and Holy Spirit) passed down to believers, rather than to picture earliest Christianity as privatizing devotion or valorizing novelty for its own sake.

See also BAPTISM; FEASTS; GOD; LAST SUPPER; PRAYER; SONGS AND HYMNS; SYNAGOGUE; TEMPLE.

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YEAR OF JUBILEE. *See* JUBILEE.

ZEALOTS. *See* REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

ZION. *See* JERUSALEM.

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